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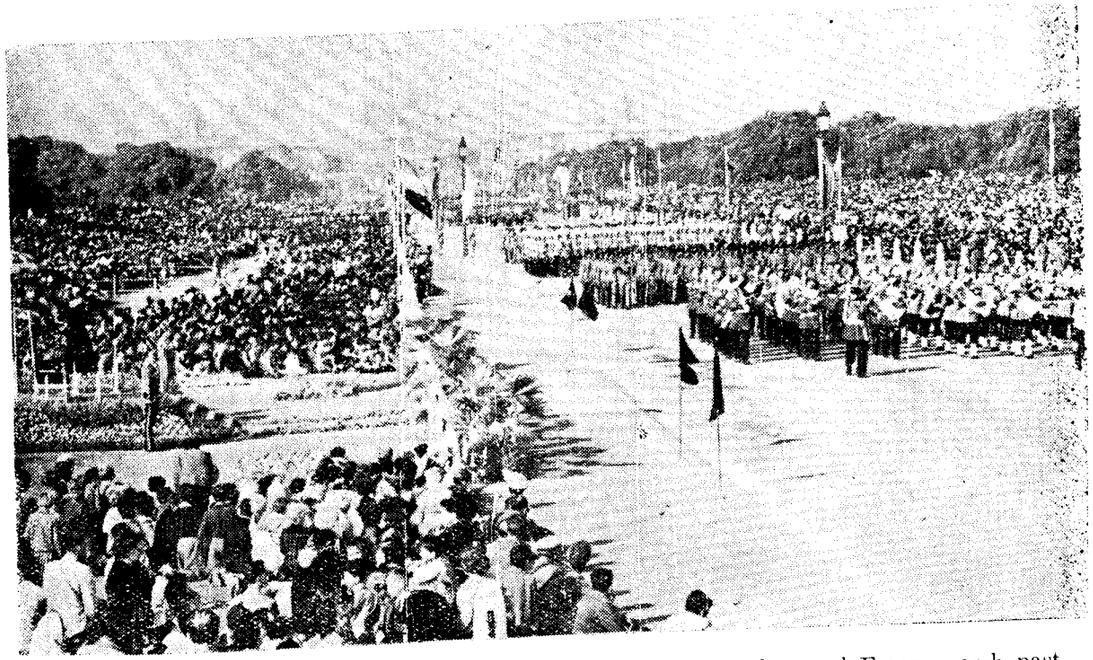
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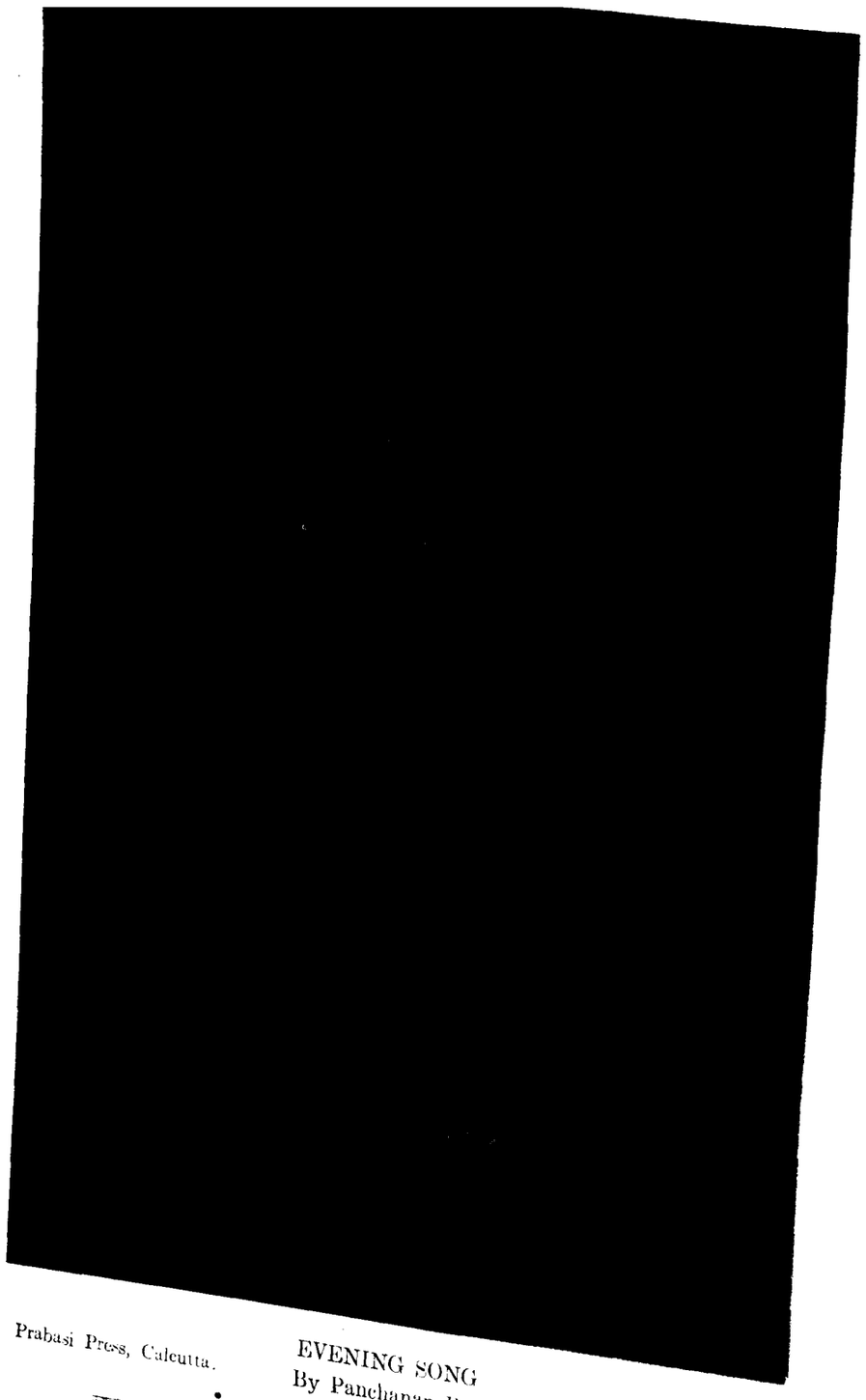
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The President, Dr. Rajendra Prasad took the salute at the Grand Armed Forces march past and the cultural pegeant at Rajpath in the capital on the Republic Day



Mr. Einar Gerhardson, Prime Minister of Norway (2nd from left), Mr. Halvard Lange, Foreign Minister of Norway (extreme left), Mrs. Gerhardson (2nd from right) and Mrs. Lange (extreme right) visited the headquarters of the Government of India's Films Division in Bombay



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EVENING SONG
By Panchanan Roy

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NOTES

The New Congress President

We extend our most cordial felicitations to Shrimati Indira Gandhi on her being elected President of the Indian National Congress. And together with our greetings we send our heartfelt sympathies for this arduous and onerous task being imposed on her. For, under the present conditions the task of regenerating the moribund Congress is truly superhuman. Indeed, it might well be compared to one of the Labours of Hercules, namely, the cleaning of the Augean Stables. Still, given the clear understanding of the problems that beset the Congress these days and the will and determination to carry on with the work, left unfinished by Gandhiji, much more might be achieved by her than by any of the Presidents that have occupied the once hallowed seat, in the Post-Independence Era.

In the past the Congress President was the torch-bearer of the children of the motherland, the leader of the people in all their hopes and aspirations. More and over the President was the last Tribunal of Appeal in all cases of injustice and suffering of the peoples of the nation, when all other channels of redress against evil or wrongdoing had failed. The oppressed and the helpless, when they were unable to obtain justice or succour from those who were appointed to administer the same, could readily approach the Congress to espouse their cause, without any reference to the attitude of the mighty regarding the question.

Above all the Congress had only Truth as its supreme consideration, and not any party tenets or governmental dictum.

The Congress today has become an ancillary body-politik to the Congress Government. It has no separate existence, body or soul, beyond what is provided and regulated by the tinsel Caesars of New Delhi. And herein lie the seeds of the degeneration that has set in that once beloved and respected organisation.

Shibboleths and slogans are the order of the day, with grievous results where moral values and considerations are concerned. If you want help, redress or sustenance, you get a homily instead, with a veiled threat of worse to come, or else a rebuke for being selfish while the mighty are engrossed with the task of "Nation-building." And ninety-nine times out of a hundred the homily comes from a self-seeking and corrupt politician who is not only lining his own pockets but is also providing a fat living for his unworthy relations and satellites.

The Congress in order to justify its existence now must purge itself of all these evils that have accrued to it through its connections with the Administration and the party-conscious politicians that infest the legislatures.

The Government of today in this country is certainly of the People. But it is by the Party and, largely, for the Party. Therefore there is great need for a completely detached and unbiassed Congress to hear from the People and render unto them what Truth and Justice dictate.

Indira Gandhi, with her pure and serene upbringing in life and with her natural charm and freshness of outlook may achieve a lot. For the rest there is the Grace of the Supreme Arbiter. *Yatne krite yadi na siddhate ko atra dosha?*

posed land reform. During all these twelve years of independence, India could not solve her agrarian problem on the solution of which depends the future shape of her economic policy. The zamindari abolition has no doubt liquidated the intermediaries. But today there has cropped up another problem of great significance and that is the problem of big peasantry, which is certainly the outcome of the legislative measures undertaken in various States of India following the abolition of the zamindari system. The big peasants have substituted the old zamindars and the social ownership of lands still remains in the offing.

The Nagpur Congress resolution states that the future agrarian pattern should be that of co-operative farming in which the land will be pooled for joint cultivation, the farmers continuing to retain their property rights, and getting a share from the net produce in proportion to their land. Further, those who actually work on the land, whether they own the land or not, will get a share in the proportion to the work put in by them on the joint farm. As a first step, prior to the institution of joint farming, service co-operatives are to be organised throughout the country. These stages should be completed within a course of three years, In order to remove uncertainty regarding land reforms and give stability to the farmer, ceilings should be fixed on existing and future holdings and legislation to this effect, as well as for the abolition of intermediaries, should be completed by the end of 1959.

The ceiling on land holdings will not, however, mean any ceiling on income, as it is expected that by intensive cultivation as well as by additional occupations, rural income will rise. Such surplus land should [illegible] in the panchayats and should be [illegible]aged through co-operatives consisting [illegible]less labourers. The vested interests [illegible] on the land sector stand in [illegible] idea of ceiling and the [illegible]perative farming. [illegible] Governor of [illegible]riticism of [illegible]

meeting organised by the Delhi Historical Society recently, Shri Munshi said that the policy of co-operative farming adopted at Nagpur would create conditions favourable for a despotism entering our life on padded feet. He cites the examples of Yugoslavia where co-operative farming introduced by coercion has collapsed, and of Russia and China where collectivism has been introduced at an enormous cost of human life and complete destruction of human values.

There are at present nearly 2 crores of landless peasants working as labourers and the ceiling on land holdings will release surplus lands which may be directed towards distribution to the landless peasants. China today is attempting to solve her land problem as well as food problem by a single stroke of agrarian reform on the basis of complusory co-operatives. Justice is a relative term and the teeming number of the landless peasants may well complain today that they are subject to a perpetual injustice in that while they are reduced to a position of destitution, a section of big landholders enjoy the benefit of large holdings and exploit the labours of others in the name and protection of social liberty, which is in reality anything but liberty. The land policy should be such as will gradually reduce disparities in wealth and income, eliminate exploitation, provide security for tenants and workers and finally promise equality of status and opportunity to different sections of population, on the basis of work and responsibility.

But the wisdom of vesting the management of the farming co-operatives in the village panchayats will be doubted. The panchayats are the other name for financial mismanagement or insolvency. The payment of compensation to the former landholders will also form another formidable difficulty in the way of taking away surplus lands from the big owners. The compensation money in the ultimate analysis will have to come from the co-operatives themselves by way of fair rents to the panchayats. The mere redistribution of surplus lands to the landless peasants [illegible] output, unless

adequate financial provisions are also made available through agricultural banks or co-operative societies.

External Assistance for India

The post-war practice of rendering economic assistance to a country is a great innovation in international diplomacy. It has covered a variety of purposes, patterns and agencies. The Marshall Plan which enabled economic restoration of the post-war Western Europe may be regarded as the pioneer in the field of international economic diplomacy. The Bretton Woods twins have been established also on the basis of giving financial assistance to the countries which need it for their developmental purposes. The adoption of the Point Four programme by the USA has lent a great momentum to this practice of giving assistance to the needy countries. The latest arrival in the field of economic diplomacy is that of the USSR. The security and profit incentive offered in the old days of colonialism facilitated the free flight of risk capital. But since the end of the second world war, instability and insecurity loom large in the political horizon of the world and for that reason the free flow of finance-capital has been much halted. Further there has been a changed outlook in the pattern of private capital investment today. The movement of capital outside the country is more or less controlled in almost all the countries of the world and the State now insists on the ploughing back of productive capital to the home industries of a country.

The inflow of private development capital is now being substituted by economic assistance from foreign States and international institutions. India has received a large amount of foreign assistance from different countries of the world and also international institutions. Apart from financial assistance, India has also received technical assistance from many countries and international institutions. Financial assistance has come from the countries like the USA, the U.K., the USSR, West Germany, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, Norway and Japan. International agencies like the International Monetary Fund, the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, the FAO, the UNICEF, UNESCO, etc., have also rendered assistance to India. Private agencies, like, the Ford Foundation and the Rockefeller Foundation, private U.S. and U.K. banks have also provided funds for the procurement of capital goods and technical experts.

The total foreign assistance so far received by India by way of loans and grants from the beginning of the First Five-Year Plan, comes to Rs. 1,027,43 crores. This includes the additional credit of $100 million from the U.S. Development Loan Fund for which an agreement was made in December 1958. In addition to these loans and grants there has been an authorisation for a loan of Rs. 32.47 crores under P.L. 665 and Rs. 345.89 crores under P.L. 480 for purchase of U.S. surplus agricultural commodities. Taking these also into account the total amount of external assistance authorised thus aggregates to Rs. 1,373.32 crores. Of this total amount, the loans (other than the credits under P.L. 665 and P.L. 480) accounts for Rs. 845.85 crores and grants for Rs. 181.58 crores. The lons disbursed up to the end of March 1958 by the donor countries come to Rs. 265.89 crores and grants to Rs. 131.67 crores. The balance of authorised funds available to India amounts to Rs. 629.87 crores.

The highest amount of loans and grants has come from the USA, totalling about Rs. 682.46 crores. This amount is on the U.S. Government account. Besides, India has also received loans for Rs. 5.33 crores from the private U.S. banks and Rs. 71.43 crores from the U.S. Export-Import Bank. The total U.S. assistance thus amounts to Rs. 759.22 crores. In pursuance of the Point Four Programme, the Government of India and the U.S. Government entered into the Indo-U.S. Technical Co-operation Agreement on 5th January 1952. The agreement provides for the execution of agreed projects in co-ordination with India's Five-Year Plan. The total amount received under the T.C.A. is Rs. 588.91 crores. This

agreement was extended in 1957 on a long-term basis. In 1955, a new feature was introduced in the T.C.A. and it was that the major part of the aid should be in the form of loan and that fifty per cent of the development assistance should be taken in the shape of U.S. surplus agricultural commodities. With effect from April 1958, a new concept of aid has been introduced in the T.C.A. A Development Loan Fund has been set up and the financial assistance is extended to the private sector also. The entire aid is to be in the form of loans carrying interest at the rate of 3 to 4 per cent and repayable in not more than forty years either in local currency or in dollars at the borrowers' option. The total amount of loan sanctioned in 1958-59 is $175 million. Besides, an allocation of $20 million has been made from the U.S. President's Asian Economic Development Fund for the Orissa Iron Ore project.

Apart from the Technical Co-operation Aid from the USA, there is also loan assistance from the Agricultural Commodities Agreement between these two countries. The agreement under Public Law, signed in August 1956, provides for the sale of surplus agricultural commodities to the value of $302.90 million during the three years ending 30th June 1959. In 1958 several other Commodities Agreements were made between India and the USA. In 1958, $238.8 million were allocated for India for the purchase of foodgrains. Out of the loan of $234 million under the first agreement, a sum of $55 million has been reserved for re-lending to industries in the private sector. The Refinance Corporation of India has been established for this purpose. India is also purchasing surplus agricultural commodities from the USA under P.L. 665 against payment in equivalent rupee amount. The rupee equivalent is deposited in the U.S. Government account in India. From this account a loan of Rs. 7 crores has been given for Rihand Valley Development.

Russia comes next in order of the assistance rendered. The total amount of loan authorised up to the end of March 1956, stood at Rs. 123.33 crores. Of this amount disbursements were made only for Rs. 15.98 crores. The balance amount is available for further disbursements. Under the 1954-55 agreement, Russia agreed to supply equipment and structural steel work worth Rs. 63.07 crores for the Bhilai steel plant. Russia has offered further credits to the extent of Rs. 60 crores to be utilised from 1959 onwards to finance: (1) heavy machine building works, (2) mining machinery plant, (3) power station at Neyveli, (4) optical glass factory, and (5) development of Korba coal fields. Russia has also given grants for Rs. 76 lakhs in the form of agricultural machinery for the establishment of a State mechanical farm at Suratgarh.

West Germany has given a loan for Rs. 75 crores to finance the Rourkela steel project. The British Government has agreed to give a loan for Rs. 20 crores (£15 million) to finance a part of the Durgapur steel plant. In addition, a consortium of British banks has agreed to give a loan of £11.5 million for the same project. Between 1951 to 1958 India has received financial assistance from Canada for about Rs. 66.68 crores. This includes a grant of $30 million and the remaining amount is in the form of loans. In addition to this amount, Canada has allocated a sum of $17 million as aid during the year 1958-59. The Canadian assistance has been for varied purposes ranging from the Trombay Reactor to locust control and Mayurakshi project and many others.

Excluding foreign Governments, the largest amount of external assistance has come from the IBRD. India has received from the World Bank loans for an aggregate amount of $507.09 million (or Rs. 241.27 crores). Of this amount, $315.82 million (Rs. 150.39 crores) were for the public sector and $191.27 million (or Rs. 91.08 crores) were for the private sector.

The President's Address

Referring to the practice of the presentation of the President's Address at the opening of the Budget Session of Parliament, the Delhi *Hindusthan Standard* in a characteristically incisive editorial article

exposes some of the funnier sides of the matter.

The newspaper writes:

"Every time the budget session of Parliarent opens, the question must occur to many minds why the first citizen of the State and holder of its highest office should be condemned to perform the periodical rite of reading a paper which would be among the dullest of compositions likely to be heard in the two Houses during the whole year. There could be no greater contrast than between the brilliance of the ceremonial glitter that marks the occasion of the opening of Parliament and the drabness of the speech with its numbered paragraphs—this session's had 54—that is put in the mouth of the central figure—the President. It is not of couse the fault of the President: it is rather a built-in misfortune of the office. Built-in, because it need not necessarily have been there. The mechanism of the King's (or the Queen's) speech in Britain has a history of development which began when the monarch reigned as well as had shares in the other two functions—ruling and governing—of sovereignty. In the course of that development it has gathered about it, in the characteristic British fashion, a few legal fictions. But 'our' President is without any history of this kind. In Britain, history imparts some sense to the legal fiction but here, in its copy-book version, it accentuates a feeling of unreality, of a passing show. We are bound by no history like that of the British and it was not necessary in our Constitution—that is, if we did not rely so heavily on copying— to impose on the head of the State this kind of function of a mouthpiece. It should have been possible to think out some other device that could serve the purpose of this particular constitutional mechanism and yet save the President from the necessity of reciting to an audience in the grandest setting a paper which nobody could make sound inspiring or exciting or even interestingly readble.

"That again is no fault of those who compose it. It is in the thing's nature to be like that. When we look at this Address we have the vision of an endless series of papers and files—one behind or below another—that have yielded this extract. We can see with the mind's eye the flow of files rise higher and higher as the distance grows between the ground level of fact and the top reaches of authority. Regarding some of the matters in the Address, it may be like viewing a star at a distance of thousands or millions of light-years: that is, we may be seeing what, for ought we know, may no more be in existence, having passed away or been changed in form. Take, for instance, para. 32 of the President's Address which refers to progress made in the rehabilitation of refugees. After stating—about the displaced persons from West Pakistan—the hope 'that the last stage of rehabilitation, that is, payment of compensation, will be completed during this year,' the Address says:

"'In regard to displaced persons from East Pakistan, about sixty thousand have moved from camps to rehabilitation sites during the past year. It has been decided to close the camps in West Bengal before the end of July this year. It is expected that the remaining thirty-five thousand displaced families will have moved by that time from the camps either for work and rehabilitation in Dandakaranya, or to rehabilitation sites in other States.'

"But is it not that the official plan which aimed at closing down all camps in West Bengal by July of this year also envisaged the transfer of a sizable first batch of refugees to Dandakaranya in last November? It seems the writer of the Address either did not notice or preferred to ignore that transfer operations are already about three months behind schedule. In the above passage the use of two kinds of units (sixty thousand 'persons' and thirty-five thousand 'families') in two consecutive sentences looks like a showman's trick that could be amusing if it did not occur in an Address to be delivered by the President."

The Congress President

Referring to the election of Mrs. Indira Gandhi as the President of the Indian National Congress the *Hitavada* writes:

"The election of Mrs. Indira Gandhi, as the Congress President, was a foregone conclusion since the top leaders of the Congress who had assembled in Nagpur during the Congress session had informally agreed that her candidature should be heavily supported. Unfortunately, Congress leadership at the second division level is so weak that no person could be considered as completely suitable for the job. It was expected at one time that the Congress Presidentship would be handed over to a leader from the South but such leaders as were available for the candidature were not free from controversy. Mrs. Indira Gandhi has been a devoted silent social worker and has been an immense and priceless asset to her distinguished father in the discharge of his many duties. She is in her forties and therefore has the requisite energy for applying her mind to the work of the Congress organisation. The fact that she is the President will ensure that there will be no serious differences of opinion between the Prime Minister and the Congress organisation which is absolutely essential for the efficient functioning of the organisation at a time when its supremacy in the country has been seriously challenged in many States."

The special correspondent of the *Vijil* at Madras however writes that the reluctance of Shri Kamaraja to spare Shri Subramaniam was dictated more by the loss in recent years, of real power and prestige on the part of Congress President as was evidenced in the scant respect shown to Shri Dhebar during the Nagpur Congress, than for any other reason.

Congress Dissensions

The *Bombay Chronicle* writes editorially:

"While squabbles in the Uttar Pradesh Congress have gained prominence of late, news comes that in another 'problem State' things are no better. If five of Rajasthan's top Congress leaders have been censured by the party's Disciplinary Action Committee for infringing the procedure laid down for redressing grievances against Congress Governments in the States, the action amply indicates the acute form of factional rivalries and group quarrels in the State, a situation aggravated by the implication of three former Chief Ministers of the State in the 'bad example' set in this matter. The offence of the five Congress leaders was to issue in September last a joint statement to the A.-I.C.C. in which 'serious allegations' were, made against the Sukhadia Ministry. The matter, it is pointed out, could have been first addressed to the Rajasthan P.C.C. or the Chief Minister and should not have been referred in the first instance over their heads to the A.-I.C.C. Apart from the wrong procedure adopted, the Congress leaders seem to have erred grievously in the charges against the Ministry; for the A-I.C.C. found them baseless while inquiring into specific instances of nepotism and corruption alleged. This clean bill, more than a technical breach of procedure, lends gravity to the conduct of the 'rebels.' Yet all the punishment meted out to them has been censure after 'disapproval' of their behaviour. This is, indeed, a radical departure from the policy of 'wholesome purges' for party indiscipline initiated some months ago and the 'stringent measures' decided on to rid the organisation of various evils.

"Perhaps, knowing the background of Congress affairs in Rajasthan, the A.-I.C.C. did not want to castigate the party's dissidents in stronger terms than it did. Last year, when the Rajasthan P.C.C. launched 'a purification campaign' to rid itself of 'undesirable elements' in its midst, the move was considered a salutary one in toning up the organisation. That rankling evils existed in the entire administration was a fact which was above dispute. Mr. K. M. Subramanian, I.C.S., Chief Secretary to the State Government, gave up his charge after being a year or so in office as a disappointed and frustrated man. He was always at loggerheads with the Ministers and officials and had to leave his post ultimately. Thus, what is facilely assumed as a matter for Congress Party belongs in real fact to the whole administrative and political set-up in the State. The administration, especially, is a jungle growth, and expenditure on it has reached unbelievable heights—50 per cent of the total revenue, as compared with one-fifth of the revenue in Madras and one-fourth in Andhra. Naturally complaints of abuses have been mounting. As an instance, expenditure on Government vehicles increased from nearly Rs. 10 lakhs in 1953 to nearly Rs. 23 lakhs in 1957. Judging from the trend, it should be more now. An Economy Committee, appointed in October 1957, has yet to give its findings. Evidently, many of the ills attributed to Congress are endemic in the whole State, and unless these are remedied, the party cannot hope to set its house in order."

Progress in Steel Industry

The commencement of production of iron and steel in the two newly-established steel plants in the public sector in India marks a definite stage in India's industrial development. The second Plan target for steel production envisages a rise from 1.2 million tons in 1956 to 6 million tons in 1961. This target will be achieved through expansion and modernisation of the existing three steel plants and new production in the three State-owned steel plants in the public sector. The total cost of the three State-owned steel plants will be Rs. 439 crores and the steel plants represent the largest enterprises of their kind so far undertaken by the State. The cost of Rourkela has been estimated at Rs. 170 crores, that of Bhilai at Rs. 131 crores and of Durgapur at Rs. 138 crores. In addition, another Rs. 120 crores will have to be spent for townships, ore mines and quarries, power supply facilities, etc. The total cost of these three steel plants will thus come to Rs. 559 crores.

The Bhilai plant is being established with the technical and financial assistance of Russia. The main plant and equipment worth about Rs. 63 crores has been supplied by the USSR on credit repayable in twelve annual instalments and the interest charge will be Rs. 2½ per cent per annum. The production capacity of the plant is one million tons of crude steel to be rolled into 770,000 tons of billets, rails and structuras. There will be 200,000 tons of rail and sleeper bars, 160,000 tons of heavy structurals, 260,000 tons of medium structurals, 150,000 tons of billet for re-rolling and 300,000 tons of foundry iron. The by-product plant will make use of 130 tons of tar per day. The by-products will include benzol, creosote, napthalene and other products. A fertiliser plant will also be set up here and it will produce 580,000 tons of nitro-limestone a year.

The Rourkela steel plant is being set up in co-operation with a German combine, Krupp and Demag, and has a capacity of one million tons of crude steel to be rolled into 720,000 tons of plates, sheets and strips. With a few additions the capacity of the plant can be raised to 1.3 milloin tons of finished steel and the ultimate target for this plant is two million tons a year. This plant will produce 200,000 tons of plate, 470,000 tons of hot and cold rolled sheets of various gauges, 50,000 tons of foundry iron. The by-products plant will utilise 130 tons of tar per day and produce creosote, napthalene and other products. A fertiliser plant is also being set up here to make use of the surplus nitrogen produced in the oxygen plant. It will produce 580,000 tons of nitro-limestone a year. For each of these plants 670 engineers and 6.300 skilled workers will be necessary. The West German Government has given a loan of Rs. 75 crores for the Rourkela plant for three years.

For the Durgapur steel plant the British Government has given a loan of £15 million (about Rs. 20 crores) and a syndicate of British banks has given a loan of £11.5 million. Each of these three plants will require about a million and a half tons of iron ore, a similar quantity of coal, half a million tons of limestone and half a million tons of other raw materials. Nearness of iron and coal is essential for a steel plant For Rourkela an iron ore mine is being developed about 50 miles away. Similarly a mine is also being developed for Bhilai For Durgapur, iron ore will come from the existing market sources. Coal for the

three plants will come from the existing collieries in Bokaro, Jharia and Raniganj fields. Necessary coal washeries are being set up.

The existing steel plants are also being expanded. The exapnsion scheme of the Tata steel plant is being designed to raise its production of finished steel from 750,000 tons to 1.5 million tons. The Government of India has given a special advance of Rs. 10 crores towards the modernisation and expansion programmes and they have also guaranteed two World Bank loans for 75 million and $32.5 million respectively. These loans are expected to cover a major portion of their foreign exchange requirements for the completion of two million tons programme. The Tata Iron and Steel Company has engaged an American firm of consulting engineers —Kaisers—to assist them in the expansion schemes.

The expansion of the Indian Iron and Steel Company is designed to increase their capacity from 300,000 to 800,000 tons of steel per annum and 400,000 tons of pig iron for sale. The expansion is expected to be completed by December 1959. The Government of India has given to the Company for their expansion programmes an interest-bearing loan of Rs. 7.9 crores and a special repayable advance of Rs. 10 crores. To meet the foreign exchange cost, the World Bank has advanced two loans of $30 million and $20 million respectively. These have been guaranteed by the Government of India. The International Construction Company, a British firm, has been appointed to assist the Indian Iron in their expansion schemes.

The Mysore Iron and Steel Works is also being expanded to produce steel from 0.03 million tons at present to 0.10 million tons a year. India today lags far behind in steel production to other countries. The U.S.A. produces about 120 million tons of steel a year, Soviet Russia produces 50 million tons, West Germany 25 million tons, Britain 22 million tons and India at present only 2 million tons. In India the per capita consumption of steel is also very low. The per capita annual consumption of steel in the USA is 625 kilogram, in West Germany it is 435 kg., in U.K. 368 kg., in France 233 kg., and 215 kg. in the USSR. It is only 9kg., in India today. By 1975 India is expected to produce 35 million tons of steel per year. But China is making rapid strides in steel production and it is apprehended that China will before long surpass India in steel production.

The basic raw materials for steel industry are iron ores, coking coal, limestone, manganese and refractory materials. India is estimated to have the largest reserves of high-grade iron ores in the world, her reserves being one and a half times that of USA and USSR put together. By 1970, the USA will have to import about 40 per cent of her annual iron ore requirements. The USA has very little reserves of manganese. The USSR has the largest reserves of manganese in the world, but her reserves of high-grade iron ores are not very large. Between the USA, USSR and India, India is better placed in respect of the necessary raw materials for steel industry. India has large reserves of iron and manganese. Her reserves of coking coal are limited, but with the help of modern technological progress in the use of semi-coking and non-coking coals, there will be no shortage of cocking coal for India for some decades to come.

Kenya in Trouble Again

The British policies in Kenya were meeting with increasing hostilities on the part of Asians and Africans. All the Indian and African elected members of the Kenya Legislative Council recently writhdrew from participation in the work of the Council as a protest against the British Government's refusal to take timely steps to hold a round table conference where constitutional reforms could be discussed.

Referring to the British Government's policies in Kenya the *Hindu* in an editorial article writes:

"That conditions in Kenya are tense has been noted by observers. Land reform has been undertaken in the form of consolidation of holdings but the Africans resent the fact that the best lands have been reserved for the Europeans. Industrialisation is going on, resulting in Africans crowding cities. African purchasing power has increased considerably and the tribal economy and social set-up are fast breaking up. African politicians, with new ideas and ideals, have replaced tribal chieftains. Elected Africans have refused to accept office under the Lyttelton 'reforms' and Mr. Lennox-Boyd's later tinkering with the political set-up has not pleased Africans and Asians. The African leaders asked for fifteen more seats in the Legislature but Mr. Lennox-Boyd was willing to give only six more. The whole trouble is that the Government, run by the Europeans in effect, does not wish to introduce genuine democracy into Kenya. A special correspondent points out in the *New Statesman* how the Lennox-Boyd concessions 'preserved European control of the Executive Council, counterbalanced direct African representation by instituting cross-bench seats to be elected by he whole Legislative Council and created a Council of State to prevent discriminatory legislation.' The Africans demand their due and would prefer direct negotiations with the British Government rather than with the one in Kenya which is run by the European settlers and which refuses to consider any further change at present.

The boycott of the Legislature now announced brings matters to a head. The multi-racial system of government is, no doubt, a good ideal: but, considering the fact that Africans form the overwhelming majority of the people of Kenya, it is but proper that their opinions should prevail in the matter of constitutional reform. The Europeans and Asians must accept this fact: and the Asians have now done so. The European **bloc** in the Kenya legislature holds up all progress."

Reforms in Belgian Congo

Africa is moving towards independence in all its sectors. The following news from Belgium is appended for record:

Brussels, January 13.—The Belgian Government today announced plans to make the Belgian Congo "a democracy capable of deciding its independence," by instituting elections and a "skeleton" Parliament.

Local elections will be held for Arfican Councillors in towns and most rural areas by the end of 1959 and they will elect in 1960 a Provincial Council to form the "skeleton" of a Chamber of Representatives.

This was announced here today by M. Gaston Eyskens, the Prime Minister, during a Government declaration of policy to Parliament on the Congo's political future.

"Belgium intends to organize in the Congo a democracy capable of exercising the prerogative of sovereignty and of deciding its independence," M. Eyskens said. The power of decision would progressively be left to the inhabitants of the Congo in ever wider fields.

The new communal and rural Councillors would be elected by universal suffrage, and the inhabitants of the Congo would become politically incorporated in the Congolese community with equality of rights and duties.

These Councillors, together with the existing city Councillors, will elect the majority of the provincial Councillors, and later, General Councillors.

A General Council of the Congo and a "skeleton" Chamber of Representatives, would take the place of the present Government Council. A Legislative Council, or "skeleton" Senate, would also be created.

King Baudouin announced in a broadcast speech today that Belgium intended to lead the people of the Congo to "independence in prosperity and peace."

King Baudouin, who said he was speaking to the peoples of both Belgium and the Congo, declared: "Far from imposing all-European solutions on the Congo people, we intend to favour original adaptations."

A large degree of decentralization, together with a rapid extension of the electoral system, and the abandonment of all discrimination between whites and blacks would enable the development of

the Belgian Congo to go ahead.

The King's speech analysed projected reforms following the riots in Leopoldville early this month when 42 Africans were killed and over 250 people injured.

A unit of 240 Belgian paratroops has been sent to Leopoldville, the Defence Ministry announced here yesterday.

The Central African correspondent of the Johannesburg evening newspaper *The Star* said in a despatch from Leopoldville that, according to reliable sources, the number of Africans killed in the three days of rioting from January 4, was about 500.

Indo-U.S. Relations

The following extract is appended for record. It is from a staff report to the *Statesman* of January 14:

Mr. Ellsworth Bunker, the U.S. Ambassador to India, said, at a Press conference in Calcutta on Tuesday, that every country having any collective agreement with America must undertake, as Pakistan did, not to use arms for aggressive purposes.

He added that the U.S.A. was not becoming more closely associated with the Baghdad Pact. No new U.S. military commitments were envisaged. The association with the Pact was only reaffirmation of America's intention to resist aggression.

The U.S. Ambassador said that India and America were the two largest democracies in the world. They had differences but many more similarities than differnces. Both were trying to make progress through democratic process under democratic institutions. The future of democracy in the world depended to a great degree on the working together of the two Governments and the two peoples.

One of the problems America faced in newly independent countries in South-East Asia was that because of the previous colonial status or because of traditions, roots of democracy did not go very deep. With the first adverse wind, they withered. He believed all those countries, including Pakistan, which had given up democracy would return to constitutional government and strengthen democratic institutions.

The American Government was devoted to peace. It had no aggressive intention against anyone. To achieve peace was a slow and long process. No matter how long it took America would explore every avenue and opportunity to relax tension in the world. It was always ready to talk with anyone interested in bringing about peaceful conditions. It wanted to see that world peace was safeguarded.

America, Mr. Bunker said, would like to settle all its problems with Communist China through peaceful negotiations. A series of talks between the two countries' representatives had been held in Geneva and Warsaw. These would be resumed.

The U.S. Ambassador endorsed the view expresed by Mr. Chagla in a speech in New York a few days ago that relations between the United States and India had never been more cordial. This feeling of friendship, said Mr. Bunker, should be not only maintained but strengthened. "We have our differences, of course. What friends do not have their differences?", he asked.

The New Congress President

The following is the news-report about the election:

New Delhi, February 2.—Mrs. Indira Gandhi was today declared elected Congress President in succession to Mr. U. N. Dhebar She will assume office on February 8 at a special ceremony to be held at the A.I.C.C. headquarters here.

According to an offical statement issued by the Returning Officer, Mr. Sadiq Ali, the names of Mr. S. Nijalingappa of Mysore and Mr. Kumbha Ram Arya of Rajasthan were also proposed. But both of them had withdrawn their candidature.

Apart from Mr. Arya's desire to withdraw his name, the statement said, his nomination papers were found out of order on scrutiny. Thus Mrs. Gandhi was left as the only candidate in the field.

Mrs. Gandhi, who is 42, will be the fourth woman President of the Congress. The other three were Mrs. Annie Besant (Calcutta, 1917) Mrs. Sarojini Naidu (Cawnpur, 1925) and Mrs. Nellie Sengupta (Calcutta 1933).

As Mr. Dhebar is retiring in the middle of a term of two years, Mrs. Gandhi will be President for only about nine months. According to Mr. Sadiq Ali, this will not debar her constitutionally from seeking re-election at the time of the next Congress session.

Except for Orissa, West Bengal and Assam all other Pradesh Congress Committees had proposed Mrs. Gandhi's name. While Orissa and Assam abstained from proposing any canadidate, some delegates from West Bengal nominated Mr. Nijalingappa at the Nagpur session.

The President's Exhortation

The press report of the President's speech at the opening of the Indian School of Public Administration is as follows:

January, 31.—The new three-storey building of the Indian Institute of Public Administration, on a six-acre plot in Indraprastha Estate, Ring Road, was opened by Dr. Prasad today.

The President, who also inaugurated the Indian School of Public Administration, said: "Without a human approach and a spirit of service, even the best trained administrator will fail to have the right attitude to the problems he is called upon to tackle."

Apart from efficiency, he added, a human approach to all problems and programmes that the administrator had to solve and implement was necessary.

"Administration, let it not be forgotten, is not an end in itself. It is essentially a means to an end, which is promoting the welfare of the community through orderly management of day-to-day affairs and smooth disposal of work, whether in office or in the field," Dr. Prasad said.

He felt that administrators must conduct themselves in a manner which inspired the people's confidence and cooperation as public administration in a vast country like India had a deep bearing on the happiness and welfare of the people. The study of public administration would be widely welcomed and he was happy that the Union Government should have taken the initiative in setting up the Institute, with which the State Governments, academic bodies and business associations were closely associated.

Public administration, the President pointed out, was a "pragmatic science" and its principles reflected the spirit of the age and the condition of society. "Today we have reached a stage when the smooth or defective working of administration, whether at the Governmental or business level, is bound to be reflected in the affairs of the people. Public opinion is thus the material on which to build, to correct and to reshape administration."

Dr. Prasad expressed the hope that care would be taken to ensure that there was no duplication and overlapping in the work of the Institute and the Administrative Staff College in Hyderabad, set up through non-Governmental effort.

Pandit Nehru's Socialism

We append below a report of Pandit Nehru's speech on January 30, at Delhi:

Jan. 30.—Mr. Nehru on Friday warned the people against a "mounting idiocy" similar to that which caused the assassination of Gandhiji 11 years ago. "It may not be to kill, but it is vitiating the atmosphere of the country," he added.

Addressing a public meeting at Ramlila Grounds in Delhi, convened by the Delhi Pradesh Congress Committee to observe the 11th death anniversary of Gandhiji, Mr. Nehru said it was ironical that the week's Republic Day festivities should be followed by January 30—a date which "to us" was a grim reminder of the danger of raising slogans that were now out-of-date and belonged to a remote past.

The Primer Minister devoted his 70-minute speech to a "straight talk" to the people who, he thought were vitiating the atmosphere by running down the public sector, misrepresenting facts, and telling the people that the latest land reforms proposed by the Government were leading the country towards "despotism."

"This is no time for beating about the bush," he said and added: "We have made it clear time and again that we have to establish Socialism and democracy in this country. The decisions we took at Nagpur mark an important, though natural, stage in our march towards this goal. Not to take these steps would amount to a betrayal of the people by the Congress."

Of the 42 Congress sessions he had attended in his life—"and this shows I am growing old now"—the Nagpur session was one of the most momentous. It had decided two things. First, that the size of the Third Plan must be large and, secondly, that land should be cultivated on a co-operative basis.

Defending the first step, he said a big country could not make headway with a small Plan. "We have to catch up not only with the progress that has already been made by other countries but also to keep abreast of the leaps of progress they are making every day." Critics of the Plan were unconscious of this fast-changing world and were raising "old-fashioned slogans." Not to catch up with the world meant accepting defeat. The Plan, he said, had at the same time to keep pace with our increasing population, about which we must do something." It had also to open more employment opportunities.

Defending the second step, he said that "we cannot go on depending on others for our food needs. We have to be self-sufficient not only for our present needs but also for our future needs, when our population will be larger. The steps we have taken should help us to achieve self-sufficiency in food during the next two or three years." Scientific methods of increasing food production were beyond the means of the individual farmer and could be applied only on a collective basis.

Mr. Nehru's speech was punctuated by numerous sarcastic references to newspapers and newspapermen. For about a year now, he said, it had become the fashion with them to criticize everything that the Government did.

Turning to the international scene, Mr. Nehru said that violence in inter-State relations had reached such an extreme that it had now become futile to use it. Thus, indirectly, Gandhiji's theory on the futility of using violence to settle disputes had been upheld. "A big country which goes to war can destroy the world. It cannot win the war."

Mr. Nehru added that even "small wars" should be ruled out, since a "small war" could touch off a big war. He also did not like the idea of nuclear tests. Anything could lead to a war.

India, he added, was determined to follow a policy of peace. The country's stand on Goa was an illustration of this determination. Goa belonged to India and sooner or later would come to it. "We will not allow even an inch of our soil to be in foreign possession, but we don't want to take it back by force."

The only country in the world with which India's relations were not as happy as they ought to be was Pakistan. But, he added, eventually the two countries would have to resolve their differences and live together.

He did not wish to comment upon the recent changes in Pakistan but, on principle, he was opposed to military rule anywhere in the world. He, however, welcomed the recent land reforms in that country, which previous Governments had failed to introduce and which had been introduced in India years ago.

Mathai's Letter

We append below for record the texts of these highly controversial letters to Pandit Nehru.

The following is Mr. Mathai's letter to Mr. Nehru (according to P.T.I.):

"I have already placed before you clippings from certain Communist newspapers and from two other journals which normally specialize in sensationalism. In these Press write-ups, which are couched in not very elegant language there are references which are not very flattering to me.

"You do not personally need explanations in regard to the allegations because you have been aware of the facts. Nevertheless, I consider it appropriate to state them in this letter.

"In so far as the trust is concerned, Rajkumari Amrit Kaur has written to you. The trust is named after my mother who died a few years ago. Rajkumari Amrit Kaur as well as my other personal friends had heard of my mother from me and when Rajkumari suggested that the trust might be named after my mother, I did not object. I shall confine myself to other specific personal attacks on me. I shall ignore flippant, silly and childish remarks as well as unworthy insinuations with the contempt they deserve.

"When I joined you in Allahabad in January, 1946, at a time when it was not monetarily profitable to do so, you were aware of my background. You were also generally aware of such personal assets as I possessed then—which enabled me to work in an honorary capacity indefinitely. You will also remember that I refused to work in the Government when you joined the interim Government on September 2, 1946. When Independence came on August 15, 1947, you asked me to work with you in the Government also. I was not at all enthusiastic about it, because I felt that temperamentally I was not suited for governmental work. Also, being a bachelor, I had enough to live on and I was not in need of paid employment. Since you thought that my joining the Government would facilitate your work, I agreed to do so without payment. But you did not, as a matter of principle, approve of my not taking a salary.

"So, ever since then I have been a sort of ad hoc temporary Government employee much to my distaste. You will also remember that during these past several years I have requested you at least a dozen times to release me from governmental work. I have all along been staying in your house and my personal expenses have been extremely limited as I do not have to maintain a household establishment.

"I have always held the view and continue to hold the view that what I do with my money is my own business so long as I pay the taxes imposed by Parliament. I am not answerable to any one for it.

"Yes, of course, I bought an orchard with a fully furnished house in the Kulu valley early in 1952 from two Scottish sisters at a price of Rs. 1,20,000. Registration and other incidental expenses amounted to a little over Rs. 5,000. All this money came from personal assets I possessed before I joined you.

"Before I purchased the property in Kulu I informed you of my intention to do so both orally and in writing. I still have in my possession the detailed note I submitted to you then. After some time I found that it was difficult to manage the property efficiently unless I myself stayed on the spot—which was not possible. So I sold the property. It was bought by Morton and Company of Calcutta, a firm engaged in the manufacture of fruit preservatives and the like. The price I received was Rs. 1,25,000. All that has accrued to me in this transaction was a loss of a few hundred rupees, I should like to publicly declare that when I am a free man it is still my intention to acquire a suitable place in the Himalayan region which has irresistible attraction for me.

"The last allegation is that I have an insurance annuity policy. If the Communist friends had taken the trouble of asking me I would have gladly told them that I have more than one—I have two, in fact. The annual premia on these two policies amount to Rs. 18,290 and 62 nP. I had informed you some time ago in writing about these insurance policies. For the benefit of our Communist friends I might state that my personal nett income from my salary and invsetments, after payment of income-tax, etc., is approximately Rs. 27,500 per year. These figures will speak for themselves. In fact, I happen to have some small surplus savings every year. All these savings are invariably invested in the Government in some form or other.

"It is stated that my friendship with American circles is sometimes becoming far too conspicuous. This has amused me greatly. You are aware that I am not a social bird and I keep to my work. Americans, Russians and all others are my

friends and none my enemy. I have no capacity to compete with Communist friends in extra-territorial loyalties. Mine are rooted deeply to the Indian soil.

"I am inclined to believe that the scurrilous attack on me by Communist friends has a definite political motive. It seems to be clear that it is an indirect attack on you and the Government. I fear it is the beginning of an infantile political shift which so frequently takes place in the Communist Party. I am afraid some of our Congressmen fall victims to this nefarious game.

"You have more than one person to defend periodically and sometimes perpetually. I have no claim or right to join that distinguished company. I wish to be free to defend myself. In my present position it is not possible for me to do so. Therefore I beg you to allow me to terminate my association with the Government. After all I joined you long before you had anything to do with the Government, and perhaps I can still be of some little use to you outside the Government. In doing so I lose nothing but my chains—and this is a phrase the Communist friends will readily understand.

"I seek permission to release this letter of mine to the Press together with Rajkumari Amrit Kaur's letter to you. More than direct personal attacks it is the ugly rumours that I am concerned about. Let all our people know about it even though it is somewhat embarrassing to me to make public intimate personal details. A person like me who has had the great honour and privilege of working closely with you during the most momentous period in the history of our nation, should be prepared to stand in the sun for public gaze and I gladly and willingly submit myself to it. Thereafter I shall consider the question of taking such steps as are open to me against the newspapers which have published defamatory statements about me.

"I very much wanted to deal with this matter earlier, but I considered it proper to await your return to Delhi from Nagpur before taking any step.

"Fortunately, I still possess some strength to withstand attacks, but the ever-mounting tendency in our Parliament and our Press to attack public servants without caring to verify facts is having a devastatingly demoralizing effect. Under such deplorable conditions very few self-respecting persons will care to enter the Government service or public life.

"I do hope you will comply with my request. I am deeply grateful to you for all the indulgence you have shown me for 13 years. My love to you as always wherever I happen to be."

Letter from Rajkumari Amrit Kaur to the Prime Minister :

"I have seen, with a measure of surprise, some newspaper items about the Chechamma Memorial Trust of which I am the chairman. I should like to give you some background information about this trust, which is a public charitable trust registered under the Societies Registration Act.

"A few years ago some personal friends, whom I have known for a large number of years placed at my disposal certain sums of money (a little over Rs. 6 lakhs) to be spent at my discretion for specific humanitarian objects. I put these funds in a separate bank account to begin with. Later I decided to create a trust as I did not wish to continue holding the money. I, therefore, invited Mr. M. O. Mathai and Miss Padmaja Naidu to join as trustees. This was before Miss Padmaja Naidu became the Governor of West Bengal.

"Before Mr. Mathai consented to be a trustee, I know he consulted the Comptroller and Auditor-General about the propriety of his being a trustee. He was assured that there was no impropriety in any Government functionary being a trustee of a public charitable trust and that no Government permission was necessary for this. Nevertheless, he took the additional precaution of obtaining written formal permission from the Ministry of Home Affairs to become a trustee.

"I myself have for some time been a trustee of the Guru Nanak Engineering College and of the Gandhi Smarak Nidh

from its inception. Group Captain Leonard Cheshire has a trust in India for his 'homes' and I am a trustee of that also

"I take full responsibility for naming the trust. Chechamma stood in her life for what countless Indian women have stood for throughout the ages—devoted mothers of the race. I felt it would be a good thing to have an unknown name as a symbol of womanhood of which I, as an Indian woman, am proud. Furthermore, it is the objects of the trust that account and the money from the trust have to be spent for such objects as are declared as chairtable.

"I give below the objects of the trust:

(1) Grant of scholarships to students who, in the opinion of the trustees, deserve such scholarships for general and specialized education, research and educational travels.

(2) Grant of financial assistance to hospitals and other public institutions devoted to medical relief.

(3) Grant of financial assistance to persons wholly devoted to voluntary social service.

(4) Grant of financial assistance to institutions established for the purpose of advancing the welfare of women and children.

(5) Grant of financial assistance for writing and publishing books of historical and educational value.

"The Press write-ups give widely exaggerated accounts of the corpus of the trust. The total amount in the trust, including the money spent on acquiring the house property, is only Rs. 10,73,68,331. Again it is stated that 'Shri Shanti Prasad Jain and several Bombay businessmen' are among the donors. This is totally incorrect. I strongly repudiate the insinuation that Haridas Mundhra may have contributed to the trust. I should like to make it perfectly clear that I have accepted no contribution for trust from any person whom I have not known personally for the last 25 years.

"We have, so far, spent Rs. 25,000. This was given to an educational institution in Northern India devoted to the training of village women for constructive work. This was done on my initiative.

"The donation of the house property to the trust was made through me by a friend who has been known to me for a large number of years. My agreement with the donor was that the trust would reimburse the donor of the expenditure in connection with the transfer of the house property. This expenditure has amounted to approximately Rs. 75,000.

"It has, however, been pointed out to me that since the rent of the rather dilapidated house property is only Rs. 189-06 per month the acquisition of the house property has not been a sound proposition from the investment point of view because the bank interest on Rs. 75,000 would be much more than the rent. I also found it difficult to get the present tenant, who is a hair-dresser, to vacate the house in the normal way. For these reasons, the trust will be obliged to sell the house property at the best possible terms. It is, therefore, my intention to dispose of it.

"The responsibility for executing the gift deed was entirely the donor's. The trust is in no way responsible for it. However, I should like to point out that, according to the Wealth Tax Act, a house property is to be valued at twenty times its annual rental. On this basis the value of the house property donated to the trust comes to only Rs. 45,374-40. Presumably, the donor fixed the value of the property in the gift deed at Rs. 50,000 on the basis mentioned above. Anyhow, the trust cannot be held in any way responsible for it.

"As chairman of the trust I take the fullest responsibility for the administration of its funds. No money of the Trust can be spent without my personal approval. Mr. M. O. Mathai is not the managing trustee as has been stated in the Press write-ups.

"The accounts of the trust are audited by a firm of chartered accountants on the approved list of the Government.

"I have been noticing, with sorrow a gradual deterioration in our public life. People are attacked, charges are levelled and insinuations made without making the least effort to verify the facts

"In so far as certain personal attacks on Mr. M. O. Mathai are concerned he will no doubt deal with them.

"You are free to make such use of this letter as you deem proper."

The Cyprus Question

The following news item shows that at long last there seems to be a ray of hope regarding the solution of the Cyprus impasse:

Zurich, Feb. 11.—Greece and Turkey today ended their bitter feud over the future of Cyprus with an agreement which they will now ask Britain to back.

Their two Foreign Ministers were flying to London today to put before Mr. Selwyn Lloyd, the British Foreign Secretary, details of their plan which envisages the turbulent British Mediterranean colony as an independent republic.

Britain will maintain her land, sea and air bases there, but the island will never become either a part of Greece or Turkey.

A communique issued today after conclusion of the talks between the Greek and Turkish Premiers said the agreement was "sufficient to open the way for a solution of the Cyprus problem."

In Nicosia, Greek Cypriots said the "last word" must rest with the Archbishop. The island's 93,000 Turks were also reserving judgment until final details were known.

The following is an unofficial translation of the communique, which was published in French:

"The Prime Ministers of Greece and Turkey, Mr. Karamanlis and Mr. Menderes, assisted by their Foreign Ministers, Mr. Zorlu and Mr. Averoff, met in Zurich from February 5 to 11.

"During their talks, which were held in an atmosphere of sincere cordiality, they examined Greco-Turkish relations, whose evolution in the course of recent years has been the cause of common anxiety.

"A compromise agreement was finally reached in spite of considerable difficulties which this problem presents.

"The cause of the unity and welfare of Cyprus emerges victorious.

"The moment has come to inform the British Government of the results of the Greco-Turkish talks, which constitute the continuation of tripartite contacts inaugurated during the meetings of the three Foreign Ministers in Paris in December.

"Greece and Turkey, friends and allies of the U.K., do not hesitate to believe that an agreement between the three interested countries will lead to a final solution of the Cyprus question."

West Bengal Business Convention

We welcome the convention of West Bengal Businessmen as an indication of a new outlook. The convention was presided over by Sir Bijoy Prasad Singh Roy. We have no remarks to make at this stage.

The Chief Minister seemed to have disliked the flight of capital outside the State and in this context he made a particular reference to the establishment of a cement factory at Satna (MP), chemical factory near Banaras and a tyre manufacturing plant at Madras by capitalists from this State.

Dr. Roy, in his speech, said that though the problem of unemployment was more or less universal in West Bengal it had assumed an overwhelming proportion and had some peculiar characteristics. Here the problem not only affected the general masses but also the educated people. The increase in the percentage of education was not commensurate with the employment opportunities created. As a result, large number of people remained idle. But the problem was to be solved. They could not sit idle and allow the youths of Bengal to remain inactive.

In trying to solve the problem they should remember certain facts. Organised industry in West Bengal like jute, cotton textiles, tea etc. had, at present, in their employment roll larger percentage of people who did not belong to this State. At least 60 per cent of persons in such industries had come from outside. Then the private sector in this State seemed to be obsessed with big industries that were in existence here and are reluctant to make any fresh efforts to expand or to establish new industries. Rather, some of them were trying to establish new enterprises elsewhere.

But, Dr. Roy added, there was one point. There was a complaint about the labour trouble in West Bengal. He, however, did not believe in the contention that labour wos more troublesome here than at any other place. It might be that here they were a bit vocal, but definitely not worse than any other State.

Dr. Roy also held the people of this State responsible for the situation. Capital, in this State was very shy from the very beginning. The people from other States had left their homes to develop Bengal. The local rich people, it appeared to him, were a bit complacent and remained content with a certain percentage of interest they would get from their money invested in cash certificates or debenture loans.

Inaugurating the two-day session of the West Bengal Business Convention on Saturday in Calcutta, Sir Biren Mookerjee said that expansion of industrial activities was the most effective method for the creation of more employment.

In the coming months, said Sir Biren, opportunities for expansion would be immense in view of the increased supply of pig iron, steel, coal, electricity and other raw materials. All these should facilitate the expansion of existing industries and also the establishment of a number of new industries either as independent units or as ancillaries to the bigger industries.

Sir Biren said that in every democratic country business organisations played an important part. In India, with a vast population and a constitution based on adult suffrage, such organisations served a very useful purpose.

India, moreover, was on the threshold of an industrial revolution. In the last few years vast changes had taken place in the country's economy. Industrial production had shown an impressive increase.

The implementation of the Plans had greatly enlarged the scope for business activity, but at the same time, they had created fresh problems for them. The business men should, therefore, be organised effectively.

Continuing Sir Biren said that it was a matter of regret that although their economy had made considerable progress since the achievement of independence, the actual results in the shape of better living standards for the masses had not been up to expectations.

Consequently, there was a certain amount of frustration and discontent in the country. This was unfortunate, particularly for a State like West Bengal where there was a large percentage of literacy and a highly educated middle class. They were, therefore, to see to it that the sense of bitterness arising from widespread unemployment, particularly in the middle classes, was removed and that the difficult problems which confronted the State were solved as effectively as possible.

The provision of gainful employment to the people was one of the most urgent problems confronting the State, he said and he felt that business men should do their best to help solve this question.

Expansion of industrial activity was the most effective way of providing jobs to the unemployed for, when industry prospered, it would be followed by the enlargement of activities in the sphere of trade and commerce as well as transport and finance.

West Bengal, he said, had the vast scope of such expansion. "I believe, that if this process can be accelerated, it will greatly contribute to the solution of many difficulties confronting the State at present. But an expansion of industry naturally require that there shall be available men suited and willing to enter the industrial and commercial sphere.

"I would, therefore, appeal to the young men of the State to take the fullest advantage of these facilities and to come forward in increasing numbers to take to the business lines so that, apart from solving the problem of unemployment, it will be possible for them to contribute effectively to the economic prosperity of the State.

"In this connection, I would like to stress the need for a new outlook and approach on the part of our young men in regard to selection of their careers. So far, our middle class educated boys have been concentrating on desk jobs and with that end in view, they have been flocking to the colleges and universities to secure their degrees, only to be disillusioned and embittered when they find that there are not enough of these jobs offering.

"With growing industrialisation of the country there will be increasing demand

for technicians and operatives. More and more students should, therefore, go in for technical courses and not feel shy of operating machines and working with their hands. The people of Bengal have a natural aptitude for skilled work and I have no doubt in my mind that if they are once persuaded to take to these new vocations, they will prove themselves second to none in their art and skill."

Sir Bejoy said that a number of industrialists were eager to help the young men of West Benagl to start new enterprises both in the sphere of trade and industry. But for this purpose it was necessary to create a favourable atmosphere. Ancillary industries and trades could flourish only when the bigger industries prospered. But the heavy burden of taxation had a dampening effect in industrial circles. Neither at the individual nor at the corporate level were there enough savings left for investment purposes.

Continuing he said that the reduction of taxation to reasonable levels was only one aspect to the problem of finance for industrial expansion.

It was equally necessary that facilities should be provided to enable industries to obtain their requirements of finance through loans and advances on convenient terms.

The special financial institutions, such as the Industrial Finance Corporation of India, the State Finance Corporation and the Industrial Credit and Investment Corporation of India should so adjust their policy that a larger number of industries was able to take advantage of their services.

Sir Bejoy suggested that where a business man was able to find 25 per cent of the capital, it should be possible for these special institutions to provide the balance of 75 per cent. If this arrangement was brought into operation, it would greatly help the expansion of business activity.

Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar, who addressed the West Bengal Business Convention in Calcutta, referred to the question posed by Dr. Roy at the convention on Saturday why the private sector was starting new industries in other States. He said that the main cause of migration of industries from the State was the activities of trade union leaders who "overtreated trade unionism" for purely political reasons. He wished that the Chief Minister had told them about these labour leaders who took no part in the "labourious, serious and sometimes daring tasks the workers did." The activities of these leaders were responsible for pulling down the factories that the workers had built.

Sir Ramaswami said that industrialists had fallen on evil days and referred to criticisms of industrialists and businessmen. Such criticisms, he said, came from people who were ignorant of the texture of the country's economic life. Businesses should not tolerate unfair and irresponsible criticisms levelled against them. They must represent their problems before the Government, members of Legislatures and the public.

About shortages, Sir Ramaswami said that they occurred when supplies shrank. Malpractices in some business quarters had to be checked so that the whole community did not earn a bad name. It was their duty to expose such malpractices. He suggested publication of ex-factory prices of articles and the distributors' margin on them for the consumers' benefit.

Sir Ramaswami drew a sad picture of middle-class families and said that they were the hardest hit and were almost being wiped out. Educated but helpless middle class people were a pathetic sight in India. Giving an example of their plight, he said that one good *sari* in a middle class family served four to six women for outdoor wear. He also referred to the reluctance on the part of some refugees to leave West Bengal and said that the spirit of adventure for which Bengal had been well known was lacking in the truncated State.

POPULATION GROWTH AND FOOD SUPPLY IN INDIA

By Dr. S. CHANDRASEKHAR,
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The basic economic problem in India is one of finding a balance between the total available resources and the irreducible minimum needs of the population. There are several aspects to this population-resources question, but only the most important aspect, that of population growth and food supply, will be examined here. These are really two separate, although closely related, problems.

Let us look at the population problem. To begin with, what exactly do we mean by the population problem? Fortunately, we do not discuss any more, as we used to about twenty-five years ago, whether we have a population problem or not, and whether our country is over-populated or not. These are no longer academic questions. All thoughtful people now concede that we have population problem in the sense that there is an adverse ratio between our numbers and their basic needs on the one hand and the available and exploitable resources on the other.

The Standard of Living

That our present standard of living in terms of *per capita* consumption of goods and services is low needs no elaborate statistical demonstration because we can see the abject poverty all around us. The concept of a level or a standard of living has many and sometimes conflicting definitions. The lack of precision has been brought out in the definition, "A standard of living is a level of comfort which someone likes to have or hopes to have or thinks he ought to have." Fortunately, we need not be so vague as this, for we know today what the basic requirements in terms of food, clothing, housing, educational and medical facilities are for doing a day's productive work and leading happy and satisfied lives. There are here two schools of thoughts. One believes in what may be called the ideology of poverty or euphemistically "simple living and high thinking." It is the people of this school who are always talking of going back to the village or something or other, or tightening one's belt or missing a meal, etc. Frankly I am not in sympathy with this school for it is ridiculous to have poverty as a national ideal and secondly the average man cannot tighten his belt any further for there are no more holes left on the belt. The second school of thought believes in what I may call the ideology of abundance. Abundant living does not mean waste, gluttony or vulgarity but a nation dedicated to the ideal of an ever-increasing higher standard of living so that everyone of us may enjoy a better share of the increasing goods and services. And fortunately all groups in our political life are dedicated to this task of raising our present low standard of living.

A few facts will suffice to illustrate our present level of living. While we have to go a long way before our national statistics on different questions can become unimpeachable, we have to be satisfied with such figures as we have without any elaborate refinement. Our *per capita* calorie intake is a meagre 1590 and at least two-thirds of our 390 million people are under-nourished. We can see our position in the world when we realise that 22 per cent of world enjoys an intake of over 2700 calories *per capita*, 12 per cent of the world enjoys an intake between 2200-2700 calories, and the remaining 66 per cent of the world population gets on under 2300 calories. And we in India get even less than 1600 and our nutrition is among the poorest in the world, quantitatively and qualitatively. Our *per capita* consumption of textiles is about 16.6 yards and for certain countries such as the United States, it is beyond 40. Even after making allowance for climatic differences, we are a semiclad nation. Our housing is no better. Even if we ignore housing for the rural population—nearly eighty per cent—which is beyond attack in the near future, a third of urban housing must be condemned as unfit for human habitation on the basis of any acceptable definition of optimum housing. As for educational facilities, we know that our high schools and colleges of all kinds are not enough to cope with the demand from students qualified to seek entrance into

these institutions. Our low rate of literacy of about 15 per cent is utterly incompatible with our aspirations to run a successful democracy. And our 38 universities are not really adequate for the higher educational needs of our 390 millions but there is also no point in multiplying universities without any adequate standards. There is no need to multiply such basic figures as these, to show how low our present standard of living is.

Fortunately all our leaders and all political parties and groups are agreed on the need to raise the present living standards. Raising the standard of living in an under-developed country means in the simplest language that we should produce more goods and services so that the *per capita* consumption of these is perceptibly raised.

The Death Rate

The second factor is our death rate. Our death rate (in relation to our economic development) is among the highest in the world. The average adjusted death rate during the decade 1941-50 was 27 per *1000* per annum. But taking regional variations and year to year fluctuations into consideration, the death rate today is somewhere between 26 and 30.

The crude overall death rate is not an adequate index of our population trends. Their components such as infant mortality rate (and its sub-groupings as perinatal, neonatal and post-neonatal mortality), childhood mortality and maternal mortality give a better indication of the way our population will grow (or decline) in the next twenty or thirty years.

Our infant mortality rate today is around 115 per 1000 live births. This is of course a high and uncivilized figure compared to countries like Sweden, Norway, Australia, New Zealand, United Kingdom, and the United States of America where recent figures range between 16 and 30 per 1000 live births. Though our rate is high, it is declining. The rate has been exactly halved from 232 for British India in 1901 to 116 to the Union Registration area in 1951. And the present serious efforts of the Ministry of Health in this direction should mean a further significant decline in our infant mortality rate in the next ten or 15 years.

Our maternal mortality figures have never been very satisfactory. It is generally taken that out of every 1000 expectant mothers, about 25 die in child-birth. We have some evidence of a sampling nature based on certain hospital series that this figure is fortunately coming down.

When all the schemes of the Ministry of Health envisaged in the Second Five-Year Plan are implemented, I have no doubt that our overall death rate will register a welcome and perceptible fall. Cultures and people all over the world—and we are no exception—are dedicated to the ideal of alleviating human sufferings, prolonging life and postponing death as far as possible. What with modern wonder drugs, more and better preventive, diagnostic and curative services, and better sanitation and environmental hygiene, we can bring down our death rate among all groups of our population. This is a noble task and our Government from Mr. Karmarkar down to the rural vaccinator, are doing their best despite numerous difficulties.

I need hardly point out the other side of this welcome phenomenon of the declining death rate. More old people will be kept alive who do not of course add to the population. But when a young woman of 20 is saved from a premature death (and she should be saved no matter what the cost or the consequences), we have not saved one life but a potential six or seven lives for she will get married and have a family of about six children. The consequences of our lowered mortality rate on the future growth of our population are obvious.

The Birth Rate

What about our birth rate? Our birth rate again is among the highest in the world. It is around 40 per thousand a year. The regional variations in the birth rate within India range between 36 and 44. Our birth rate is more or less constant, if we ignore the minor fluctuations. We have reliable evidence that our birth rate is definitely declining. The birth and death rates yield as a net annual addition of a little over 5 million. That is, it is probable that our population may increase by 1.5 to 2 per cent per annum or at the minimum [illegible]

to 60 million in 1961. The following table summarises the growth of India's population during the last half a century, 1901-1951:

Table 1.

*Growth of India's Population—1901-51**

Census year	Population in million	Increase or decrease over the previous decade	Percentage increase or decrease
1901	235.50	.....	—0.2
1911	249.05	13.55	5.8
1921	248.18	—0.87	—0.4
1931	275.52	27.34	11.0
1941	314.88	39.36	14.0
1951	356.83	41.95	13.5

The reason for the growth of our popuation is simple. Generally all of us sooner or later get married and have babies. Not even ten per cent of the total married couples plan or limit their families. Now, the population problem is this: How can we raise our standard of living and cut down our death rate, when we are unable to support the existing population at a miserable level of living, if at the same time our population continues to increase by five or six millions every year?

The Food Problem

The food problem is how to increase the supply of food to the increasing population and at the same time increase the nutritional level of our population. In 1947, the Government of India estimated the food deficit for the whole country in the neighbourhood of four million tons of grains "on the basis of one ounce for producers and three-quarters of an ounce for the rest of the population."

Report of the Food Grains Enquiry Committee estimated that the deficit in food grains which may have to be imported in 1958 to be nearly 3 million tons. The Committee has also calculated that the demand for food grains would rise by some 15 per cent in view of the increase in the population and also the likely demand for better food grains like rice and wheat (in the place of coarser food grains) by working class groups which have moved into higher wage earning section of the population. Thus the long range food problem over the past eleven years has really been one of overall deficit but the administration had looked at this problem on an annual, in fact, seasonal basis. And, therefore, they have been lulled into satisfaction and complacency during a good monsoon year and thrown into sorrowful confusion during bad years. Had they looked at the food problem over a long range point of view, they would have realised that it is never safe to be confident about the future, especially as our food production is still a gamble in the rains. We have been swinging from deficit to self-sufficiency or surplus and from surplus to deficit again. The way out is to presume that we shall have a deficit and build up, no matter what the difficulty, and however slowly, sufficient buffer stock of some 4 to 5 million tons against one or more lean years, the incidence of which of course is unpredictable. But buffer stocks mean surplus over current consumption. The question is how is the country to do this, especially when we start the year with a deficit and we are unable to feed the existing population at low levels of consumption.

There are only two ways out. And both ways have been talked about *ad nauseam* and there is nothing *new* to be said beyond changing the emphasis and pleading for an integrated outlook. They are:

(1) Bringing new lands under cultivation;

(2) Making the cultivated land yield more.

1. Can we bring new land under cultivation? Is there new cultivable land available for cultivation? The Government (that is, the Ministry of Agriculture, the Planning Commission, and the Reports of various Official Committees) have published periodically the changing pattern of land utilization in India.

Unfortunately, as with most aspects of our economy, we do not have reliable statistic about the pattern of land utilization in the country as a whole. If our vital statistics ar

* Excluding Jammu and Kashmir, the population of which was estimated in 1951 at 4.41 million.

bad, our agricultural statistics are worse. Nearly a third of the country has not been properly cadastrally surveyed. There are land cultivated, land lying fallow, land under forest, and land not available for cultivation. And the last is the intriguing category "Land cultivable but uncultivated" on which much faith has been reposed as a source of additional food grains.

The following table gives the pattern of land utilization in India in 1950:

TABLE No. 2

Pattern of Land utilization in India, 1950

Category	*Area in thousand acres*	*Percentage of classified area*
Classified Area	614,610	
Unclassified Area	196,199	
Gross Area	810,372	
Net Area Sown	266,372	43.3
Current Fallows	18,171	3.0
Under Forests	93,143	15.2
Not available for cultivation	96,024	15.6
Other uncultivated land excluding current fallows	98,400	16.0

Out of this 98 million (98,400,000) acres of uncultivated land, the Ministry of Agriculture estimated that about 25 million acres are theoretically cultivable and can be technically brought under cultivation. (As for the remaining millions of acres, they are in the Rajputana and Thar deserts, in the Assamese and Oriyan river and jungle eroded sand and slush).

Bringing 25 million acres under cultivation would involve a tremendous financial outlay. The land has to be reclaimed and colonised. This scheme may be worthwhile as a *long range investment* provided sufficient funds are available. The only advantage here is that we shall not be expending any foreign exchange unless we intend bringing this new land under mechanised farming. But there are two initial disadvantages. One is that all this land is marginal, and for several years to come, their yield will be uneconomic and it may be cheaper to import food than cultivate this land for current consumption. And the second difficulty may be in the realm of public health and services for the new inhabitants and this also ultimately means more money.

Thus, while this avenue deserves serious and immediate consideration, it would be unwise to look for increased food production from this source for current deficits and those deficits in the immediate future.

2. Can we make the cultivated land yield more? All those who have studied this question concede that Indian yields per acre are relatively low but they are capable of higher yields. The measures necessary to attain this end are in every college text-book. We need better supply of water, larger use of manures and fertilisers, improved seeds, soil conservation, pest control, etc. The measures apply to the land and they have been adopted in different degrees in different areas but without much success and apparently nothing new can be added to the list from the point of view of agrarian techniques.

These measures apply, of course, to the soil and the crops. But what about the man behind the plough? Here is the weakest link in the chain and nothing very remarkable seems to have been done to raise the peasant from his traditional and miserable hole of despondency. What is most important is the need for a radical change in his outlook by which he looks upon agriculture as a pathetic losing way of life and not as a successful economic proposition.

The ryot's rehabilitation implies a basic margin of surplus after consumption and sale, the availability of credit, his health and well-being, a sense of ownership to the land and its yield without any predatory middlemen—in a word, the creation of a stake for the peasant in the land and its yield. In other words, this means a new and rare enthusiasm to do his best and contribute his utmost to his individual and family welfare and the country's prosperity. In a word, this implies a silent, social revolution in the countryside. This infectious and economic revolution is yet to come about. So long as there is no sense of direct participation in this great adventure of raising India's productivity and consequent prosperity on the part of every farmer and citizen, the directive emanating from a distant capital through soulless officialdom is simply so much dead matter

"No plan can have any chance of success unless millions of small farmers (and there are about forty million farmers scattered over an area of one and a quarter million square miles) in the country accept its objectives, share in its making, regard it as their own, and are prepared to make the sacrifices necessary for implementing it."—*Report of the G.M.F. Enquiry Committee*, 1952, pp. 49-50.

OUR CATTLE POPULATION

One more point. And this is about an irrational aspect of our otherwise admirable way of life. I am referring to our cattle problem. Our economy is burdened with 204 millions of cattle, as though the burden of feeding and taking care of 390 million people is not enough. In almost all other countries, the cattle are an essential part of their total food resources and so the investment on the cattle by way of pasture land and fodder bears sufficient dividend by way of mutton, beef, pork, etc. But our case is unique, for these cattle have to be maintained somehow (the fact they exist miserably shows that some food is being consumed by them) at the expense of food required by man.

The total cattle population of the world has been recently estimated at about 855 millions of which India has about 25 per cent. The figures for certain other countries are as follows: USA 97, China 74, USSR 65, France 17. UK 11, and Japan 3. Thus India is supporting a disproportionate number of cattle and our bovine population pressure matches the human population pressure, against the limited agricultural resources. And the oddest part of it is that all the countries listed with the exception of China and Japan consume more milk and milk products per capita than India with her plethora of useless cattle.

As more land is brought under commercial and food crops, less land is left for pasture. Secondly, with the ever-increasing buses and other motor transport, the bullock cart is gradually becoming and should become a thing of the past. Thirdly, with the installation of electric pump for irrigational purposes, the bullock power may soon become an unwanted commodity. Cattle are reared in all countries for milk and meat and in our country for milk and muscle. We are getting relatively little milk and the muscle power is slowly going out of use. Therefore, in a double and even a treble sense, our large cattle population is a useless burden. Therefore, a drastic reduction in the number of our cattle should be one of the major objectives of our population policy.

The Hindu notion of the sanctity of animals is no doubt admirable in theory but appalling in practice. One look at the pathetic state of the cattle roaming our streets is enough to prove this. Also, contrary to popular notions, less than 15 per cent of our population are real vegetarians. The rest consume some kind of meat or other.

Therefore, there are only two ways out of the problem. We should either become meat-eaters or destroy the unwanted cattle! The latter solution may shock only the pharisees among us. They can save their sympathy for the useless cattle and divert it to the human destitutes—the hungry and destitute beggars! Political leaders and those who depend on votes for their position cannot speak the truth, whatever their inner convictions. And, therefore, someone must mention the unpleasant if only to start a discussion and ventilate unpopular views.

We need today, more than ever, a scientific and rational outlook in approaching our economic and social problems, in the place of traditional and sentimental views.

The ultimate solution of the overall problem of population and food in our country lies in—

(1) Bringing every cultivable piece of land that can be cultivated, under the plough, no matter what the initial investment costs;

(2) Making two or three ears of corn grow where one or none grew before and thus increase the yield per acre;

(3) Make our women bear two healthy children that will survive in the place of five or six famished ones; and, last

(4) Destroying or at any rate stopping the breeding of useless cattle.*

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* Based on a lecture delivered under the auspices of the Forum of *Free Enterprise* in Bombay on Sept. 22, 1958.

SOME ASPECTS OF OUR CONSTITUTION

(XVII) Fundamental Rights: Right to Property *(Continued)*

By D. N. BANERJEE,
Surendranath Banerjea Professor and Head of the Department of Political Science, University of Calcutta

V

We shall now say a few words with regard to Articles 31A and 31B of our Constitution, which also provide for exceptions to our Fundamental Rights like Clauses (4), (5) and (6) of Article 31, although on a much larger scale. These two Articles were first inserted in the Constitution in 1951, with a retrospective effect, by the Constitution (First Amendment) Act, 1951.[38] Since then Article 31A has been materially altered and the scope of the Ninth Schedule to the Constitution referred to in Article 31B, has been considerably widened, both again with a retrospective effect, by the Constitution (Fourth Amendment) Act, 1955[39] [taken along with the Constitution (Seventh Amendment) Act, 1956[40]]. Articles 31A and 31B *now* lay down:

"31A. (1) Notwithstanding anything contained in Article 13, no law providing for—

(a) the acquisition by the State of any estate or of any rights therein or the extinguishment or modification of any such rights, or

(b) the taking over of the management of any property by the State for a limited period either in the public interest or in order to secure the proper management of the property, or

(c) the amalgamation of two or more corporations either in the public interest or in order to secure the proper management of any of the corporation, or

(d) the extinguishment or modification of any rights of managing agents, secretaries and treasurers, managing directors, directors or managers of corporations, or of any voting rights of shareholders thereof, or

(e) the extinguishment or modification of any rights accruing by virtue of any agreement, lease or license for the purpose of searching for, or winning, any mineral or mineral oil, or the premature termination or cancellation of any such agreement, lease or license, shall be deemed to be void on the ground that it is inconsistent with, or takes away or abridges any of the rights conferred by Article 14, Article 19 or Article 31:

"Provided that where such law is a law made by the Legislature of a State, the provisions of this Article shall not apply thereto unless such law, having been reserved for the consideration of the President, has received his assent.

"(2) In this Article,—

(a) the expression 'estate' shall, in relation to any local area, have the same meaning as that expression or its local equivalent has in the existing law relating to land tenures in force in that area, and shall also include any *jagir, inam* or *muafi* or other similar grant and, in the States of Madras and Kerala, any *janmam* right; (and)

(b) the expression 'rights', in relation to an estate, shall include any rights vesting in a proprietor, sub-proprietor, under-proprietor, tenure-holder, *raiyat, under-raiyat* or other intermediary and any rights or privileges in respect of land revenue."[41]

"31B. Without prejudice to the generality of the provisions contained in Article 31A, none of the Acts and Regulations specified in the Ninth Schedule[42] nor any of the provisions thereof shall be deemed to be void, or ever to have become void, on the ground that such Act, Regulation or provision is inconsistent with, or takes away or abridges any of the rights conferred by, any provisions of this Part,[43] and notwithstanding any judgment, decree or order of any court or tribunal to the contrary, each of the said Acts and Regulations shall, subject to the power of any competent Legislature to repeal or amend it, continue in force."

38. Enacted on 18th June, 1951.
39. Enacted on 27th April, 1955.
40. Enacted on 19th October, 1956.

41. The case of the State of Jammu and Kashmir is somewhat different. See *The Constitution of India*, as modified up to the 1st November, 1956, Manager of Publications, Delhi, p. 20, foot-note 1.
42. *To the Constitution of India*. See Appendix.

It may be noted here that Sub-clause (a) of Clause (1) of Article 31A as quoted above, practically corresponds to Clause (1) of Article 31A which had been first inserted in our Constitution, with a retrospective effect, by Section 4 of the Constitution (First Amendment) Act, 1951, and which had run as follows:

"Notwithstanding anything in the foregoing provisions of this Part,[44] no law providing for the acquisition by the State of any estate or of any rights therein or for the extinguishment or modification of any such rights shall be deemed to be void on the ground that it is inconsistent with, or takes away or abridges any of the rights conferred by, any provisions of this Part[45] . . . ."

This rather drastic provision which, to quote the words of Pandit Kunzru[46] of Uttar Pradesh, amounted to "the virtual repeal of Article 31" (of the Constitution), had been inserted in the Constitution in 1951 with a view to, according to the official plea justifying the measure, effecting the abolition of what was known as the zamindari system in our country and other agrarian reforms. Thus we find Prime Minister Nehru observing on 16th May, 1951, in the course of his speech for referring the Constitution (First Amendment) Bill to a Select Committee of our then Parliament[47]:

"When I think of this Article[48] the whole gamut of pictures comes up before my mind because this Article deals with the abolition of the zamindari system, with land laws and agrarian reform. I am not a zamindar, nor am I a tenant. I am an outsider. But the whole length of my public life has been intimately connected, or was intimately connected, with agrarian agitation in my Province . . . If there is one thing to which we as a party have been committed in the past generation or so, it is the agrarian reform and the abolition of the zamindari system . . . with adequate and proper compensation, not too much. Now, apart from our commitment, a survey of the world today, a survey of Asia today will lead any intelligent person to see that the basic and the primary problem is the land problem today in Asia, as in India. And every day of delay adds to the difficulties and dangers, apart from being an injustice in itself. There are many ways of dealing with this problem . . . Now, I am not going into those questions, but it is patent that when you are out basically to produce a certain equality, when you are out to remedy inequalities, you do not remedy inequalities by producing further inequalities. We do not want anyone to suffer. But, inevitably, in big social changes some people have to suffer. We have to think in terms of large schemes of social engineering, not petty reforms but of big schemes like that. Now, if all our schemes like that are stopped—may be rightly stopped, may be due to a correct interpretation of the law and therein too the lawyers differ and even Judges have differed—again, I have no doubt that we have a generation to wait for things to stabilize . . . We cannot wait. That is the difficulty. Even in the last three years or so some very important measures passed by State Assemblies and the rest have been held up. No doubt, as I said, the interpretation of the courts must be accepted as right but you, I and the country has (*sic*) to wait with social and economic conditions—social and economic upheavals—and we are responsible for them. How

43. *I.e.*, Part III of *The Constitution of India*.
44. *I.e.*, Part III of *The Constitution of India*.
45. *I.e.*, Part III of *The Constitution of India*.
46. See *Parliamentary Debates, Parliament of India, Official Report*, 17th May, 1951, Column 8902.
47. See *ibid.*, 16th May, 1951, Columns 8830-8833.

48. Obviously, reference here is to the proposed new Article 31A of the Constitution [Section 4 of the Constitution (First Amendment) Bill].

are we to meet them? How are we to meet this challenge of the times? How are we to answer the question: For the past ten or 20 years you have said, we will do it. Why have you not done it? It is not good for us to say: We are helpless before fate and the situation which we are to face at present. Therefore, we have to think in terms of these big changes, land changes and the like and therefore we thought of amending Article 31. Ultimately we thought it best to propose additional Articles 31A and 31B and in addition to that there is a Schedule attached of a number of Acts, passed by State Legislatures, some of which have been challenged or might be challenged and we thought it best to save them from long delays and these difficulties, so that this process of change which has been initiated by the States should go ahead. Many of us present here are lawyers and have had some training in law which is a good training and many of us respect lawyers. But nevertheless a lawyer represents precedent and tradition and not change, not a dynamic process. Above all, the lawyer represents litigation . . . . . Somehow, we have found that this magnificent Constitution that we have framed was later kidnapped and purloined by the lawyers . . . . . If we do not make proper arrangements for the land, all our other schemes whether they are about grow more-food or anything else may fail. Therefore, something in the shape of this amendment that I have suggested becomes necessary."

Again, the Prime Minister observed[49] on 1st June, 1951, during the consideration of the Constitution (First Amendment) Bill:

"We are fundamentally an agricultural country and however much progress we might make in big industry, or the like, . . . agricultural land will continue to play a dominant part in India. That is because a vast proportion of our population is engaged in or dependent on agriculture. Therefore (the) land problem is today and will continue to be the biggest problem—whether you look upon it from the point of view of the large number of people engaged or of food production which is vital and of high priority, or any other way. Now this whole concept of the abolition of the zamindari system came up before us, because we felt this inner urge of our people, because we heard the cry of millions of people and sometimes those deep murmurs and rumblings, which if not listened to and if not answered, create big revolutions and changes in the country. So we took this step rather slowly and hesitatingly and it has taken a mighty long time. Nevertheless we are on the way. Therefore it became of the highest importance and urgency that we should do something in this Parliament to remove any other obstructions that might remain, whatever they might be. Because the problem we deal with is ultimately something bigger than the Constitution, and Constitutions are upset if that problem is not dealt with properly. They are upset not by your vote and mine but upset by those big upheavals that have taken place from time to time in countries and that are taking place in the greater part of Asia today. I lay stress on this because of the deep significance of this problem which is something much more than legality and constitutionalism or compensation or the like. We have tried to deal with this problem in a democratic way, in as reasonable a way as possible, so as to avoid injustice as far as possible. But then what is the measure and yardstick of your justice and injustice in this matter? If you bring me some article in the Constitution to say that so much compensation should be paid because of something there about non-discrimination or equality, well, that may be perfectly right; but if it leads you to the conclusion that if that is strictly followed no major agrarian reform can take place, then obviously that article in the Constitution is wrong, because it comes in the way of something that is important and urgent and of the most vital significance, and that article has to be amended or changed or done away with, as you like. But the major thing is (that) you have to keep going in regard to land. Whatever your policy, you have to change the present system which is an out-of-date system, which is against progress, etc. Nobody can tell me that it involves an upset. Of course, it involves an upset. But it involves a lesser upset, and you will find that we are proceeding slowly, gradually, weighing things, so that there is less of injustice and upset than what you will find in any country that has dealt with this problem.

49. See *Parliamentary Debates, Official Report*, 1st June, 1951, Columns 9916-9922.

• "Compensation. Yes, and I have been reminded again and again in the course of the last two or three days of a certain word I used[50]—adequate compensation. Of course adequate. But the opinion of Mr. Hussain Imam[51] and my opinion may differ vastly as to what 'adequate' is. Because, as I said in my speech when this Article was being adopted in the Constituent Assembly, we have to balance two things all the time, the rights of the individual and the rights of the community. We do not want to crush the individual even for the sake of the community. I agree. But we cannot allow the individual to override the rights of the community. And the rights of the community in the final balance are more important, because ultimately they affect the rights of the individual too . . . . even in regard to these laws which have been passed (by State Legislatures) and which we seek to validate here . . . . . first of all we have to validate them and go ahead because nothing is more dangerous than delay in this matter . . . . . Those who think in legalistic terms, do they know that millions of people are on the move? . . . . Now, of course, the abolition of the zamindari system is not the end of the story. What must follow it is the land reform. Otherwise it is only half way but we have got stuck up in this; we could not go far in that matter. It has to follow. . . . . One Hon. Member referred to the concept of property. I do not wish to take up the time of the House; but the subject is a fascinating one. The concept of property at one time included human beings as slaves. The concept of property included all land including every man, woman and animal as being the personal property of the King or ruler of the time. Kings waged wars to get more and more personal property and everybody conquered was a slave. From those days to this, the concept has changed considerably. To imagine that the present stage or yesterday's stage is static is as wrong (as) to imagine that the age when human beings were considered as property was right. It is a changing concept . . . . this concept of property is a completely changing one. . . . . Therefore, I hope—not a question of hoping—I am sure that this House will adopt these Clauses 4 and 5[52] and the Schedule (Ninth Schedule)[53] attached, practically unanimously, because there is no way for us . . . . . the temper of the age and the position today in Asia and India requires rapid agrarian changes, and if you want these changes to come democratically, peacefully and with as little injustice as possible, then, we have to follow some such path and try to remove the injustices, and try to lessen wherever we can. But it is no good (for) one trying to stop that, because in trying to stop it and in trying to perhaps grab something more, it is quite possible you may lose all, by other forces coming into play, forces other than Parliament, Constitution and laws. We do not want these forces to come in and upset the whole apple-cart. Therefore, we proceed with care and also we must proceed with rapidity."

We may also note here what Dr. Ambedkar, the then Minister of Law, Government of India, stated with regard to the proposed amendments to Article 31 of the Constitution. Referring to the proposed new Article 31A he said[54] in Parliament on 18th May, 1951:

"Let us understand, first of all, what this Article does. What this Article does is to permit a State to acquire what are called estates. Secondly, it says that when any legislation is undertaken to acquire estates, nothing in the Fundamental Rights shall affect such a legislation . . . . . The new amendment to Article 31 not only removes the operation of the provision relating to compensation, but also removes the operation of the Article relating to discrimination. In this amendment, I am emphasising the word 'estate'. The new Article is a very limited one. It does not apply to the acquisition of land. It applies to the acquisition of estate in land which is a very different thing. What is an estate has been defined in this part

50. On 16th May, 1950. See *Prime Minister Nehru's speech quoted above.*

51. *A Member of Parliament from Bihar.*

52. *I.e.*, Clauses 4 and 5 of the Constitution (First Amendment) Bill, 1951, which became Article 31A and 31B of the *Constitution of India*.

53. *To the Constitution of India.*

54. See *Parliamentary Debates, Official Report*, 18th May, 1951, Columns 9024-902

cular article, namely, the right of proprietor, sub-proprietor, tenure-holder, or other intermediary. Of course, the terminology is different in different provisions. It (*i.e.*, the proposed Article 31A) does not refer to the acquisition of land. That is to be borne in mind. Therefore, all that Article 31A does is this. When any law is undertaken with regard to the acquisition of property, two questions can properly arise. One is the amount of compensation; the second is discrimination as between the various proprietors as regards the amount of compensation. These are the only two questions that can possibly arise and give rise to litigation . . . It seems to me that we really cannot adopt the said two Articles[55] of the Fundamental Rights relating to compensation and discrimination with regard to this land question . . . . The question we are considering now is whether the intermediaries should be allowed to continue. That is the point, and on that point, I think there can be no dispute that the intermediaries should be liquidated, without any kind of interference from the Fundamental Rights either on the ground that there is no adequate compensation or that a discrimination has been made . . . . . If you want the betterment of agriculture, I am convinced that these intermediaries must be liquidated." Dr. Ambedkar assured[56], however, on the 1st of June, 1951 as the Minister of Law:

"I would like to say this, that there is no intention on the part of Government that the provisions contained in Article 31A are to be employed for the purpose of dispossessing *ryotwari* tenants . . . . . We are making a distinction between intermediaries and *ryotwari* holders . . . . . there is . . . . . no justification for any kind of propaganda that may be carried on by interested parties that this (Constitution First Amendment) Bill proposes to give power to Government to expropriate everybody including the *ryotwari* tenants."

And with regard to the proposed new Article 31B of the Constitution, he had observed[57] on 18th May, 1951:

"Now, I come to Article 31B. This Article enumerates in the Ninth Schedule (to the Constitution) certain laws which have been passed (by State Legislatures). Great objection has been taken that this is a very unusual procedure. *Prima facie*, it is an unusual procedure. But let us look at it from another point of view. What are these laws? What are the principles on which these laws are made which are being saved by the Ninth Schedule? All the laws that have been saved by this Schedule are laws which fall under Article 31A. That is to say, they are laws which are intended to acquire estates. And when we say by Article 31A that whenever a law is made for the acquisition of an estate, neither the principle of compensation nor the principle of discrimination shall stand in the way of the validity of it, I admit that sentimentally there may be objection. But from the practical point of view, I do not understand why we should not declare them valid pieces of legislation."

We have quoted above some extracts from the speeches of the Prime Minister and the Minister of Law, in connexion with the Constitution (First Amendment) Bill, just with a view to indicating what led to the insertion in 1951, of Articles 31A and 31B in our Constitution. And what they said in 1951 do equally apply in essence to Sub-Clause (a) of Clause (1) of Article 31A as well as to Article 31B of the Constitution today. A perusal of debates in our Parliament in 1955 in connexion with the Constitution (Fourth Amendment) Bill will confirm this.

So far as Sub-clauses (b), (c) and (d) of Clause (1) of Article 31A are concerned, they have been inserted in the Article, presumably mainly as a result of the judgment of our Supreme Court in what we have referred to before as the second Sholapur Mills case. And the object of Sub-Clause (c) of Clause (1) is also to prevent any possible litigation in matters contemplated by it. As a matter of fact, "the whole intention" of Article 31A is, to quote Sri H. V. Pataskar[58], Minister in the Ministry of Law, to save legislations envisaged by it "from being declared void in Courts of law because they are so necessary and important for the purpose of social work which we have undertaken." This observation also applies to Article 31B of the Constitution. Indeed, it appears to us that this latter rather extraordinary provision has been inserted in our Constitution, as a precautionary measure, to make "assurance" against litigation "double sure" so far as the Acts and Regulations specified in the Ninth Schedule thereto are concerned.

55. *I.e.*, Article 31 (2) (as it was originally) and Article 14 of the *Constitution of India*.

56. *Parliamentary Debates, Official Report*, 1st June, 1951, Columns 9913-9914.

57. See *ibid.*, 18th May, 1951, Columns 9027-9028.

58. See Shri Pataskar's speech in Lok Sabha on 12th April, 1955.—*Lok Sabha Debates*, 12th April, 1955, Column 5057.

VI

In conclusion, we should like to say that on a very careful consideration of what we have shown in this and in our three preceding articles[59] it appears to us that Fundamental Right to Property has, as a result of the changes made in our Constitution by the Constitution (First Amendment) Act, 1951, and the Constitution (Fourth Amendment) Act, 1955, become, legally speaking, whatever might be the socio-political justification of the changes, almost, unlike our other Fundamental Rights, a myth. We may also note here what Mr. Justice William Douglas of the American Supreme Court has observed in this connexion. Referring to our Constitution (Fourth Amendment) Act, 1955, he stated[60] in the course of his Tagore Law Lectures delivered in the University of Calcutta in July, 1955:

"Whatever the cause, the 1955 Amendment casts a shadow over every private factory, plant, or other individual enterprise in India. The legislature may now appropriate it at any price it desires, substantial or nominal. There is no review of the reasonableness of the amount of compensation. The result can be just compensation or confiscation—dependent wholly on the mood of the Parliament."

Further[61]—

"When it came to the taking of property both (*i.e.*, the judiciary in India and the judiciary in America) performed the same role and spoke with the same authority before India in 1955 amended her Constitution so as to leave to the legislature, rather than to the courts, the question of what constitutes reasonable compensation for the taking (of property). In sum, India, like America, ranked property rights high among the Fundamental Rights of man. What effect the 1955 Amendment will have remains to be seen. If the Parliament appropriates private property for only nominal compensation, the spectre of confiscation would have entered India contrary to the teachings of her outstanding jurists."

During the consideration of the Constitution (Fourth Amendment) Bill the Minister for Home Affairs, Shri Govind Ballabh Pant, observed[62] in the Rajya Sabha on 19th April, 1955:

"I think the Parliament will always try to take a reasonable view. The collective wisdom of the Parliament will do the right thing and will always take a just and equitable view. The Parliament consists of the representatives of the people. It is interested in advancing the welfare of all classes and all communities. We have to work for the establishment of a Welfare State on a socialistic pattern. That is what the Parliament has decided. There are certain directive principles in our Constitution. So, in whatever the Parliament does, it will place before itself the central objective for which (it) has to function. And it will consistently with those objectives and principles make every effort to render justice to everyone—to pay to Peter as well as to Paul what is due to either. So, there need be no apprehensions in any quarter."

Let us sincerely hope and trust that our Parliament and also our State Legislatures will exercise the powers vested in them by our Constitution with regard to the question of property, wisely and justly.

In our next article in this series we propose to deal with our Fundamental Right to constitutional Remedies.

59. See *The Modern Review* for January, April and July, 1958.

60. See William O. Douglas, *From Marshall to Mukherjea, Studies in American and Indian Constitutionol Law*, 1956. p. 224.

61. *Ibid.*, p. 225.

62. See *Parliamentary Debates, Rajya Sabha*, 19th April, 1955, Column 5104.

CANADA AND USA

By Dr. KALIDAS NAG

While attending the British Commonwealth Conference in Sydney, just on the eve of the Second World War, I was pleased to get invitation from the Canadian delegates to visit Canada. But the War upset all calculations and I had the pleasure to visit Canada in 1958.

The International Association for Liberal Christianity and Religious Freedom (founded 1900) invited me, with other European delegates, to participate in their 16th Congress held at the University of Chicago (August, 1958). As the principal speaker, representing Hinduism, with four other speakers for Buddhism, Judaism, Christianity and Islam, we were given all facilities of travels—by sea or air—from our home bases. I was informed that if I could reach London by the end of July, I may travel with about 120 European ladies and gentlemen, sailing per S. S. *Saxonia* the charming Cunard Liner. It was a fine ship, offering us excellent meals and good books on America and a splendid relief map of Canada which all of us were so eager to see on voyage in the glorious season.

The ship touched France and then Ireland to take passengers and our fellow delegates—all roused by the news that the Nuclear Submarine *Natilus* (USA) plunged into the Pacific near Alaska, crossed the vast Arctic Ocean *via* North Pole and emerged into the Atlantic near Greenland in a record time. God Poseidon seemed to have grumbled with USSR who soon took noble revenge by launching the first man-made planet beyond our Earth's atmosphere. In the South, USA and USSR, UK and Australia, with others, were rediscovering and mapping Antarctica (one or two?), the vast continent explored in this International Geo-physical Year. My cabin-mate, a Cambridge Don, explained to me the vast significance of these discoveries and adventures. On the other hand the Philosophers and Theologians in our party, nodded their heads sceptically and questioned as they said: 'What are all these worth' if Man misuses Science to destroy the Human species and Civilisation, only a 100 years after the publication of Darwin's *Origin of the Species*.

Threatening fog enveloped our brave ship *Saxonia* which seemed to toss and tremble for 24 hours, aimlessly (as we apprehended and remembered how, through collision with Iceberg, the ship *Titanic* was lost in 1912). Luckily for us the sun dispersed the fog, brightening gloomy faces; and we went up the deck to gaze on the Belle Isle the beautiful island which made gesture to us, as it were, showing that the historic estuary of the mighty river St. Lawrence was near! I stopped studying books and applied henceforth my mind to watch Nature's glory and grandeur of gigantic Canada —the friendly neighbour and sentinel of the Arctic for the United States—which I visited from the Atlantic and the Pacific coasts but never from the Arctic are. Canada is attending to her sector of the Arctic while the USSR scientists are planning to pump the warm water of the Pacific into cold Atlantic end, changing thereby the frozen Arctic Zone probably into a vast fertile food-producing region. Granted good-will and peace, the narrow Behring Sea may develop into a great causeway of friendship and co-operation between the USSR on the one hand and Canada-USA on the other.

Pre-historians and anthropologists have proved beyond doubt that the Palae-Siberian men from Asia and their culture, crossed *via* the Behring zone into Alaska and Canada to the present USA and Latin America. Hence we find the Esquimos and Amerindians of the Stone Age, followed by the Mayas of Mexico and the Incas of Peru, over 2,000 years ago. Some Canadian scholars have recently supported the Buddhistic hypothesis of some Chinese Buddhist monks sailing 5th century A.D. in frail boats, to the New World leaving traces of Buddhist sanctuaries in Mexico. There is little doubt now that, long before Columbus, the Scandinavian Norsemen sailing in their Viking boats (one still to be found in the Oslo Museum Norway) plundered England, occupied Iceland and even built a colony in South Greenland which was really green in the 10th century A.D. But, due to climatic changes and movement of glaciers and Ice-caps from the North to the South, Greenland colonies were abandoned, leaving some relics down to late 15th century when Columbus and Cabot were preparing to discover America of our

geography which should not forget, however, the Scandinavian pioneers who landed, centuries ago, on the Atlantic sea-board of Canada and USA.

Columbus was so much obsessed by Marco Polo that, anywhere he touched the New World, he identified that place with some part of Asia of the age of Kubla Khan! Thus a part of the West Indies was identified by Columbus (following Marco Polo) with Cipango or Japan! He thought that the Panama coasts were Malay Peninsula; and the name India (Indios) and Indians were written large in so many zones and races of Canada and USA. From Henry VIII to Elizabeth, there were several expeditions and after three voyages (1576-78) Frobisher discovered Baffin Land and the mouth of the Hudson Strait. Gilbert occupied Newfoundland in 1583 and wrote his *Discourse* to prove the existence of the North-West Passage to trade with Asia. In 1553 a company (later known as the Muscovy Co.) sent out ships to discover the alternative route of the North-East Passage, along the coast of Siberia (where Buddhist Lamasaries flourished for ages) and thence, the White Sea and Russia, half Asian in race, economy and culture.

John Cabot discovered Newfoundland, (24 June 1497), and his son Sibastian Cabot also was a great explorer. England and France would be the major competitors for their empires of the New World which, however, was already partitioned and settled by the Papal Bull of 1493 between Spain and Portugal forming the two original Oceanic empires. In 1530 when Thorne was writing his British "Declaration of the Indies," the French explorer Cartier entered (like us) the St. Lawrence river valley reaching Quebec (still speaking French) and Montreal. The French also were trying to find the North-West passage to Asia, but the river could not oblige them. The French and the British, however, established contacts with the American Indians developing the fur-trade which, with other factors, led to the White Colonization of Canada. The Red Indians were doomed however to segregation and neglect both by Canada and USA who built a New World out of their old settlements overrun by the Catholic Bourbons and the British and Dutch Protestants.

The long Anglo-Spanish Wars from 1585 to 1604, provoked colonizations of the British, French and the Dutch in the New World. Under Raleigh's lead the British settled in fertile Virginia (making tobacco plantations) in 1607; the French colonized Quebec in 1608 and the Dutch in New Amsterdom (New York) in 1614.

From 1620 onwards the English Puritan emigrants settled in New Plymouth, New Haven, New Hampshire and Newfoundland (1610), the last bringing much money from Cod fishery, furs and beaver-skins. Thus the New England merchants, from Quebec to New York, exported their surplus foodstuffs o the rich plantations further South. In 1602 the competing Dutch syndicates strengthened themselves by forming the Dutch East India Co., but preferred to build their empire in Indonesia (1600-1950). Many other European nations supplied man-power and talents to America. The Boston-New York sector began to handle huge business so that they became rivals of London which began grumbling!

Mercantilism and Colonial wars became, for two centuries, (1739-1939) the orders of the day. Sea-power and mercantile-*cum*-political imperialism led to the greatest period of Oceanic wars. England fought the Bourbons of France and Spain (1739-1763) when Canada and North America became completely British although French language, law and culture continued in Quebec, New Orelans and a few other places. But the growing sense of economic self-sufficiency and new nationhood demanded freedom from the trammels off the British Parliament. As the result o the seven years (1756-63) the slogan "n taxation without representation" brought abou the Wars of American Independence, whic drove out of USA to Canada all those wh were pro-British and monarchists in thei sentiments. Edmund Burke's speeches on Ame rican Taxation and Conciliation were del vered apparently in vain and the Bourbons we engulfed by the Wars of the French Revoh tion and the Napoleonic wars. Like Alask purchased by USA from Tzarist Russia, ric and big French possessions along the Miss ssippi were won by the Lousiana purchas

The French lost Quebec and Montreal in 1759 just two centuries ago.

All these historic events came to my mind when I was floating along the coast of Newfoundland and Labrador, and then through the St. Lawrence I viewed Quebec. Since 1605 the French were building up there permanent settlement in Acadia or Nova Scotia which will celebrate soon its Bi-centenary. The French explorer Chanplain selected and built up Quebec as a natural fortress and Montreal as its sister city where the Rapids on the St. Lawrences river began. Acadia was ceded by the French to the British in 1713. Its area is 21,068 square miles with a population of 702,000 and revenue (1956-57) of about 60 million dollars.

Quebec is 594,860 sq. miles with a population of 4,055,681 (1951) out of which 3½ million are Roman Catholics who manage three universities: Laval founded in 1852, Montreal in 1876 and Sherbrooke in 1954. Catholic schools number 9,245 with 34,000 teachers while the Protestant schools with 355 teachers attend to 3,640 teachers. This French-speaking part of Canada works harmoniously with the English-speaking people, both sharing prosperity under a liberal and Federal Dominion Constitution.

But in 1837 there was almost a Franco-British rebellion averted by the wise Report of Lord Durham who warned: "I found two nations warring in the bosom of a single State; I found a struggle, not of principles but of races (French and British)". Alas, out of such a desperate situation, so many nations have suffered from Civil War or partition (as in India). But Canada was lucky and offered us thereby an example in peaceful negotiation leading to Federation (which could have been achieved also in the case of India and Pakistan, after a century).

Canada leads the way in self-government in political unification and in developing a foreign policy, independent of England and the powerful neighbour USA. Holding the Polar route, and the Arctic Ocean, Canada now is the main buffer-state between Soviet Russia and the United States; so Canada may yet play a great role as a "peace-maker" between the "Individual Capitalism of USA and the State Capitalism of the USSR," according to President Eisenhower's phraseology.* If better sense prevails to end the "Cold War" epoch, the two Polar Powers, USSR and Canada (with their secret reserves of Uranium and other strategic minerals), may remove coldness from the souls of many nations; and they may warmly co-operate to make the UNO really a fraternity of United Nations. With the warming of the Arctic Ocean, Canada and USA may come closer to vast China of 600 million souls; and a new North Eastern Passage may be opened by submarine (*Natilus* type) and jet planes and missile-letter Post Offices. In this age of planet making and inter-stellar researches in Astrophysics and Astronomy, the tempo of progress will be quickened beyond imagination. How to divert now this demoniac tempo towards destruction into constructive fellowship to conquer disease, death and poverty, still ravaging more than half of mankind?

These ideas convulsed my mind as I surveyed the superb yet sombre seascapes and landscapes† of Canada, passing from Montreal and Toronto (in Ontario: area 412,582 sq. miles; population 5,404,933) to the Canadian Niagara Falls (which I saw before from USA side). It presented to us a wizardly geological formation and horizon where the majestic flow of the downrushing river hides underneath the 'eating of the bedrock shelfs'—some of the oldest in America. Ontario's metropolis, Toronto (population 1½ million) is much bigger than Ottawa (population 340,460). Among the 5 universities of the State the biggest is the University of Toronto; it was founded in 1827

* "We have had relations with Europe because of our political and economic ties; with China and Japan because we are a Pacific power; with the USSR because of Geography. The world-wide connections of the USA arise almost exclusively from the obligations she had to assume as the greatest power in the world."
—Mr. Ford: Canadian Ambassador to Columbia.

† Cf. The *Unknown Country* by Bruce Hutchison:

"My country is hidden in the Dark. . . It it all visions and doubts, hopes and dreams. Who can know our loneliness on the immensity of prairie, in the dark forest and on the windy sea rocks? All around blackness, emptiness and silence!"

and has over 1,400 Professors attending to over 12,000 students. The Royal Ontario Museum has some rare collections of art and anthropology —especially of the American Indians (over 1 lac) and the Esquimos who appear even today (defying the Iron Curtain) in USSR Arctic zone as also in that of Canada.

In Toronto I was welcomed as a guest of our Unitarian friends Mr. and Mrs. Denison. The wife is a talented painter whose sketches I admired in her home-studio.

Mr. Denison was once a Mayor of Toronto now out building up a progressive Socialist Party, growing in importance in the midst of huge capitalistic developments. From Mr. Denison I got some idea of the Labour Unions and Party Government there. Canada, still belonging to the British Commonwealth, calls its Upper House—not House of Lords—but Senate following the USA; just as our Indian patriots called their biggest organization, the Congress not Parliament. The constitutional relations between UK and Canada were settled largely by the British North America Act of 1867, functioning now over 90 years.

British Columbia, on the Pacific-Asian coast, was established as a separate colony in 1858. So we got some publicity materials on the Centenary of that State, in 1958, celebrated with Royal glamour surprising the majority of Republicans in USA.

Newfoundland joined as the tenth province of Canada (31 March, 1949) and after a peaceful treaty with Norway (1931) Canada now "holds sovereignty in the whole Arctic sector, north of the Canadian mainland." Just as Norway avoided near war with Sweden over their boundaries and are living together peacefully, so, we found perfect peace maintained between USA and Canada having thousands of miles frontiers. So that, I and my fellow-delegates seldom noticed the change of climate (including that of Customs officers) and landscapes between Detroit (half Canadian) and Chicago, the venue of the Congress of Religious Freedom (IARF).

Canada to USA

As we passed from the shores of Lake Ontario to those of Lake Michigan I was welcomed by a hospitable Unitarian couple Dr. and Mrs. Pulman, Canadian Detroit. They know a good deal about India through their contact with the Brahmo Samaj of Calcutta and their genuine appreciation of our great pioneer, Raja Rammohun Roy and of Dr. Rabindranath Tagore.

They showed us the gigantic industrial plants of the Ford Motor Co. which manufactures about 50 per cent of the total USA motor cars. The total number of plants are 35 (1954) employing 346,079 workers paying them $1,739,924,000 in wages and salaries.

Our Unitarian friends kindly came up to the Chicago University to listen to my address on "Hinduism." They asked me to come again after Queen Elizabeth II opens soon the lock-gates and dams; so that, as soon as we reach the St. Lawrence river post of Montreal, the ocean-going liners could be safely taken from lake to lake, thus gliding down to Lake Michigan on which stands our lovely multi-storyed Hotel Windermere! Thanking my guests, I entered again Chicago where I saluted in 1953 Swami Vivekananda, who came in 1893 to attend the Parliament of Religions. Swami Visvananda then kindly showed me the Chicago sites associated with Vivekananda legend. To celebrate the Golden Jubilee, as it were, of the Parliament of Religions (1893), the IARF demanded to hold their Congress of Religious Freedom in Chicago In the interval of the session I revisited the wonderful collection of the Field Museum as well as the Library and the galleries of the famous Oriental Institute.

I need not give a gist of my address on "Hinduism" which (minus my oral commentaries) was published after my return to Calcutta (vide *The Modern Review*, November, 1958) and also in the *Bulletin of the Ramakrishna Institute of Culture*, where I delivered two lectures developing my plan of publishing books from Free India, under the Institute's plan with the Unesco, to foster mutual understanding of the East and West. I found, in 1952-53, as a Visiting Professor of Asian Civilisation in St. Paul, Minnesota, that the Ford Foundation financed the publication of the Great Books of the West. Such a foundation and the Unesco may be approached, now by India, for publishing another and much-needed series entitled "Great Books of the East."

supplementing the work of Max Muller's *Sacred Books of the East*, planned nearly a century ago. India is the major partner of the Afro-Asian Federation and has a background of literary tradition of centuries, permitting India to sponsor and publish the series, from the standpoint of comparative religion, literature and culture.

My friend and fellow-delegate, Sri J. N. Das, Secretary, Sadharan Brahmo Samaj, wisely remarked:

"The learned addresses delivered by the five presidents (representing Hinduism, Buddhism, Judaism, Christianity and Islam) were no doubt pregnant with philosophical thoughts as well as historical view-points. But it is difficult to say how far they could help to show how the religion that each president advocated could meet the present-day needs of the world; . . . really there is only one religion for all, *i.e.*, Fatherhood of God and Brotherhood of Man."

Asia is the veritable cradle of all the major religions of the world, as I affirmed in my address and appealed for world support in propagating Peace and Understanding through Religion and the Asian Classics to be named the *Great Books of the East*.

Presidential addresses apart, the five principal speakers were invited to participate in a studio symposium on Unity through Religion which was given the widest publicity by the Columbia Broadcasting and Television Co. serving from coast to coast.

After the Chicago Congress, the delegates were taken charge of by the special committee showing us the most important sites and monuments of the USA. They took us to the earliest Chapels of New England where the Pilgrim Fathers (1620) held their first prayers and Thanks-giving ceremonies. The Harvard School (now the richest University and Divinity School) was founded in 1635 in Cambridge, Mass. A century after was born George Washington (1732) originally of British parentage and a British officer who fought (1776-1783) against the despotic British Government and won freedom for America. We saw his Virginia home with a special guest room—for his noble French ally General Lafayette. The 18th century Manor house so well preserved, elicited our deep admiration. Not only military glory but spiritual devotion, freedom of thought and literary creations were also unfolded to us, as we were taken to visit the Chapel of the great Unitarian Minister Channing (born 1782, a junior contemporary of Rammohun Roy), the sylvan home of Emerson in Concord where came also Thoreau who influenced Gandhiji in his plan and principle of Passive Resistance.

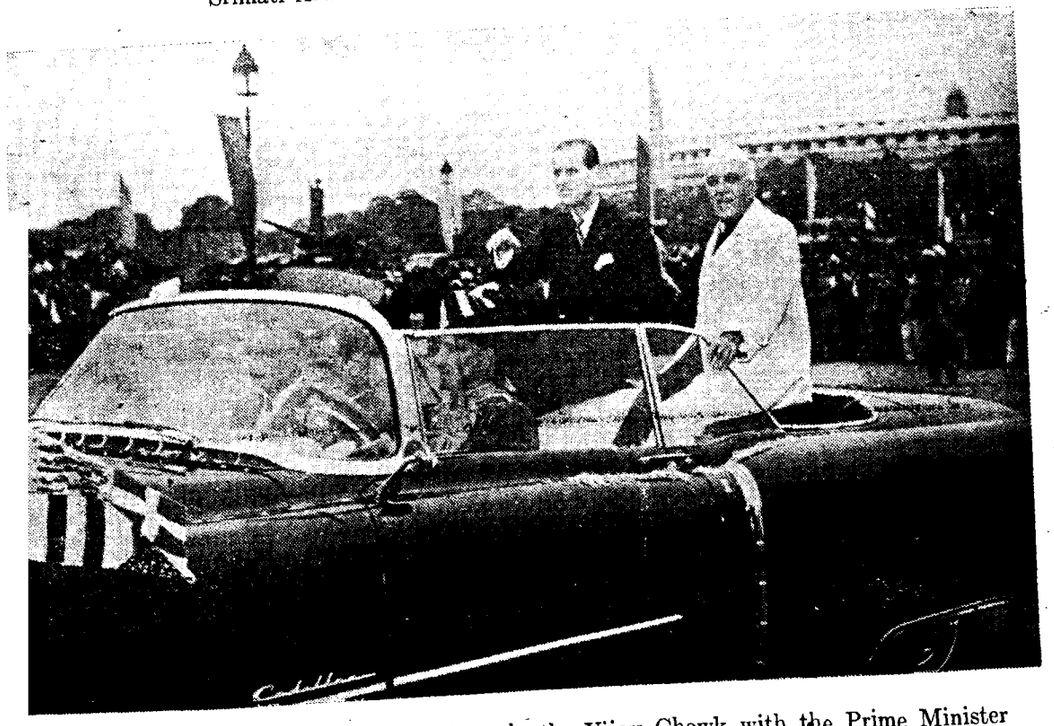
Coming to Boston I was deeply touched by the historical and spiritual atmosphere of the place, the cradle and the headquarters of the American Unitarian Association. Its new President Dr. Dana McLean Greeley gave us all help and a cordial reception. So the Rev. Dr. E. W. Kuebler, newly elected President of the International Association for Liberal Christianity and Religious Freedom, gave us his friendly co-operation. When from the USA I came to England to meet my friends of the British Unitarian Association (Gordon Sq., London), I was glad to hear that Dr. Kuebler would personally attend the consecration of the old Unitarian Church Centre, the Essex Hall, destroyed by bombing in the last war.

But before leaving America I thankfully remembered the generous hospitality, so characteristic of American men and women and their genuine sympathy for the young Republic of ancient India. We were touched also by their profound admiration of the ideals for which Mahatma Gandhi sacrificed his life. So, among the heavy-loaded tour-*cum*-cultural programmes, our American friends brought us to the superb Abraham Lincoln (1809-1865) Memorial in Washington. There I paid my sincere and silent homage to the great American who built, with his life-blood, the Union of the North and the South (avoiding partition) and proclaimed, with his prophetic voice, his Hymn to Democracy "of the people, by the people and for the people." His words rang in my ears, as I stood at the foot of the Lincoln Monument and I offer him our deep respects on his 150th Birth anniversary.

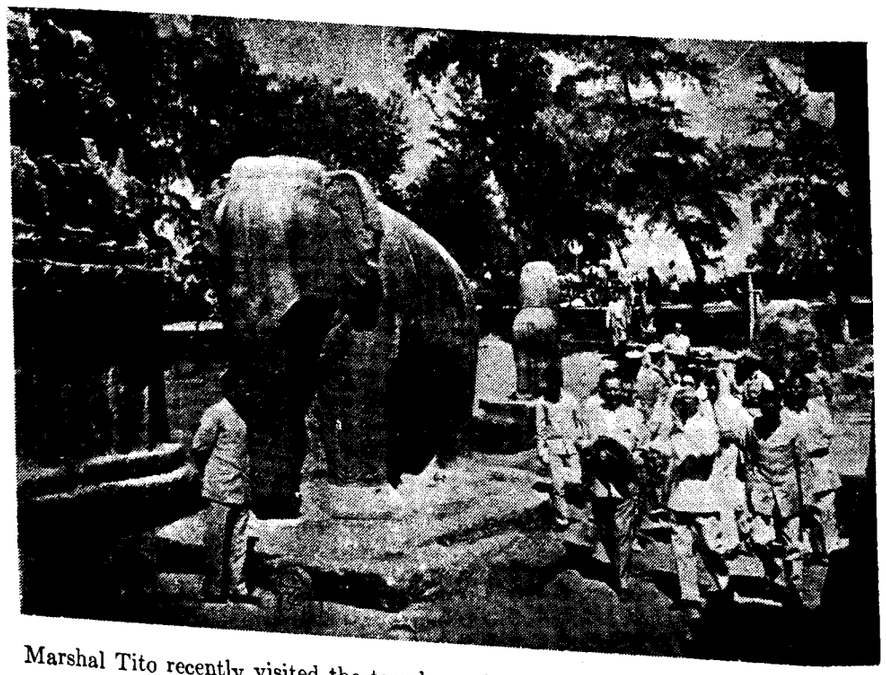
Touring from British Canada in the North to the United States in the middle, I wished also further progress, prosperity and peace, to the republics of Latin America (from Mexico to Chile) which I visited in 1936 during the International PEN Congress, Buenos Aires



Prince Philip, the Duke of Edinburgh, on his 14-day tour of India was received at the Palam Airport by the Prime Minister, Sri Jawaharlal Nehru and Srimati Aruna Asaf Ali, Mayor of Delhi Corporation



The Duke of Edinburgh driving through the Vijay Chowk with the Prime Minister



Marshal Tito recently visited the temples and monolithic sculpture at Mahabalipuram near Madras. In the foreground is a giant rock-cut elephant



The distinguished visitors watching a kathack dance performance by Kumari Archana, presented at Rastrapati Bhavan in honour of Marshal Tito and Madame Jovanka Broz Tito

Argentina. I shared my impressions with our learned colleagues of the London PEN and its musician Secretary, David Carver, who gave me a reception, as Vice-President of our Bengal PEN. Through Literature and Art, Religion and Philosophy, the common men and women of the West may yet help maintaining sanity in this panicky age of Atomic destruction.

But India of Tagore and Gandhi will eve hold to the spiritual moorings of Peace an Fellowship which, we hope, will bring all race together in a Fraternity of Faiths and Worl Brotherhood.

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A DECADE OF ADMINISTRATIVE CHANGE IN INDIA

By P. R. DUBHASHI, M.A., I.A.S.

I. Continuity and Change

History is a product of *continuity and change*. The history of the first decade of Independence is no exception. During the last ten years several historical factors have served to change the face of the country; but several other factors have made for continuity; and it may be said with certainty that Public Administration has been one of the factors that put its weight on the side of countinuity. Among the several legacies of the British rule in the country, one that was recognised as an asset was the Administrative system. After ten years of change, the core of the administrative machine, built up by the Britishers, still remains intact. The Secretariat and Departments at the Centre with their staff organisations, the State Secretariates and the State Departments with their staff and line organisations and the urban and rural Local Self-Government institutions still constitute the blue print of the administrative system. District continues to be and indeed has grown in importance as the pivot of administration. The Revenue Administration with its ramifications reaching down to the village still continues to be the agency through which the Government contacts the villager. The great judicial system embodying the principle of the Rule of Law has gained in stature as the watch-dog of the Constitution. The Police Administration with 'Thana' as its basic Unit still continues to be the protector of person and property. The great system of Audit and Accounts continues with even higher responsibilities as the custodian of the State Exchequer.

But if public administration has been a factor making for continuity, it has not been working in a water-tight compartment of its own. It could not have worked isolated from or uninfluenced by several changing factors around it. A distinction has been made between Public Administration as process and Public Administration as politics. The former covers matters like—organisations, techniques, methods, procedures and personnel which are internal to administration. The latter refers to general political set-up, the basic purposes of the State, the fundamental principles which govern politics and which as a totality powerfully influence and alter the internal processes of Administration. These latter have undergone a revolutionary transformation and the administrative history of the last decade must principally consider the *influence of the political revolution on the inner processes of Administration*.

II. Unusual Developments

But the political revolution with its far-reaching consequence on Administration was accompanied by certain unusual developments which followed in the wake of Independence. Their administrative consequences were considerable not only in the short run but also in the long run. Independence was accompanied by Partition. That partition was not only of the Nation but also of States. This partition

at once created two administrative problems of major importance—one was refugee rehabilitation and the other was that of bringing about administrative divisions to match the political divisions. Refugee rehabilitation constituted a formidable administrative problem. It required all administrative resources to settle down a total population of 74-80 lakhs of displaced persons—49.05 lakhs from West Pakistan and 25.75 lakhs from East Pakistan. Relief to displaced persons, settlement of property claims, schemes for urban and rural settlement, provision of employment opportunities, provision of loans and business and industrial premises, training and education of displaced persons, were the several problems tackled by the Ministry of Rehabilitation and the Director General for Resettlement and Employment. It is no mean an administrative achievement that displaced persons have now been, by and large, absorbed into country's economic and social life. Perhaps, even more formidable was the problem of partition. Political partition cut across the administrative units. It meant partition of armed forces, forces of civil personnel and records, of assets and liabilities, of revenue, currency, coinage, exchange, budget accounts, railways, posts, telegraphs and A.I.R. For tackling these problems, a Partition Apex Committee was established, under which several Steering Committees required to handle several problems of division mentioned above. According to contemporary Western Commentator, "the success of Partition Committees reflected great credit upon statesmen of the new States and their officials, who with a tradition of working together, confirmed their patient negotiations even when political bitterness was at its highest."

Of even more far-reaching effect on administration than these, was the sudden loss of the service of experienced officers. The I.C.S. steel frame had built up a reputation for efficiency. The steel frame was now breaking. Civil servants were asked whether they wanted to continue or not after 15th August 1947. Their conditions were guaranteed. Yet, almost all European members of the Civil Service chose to bid good-bye and majority of the Muslim civil servants opted for Pakistan. Thus, nearly 600 members of the Indian Civil Service left India, leaving about 400 officers to shoulder the burden of responsibilities in the new State. The Indian police too suffered a similar fate The great void thus created was filled up by emergency recruitment from the States services, Army officers and open market, and though this might have been the only course possible, there was no doubt that it meant an abandonment of the established principle of recruitment to the Civil Service, viz., through open competition.

The admnistrative problems created by Partition were followed by problems of Integration of States. The States Ministry, manned by an able group of Civil Servants and led by a great politician-administrator, tackled this problem with rare skill and out of the integration of hundreds of the princely States, emerged 9 Part A States, 9 Part B States and 10 Part C States. This great problem did not, however, end till the passing of States Reorganisation Act 1956, which created, mostly on linguistic basis, 13 Part A States, 1 Part B State and 5 Part C States. All these developments created administrative problems of division of assets and liabilities, not dissimilar to those arising after partition.

With the problems of partition were the problems of scarcity of several essential things like cement and steel, but above all, of food. The problems of controlled distribution of scarce commodities were all important during the first few years of Independence. In fact, the period from 1947 to 1951 could well be styled as the era of emergency administration—emergency created by partition and scarcity. "During the first phase, the consolidation of freedom, the political and financial integration of territories of the former Indian States, the drawing up of a new Constitution, the rehabilitation of displaced persons, and the establishment of new and common administrative services for the Centre and the States, were the urgent preoccupations of Government. The

inauguration of the Constitution early in 1950 and the decision to undertake planned development on a national scale, to fulfil the directions of State policy, embodied in Constitution, marked the second and longer phase—the building up of a Welfare State."

III. Administration for Democracy, Development and Socialism

From 1951 started the era of Administration for democracy, development and Socialism. With that, the Administration faced new and immensely vital tasks. On 26 November 1949 the Constituent Assembly adopted the Indian Constitution. The Administration, whch was an instrument of an Imperial Authority for colonial rule, became an instrument of Sovereign Democratic Republic. Parliament became under the Constitution, the embodiment of this Sovereign Democratic Republic. Article 326 of the Constitution laid down that "the elections to the House of People and Legislative Assembly of every State shall be on the basis of *adult suffrage*." The administrative consequences of these principles were gargantuan.

The administration had to shoulder the burden of arranging the election for the greatest democracy of the world. True, the Constitution vested the responsibility for the conduct of elections and the superintendence and control of the preparation of electoral rolls in the Election Commission "consisting of Chief Election Commissioner and such other members of the Election Commission as President may fix from time to time." But this Election Commission had no field administration of its own. It relied upon a normal administrative machinery itself and it redounds to the credit of this machinery that it stood the strain of this greatest experiment of democratic election, very creditably indeed. By and large, Indian elections were considered to be fair and impartial. The spectacular aspects of this Election Administration were seen only at the time of the two General Elections. But in fact, it had to be active and vigilant every year throughout. Thus, one of the special features of Election Administration was its ordinary and extra-ordinary phase. Its ordinary working consisted of its unostentatious, but by no means, unimportant work of revision of electoral rolls. Initial printing of these rolls at the time of the First General Elections was a formidable printing effort. But the job did not end there. Every year, these rolls had to be brought up-to-date. Every year, it was necessary to take account of the deaths and growths on the one hand, and immigrations and emigrations on the other, in addition, of course, to the printer's devils. Additions, deletions and corrections were annually made to keep the rolls up-to-date. The additions, deletions and corrections warranted by births and deaths, immigrations and emigrations in 5.5 lakhs of Indian villages had to be noted and in doing this job the Revenue Administration with its octopus tentacles reaching every village gave yet another illustration to prove its claim that it is the backbone of Government. This work of the revision of rolls was done every year according to a well thought-out calendar of work and was a remarkable example of planned team work.

This silent machinery burst into activity at the time of elections. Election Administration proved an outstanding example of organisation of human and material resources. Election Administration had the "Polling Station" as its unit of voting and "Constituency" as the unit of election. Every Polling Station had to be manned by a Presiding Officer, assisted by a team of six Polling Officers, a Lady Assistant and Menial and Police staff. Every Constituency had to be supervised by a Returning Officer, assisted by Assistant Returning Officers. Every Polling-Station had to be provided with ballot boxes, ballot papers, seals and about forty pieces of election articles and stationery. Every polling team had to be trained through lectures, demonstrations and mock-elections. A District easily required more than 100 trained teams. Polling-Stations had to be erected in the remotest villages. Deployment of men and material at the right time to these dispersed Polling-Stations and receiving polled boxes sometimes beyond midnight called for the highest organisational skill, patience and vigilance from the administrative personnel.

Counting of ballot papers was yet another Herculean task, especially in double-member

Constituencies where the polled ballot papers ran into lakhs and the tedious method of finding out cumulative voting required more than hundred Counting Clerks to work continuously for more than two or even three days.

The Election Administration was distinguished not only by the enormity of its scale of operation, but also by the fact that it required the effective utilisation of an amateur staff, imparted concentrated training in a short span of time for an arduous job, bristling with technicalities. There can be no nobler proof of the devotion of administrative personnel to democracy than the very hard job they have done in electing Parliament and Legislatures of the Indian Democracy.

The Administration which served to elect the Democratic Parliament, also served to fulfil the basic purposes of the State enunciated in the preamble of the Constitution, *viz.*, to secure to all its citizens, "justice—social, economic and political, liberty of thought, belief, faith and worship, equality of status and opportunity." Administration, which during the British regime, was an instrument of the Police State, now became an instrument of a Welfare State. The Constitution stated in its Directive Principles of State Policy (Article 38 of the Constitution) that "the State shall strive to promote the welfare of the people by securing and protecting as effectively as it may, a social order in which justice—social, economic and political, shall inform all the institutions of National life." Administration also became an instrument for the introduction of a Socialistic Pattern of Society. In December 1954, Parliament adopted the Socialistic Pattern of Society as the objective of social and economic policy. But the basic principles of the Socialistic Pattern were laid down in the Constitution itself. "The State shall direct its policy towards securing that

(a) The citizens, men and women, equally have the right to an adequate means of livelihood;

(b) That the ownership and control of the material resources of the community are so distributed as best to subserve the common good;

(c) That the operation of the economic system does not result in concentration of wealth and means of production to the common detriment;

(d) That there is equal pay for equal work for both men and women."

Article 41 directed that the State shall make effective provision for securing the right to work, to education and to public assistance in cases of unemployment, old age, sickness and disablement. Article 42 required the State to ensure just and humane conditions of work and to provide Maternity Schemes. Article 43 emphasised the need for a living wage and for promotion of Co-operative Cottage Industry. Article 48 enjoined the State to endeavour to organise Agriculture and Animal Husbandry on modern and scientific lines.

Administration had to be organised for attaining each of these objectives. To organise Agriculture and Animal Husbandry on modern and scientific lines, was set up the Community Development and National Extension Service Administration. To promote Cottage Industry on Co-operative lines, were set up Six Boards at the Centre. To ensure a living wage, was passed the Minimum Wages Legislation. To ensure just and humane condition for labour, was passed voluminous Labour Legislation. To assist in old age, sickness and disablement, by way of a start at least, was established the Employee's State Insurance Act Administration. To prevent the operation of the economic system from resulting in the concentration of wealth and means of production to the common detriment, was passed the Companies Act of 1956, which put great and grave responsibilities on Administration. To use the material resources for the common good was effected a considerable expansion of the Public Sector, especially in the field of Industry and to achieve all these, as well as to ensure that all citizens, men and women, equally have the right to adequate means of livelihood, were prepared the two Five-Year Plans.

The impact of all the forces on Administration was tremendous. Administration was no longer an instrument of Law and Order, but an agent of Welfare and Development. *Laissez-faire* could no longer be its ideal. Neutrality could no longer be its hall-mark. Administration was purposefully and positively involved in [illegible] development of the

masses, who became its Masters. In every sector of activity *laissez-faire* administration had to give way to planned administration. The scope of administration grew in volume, variety and diversity. Such far-reaching changes in the purposes and scope of Public Administration, called for major Administrative Reforms and considerable thought was given to this. Several Committees were appointed. "The Planning Commission had to consider the different fields, the question whether the present administrative machinery and methods were adequate and could meet the requirements of planned development."

Accordingly, it requested Mr. A. D. Gorwala to make a study and suggest measures for bringing about improvement in Public Administration, especially in relation to the implementation of Development Programmes of the Central and State Governments. Shri Gorwala addressed himself to the following points as of salient importance:

(a) Giving first place to first thing and making the best use of the best people—priorities for politics and personnel.

(b) Insisting on standards of integrity, implicit and explicit—not only the reality of integrity, but also the demonstrable appearance of integrity.

(c) Promotion of mutual understanding, proper readjustment of human relations involved in Government and Administration.

(d) Reorganising the machine so as to ensure greater speed, effectiveness and responsiveness.

(e) Arranging for proper training for the short-term as well as the long-term and planning proper recruitment for the long-term.

Apart from this Report on Public Administration, Shri Gorwala produced yet another valuable report on administration of Public enterprises, where he pointed out the superiority of the Public Corporation Organisation over the Departmental Organisation, for running public enterprises. Shri Gorwala's report on Public Administration was followed by a report of Shri Gopalaswamy Iyengar, who also suggested radical changes.

Two years after Gorwala's Report on Public Administration, Dean Paul H. Appleby prepared, at the instance of the Prime Minister, his survey of Public Administration. It was "complementary to the studies already undertaken." He considered Government of India as among the dozen or so most advanced Governments of the World. The Civil Service in India, he felt, was more uniformly established than in many other Governmental systems. Among the Chief merits of the Indian Administrative system, he mentioned, "a singularly unprejudiced approach to the consideration of Policy and Administrative method", "practices appreciative of the importance of the generalist", "presence of Administrative leaders, small in number when compared to needs, but of outstanding quality and devotion" and among its chief weaknesses, he listed "lack of action-mindedness," an 'administrative lack', a lack of highly developed capacity to conduct Action Institutions", extended diffusion of administrative responsibility and "insufficient consolidation of action discretion", "failure to use modern machinery, less type-writing and more long hand papers, less modern filing systems, more low-cost personnel and less well-paid personnel", "absence of pyramidal form essential to good hierarchical performance, for good communication, underpinning effective delegation and more constant development of personnel capacities", "too much and too constant consciousness of rank, class, title and service membership", "Rules of Business, Secretariat Instructions and Office Manuals, which are too didactic and confusing, too detailed and unimaginative and finally too much of 'rupee-pinching'." Appleby made two major recommendations, which were subsequently accepted, *viz.*, the establishment of Organisation and Methods Division and an Institute of Public Administration. Both these Institutions developed rapidly and revealed great potentialities. Appleby's first Report was published in 1953. Three years later, another report was published, which consisted of the "Re-examination of Indian Administrative System with special reference to Administration of Government's

Industrial and Commercial enterprises." He considered that "the general fault of the Indian administrative process exists in the practice of seeking agreement on everything by everybody before anything is done." He called for the fulfilment of administrative requirements of Bigger Government. He criticised the "total proliferation of special organisations. He severely criticised the greatly exaggerated notion of the importance of auditing which he considered to be a highly pedestrian function with narrow perspective and very limited usefulness." As regards the administration of State Industrial and Commercial enterprises, he felt that "the decision whether to establish a Corporation or a Company or an Executive ministry is not a fundamental and determining one." Success of State Industrial ond Commercial enterprises, according to him, depended upon rapid decision-making and rapid action.

Apart from the Administrative Reforms Committee at the All-India level, several Committees were constituted by individual States, the most important among them being the Karve Committee in Bombay, the Hyderabad Committee, the Rajasthan Administrative Enquiry Committee and the recently constituted Committee in Kerala whose report is keenly awaited.

Planning Commission also added to this new thinking in Administrative Reform. The First Five-Year Plan report stipulated that integrity, efficiency, economy and public co-operation were the prinripal objectives to be achieved in Public Administration. It gave special attention to re-organisation of District Administration on the following lines:

1. Strengthening and improving the machinery for general administration.
2. Establishment of an appropriate agency of development at the village level.
3. Integration of activities of various Development Departments in the district and provision of common Extension Organisation.
4. Linking up in relation to all Development work, of Local Self-Governing Institutions with Administrative Agencies of State Government, and
5. Regional Co-ordination and supervision of District Development Programmes.

It also emprasized the need of public co-operation in the Development Administration.

The Second Five-Year Plan enumerated its principal administrative tasks as follows:

1. Ensuring integrity in Administration.
2. Building up Administrative and Technical Cadres.
3. Continuously assessing personnel requirements and organising large-scale training programmes in all fields.
4. Devising speedy, efficient, and economic methods of work and objective evaluation of methods of results.
5. Carrying technical, financial and other aids to small producers in Agriculture and Industry.
6. Building up of organisation for efficient management of public enterprise in Industrial and Commercial undertakings, Transport services and River Valley Schemes.
7. Securing local community action and public participation so as to obtain maximum results from public expenditure.
8. Strengthening co-operative sector of the economy through assistance in Managerial and Technical personnel, and establishment of Co-operative, Financial, Marketing and other institutions.
9. Co-ordination in policy and programmes in different sectors of the economy.
10. Carrying further the measures enumerated in the First Five-Year Plan for re-organisation of District Administration.

Planning Commission established by Government of India in March 1950, became the apex of Planning and Development Administration. Both for the preparation and implementation of the Plan, was required a Plan Administration from top to bottom. The conscious adoption of a democratic planning as opposed to totalitarian planning required that planning should not be a product of a Master mind to be imposed from above, but a synthesis of "grass root" plans coming from below. To this end, were established the National Development Council at the Centre, State Development Councils at the State level, the District Development Councils at the

District level, the Block Advisory Committees at the Block level, and the Village Panchayats at the village level. A vertical hierarchy of Planners was erected—the Prime Minister for National Planning, the Chief Minister for State Planning, the Collector for District Planning, the Block Development Officer for Block Planning and the Village Level Worker for Village Planning. The Planning machinery at every level had to prepare plans at its own level. This meant that National Plans had to be carefully broken into State, District, Block or Taluk and Village Plans. This was by no means an easy administrative task. It was necessary precisely to know which programmes could be taken up at National level and at no other lower levels, which others could be broken up at State level and no other levels below and so on. Moreover, at the District level, people's participation was an unknown, invariable, but very important component indeed, to supplement the Government resources serving as a nucleus. This experience of Planning from below was by no means a perfect success. At the beginning of the Second Five-Year Plan, plans were prepared for every village and those were summoned up at the Taluka and District levels. They were, however, prepared irrespective of the financial resources available. As a result, these Plans took more notice of the insatiable wants than of limited resources. No wonder that when they were totalled up at the State level, they had to be mercilessly pruned. The final pattern of Planning that emerged, therefore, was more a plan from above than a plan from below. This experience of planning from below clearly brought out the imperfections of Planning machinery, which had to be improved in several ways for making it a powerful instrument of planned actions.

(To be continued)

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INDO-GERMAN CULTURAL CO-OPERATION*

By Prof. TARAKNATH DAS

I

Some scholars now-a-days place tremendous emphasis on the doctrines of "struggle for existence" and "survival of the fittest," ignoring the vital importance of "co-operation" even in the very efforts for "struggle for existence"; although it is a fact, and an undeniable fact, that even wild animals and savages, not to speak of civilised men, must co-operate to carry on their struggle for existence. Development of all civilizations has been brought about through co-operation or Mutual Aid, to use the expression of Prince Kropatkin, among the members of the society. Lest I may be misunderstood, I wish to make it clear that importance of an individual and his contribution in developing a civilization or that of a genius in moulding the cultural life of a people can never be overestimated. But it is in an organised society an individual can contribute his best. It may not be out of place to mention here as an example that contributions of great learned individuals have been made possible through organisation of universities and learned societies, which have flourished, through united efforts of individuals, societies, nations and civilised world.

Isolation is the direct anti-thesis of co-operation. A society or a nation survives and grows through co-operation and it generally becomes weak and even dies in stagnation, caused by isolation. Thus on the one hand the cultural life of a people becomes enriched through co-operation or accepting or assimilating the best of other nations, while on the other hand cultural

*Substance of a speech delivered before the University of Munich on December 3rd, 1952, by Prof. Taraknath Das. The text of this speech reached us late for topical publication, but in view of the importance of the subject we publish it in memory of Taraknath Das. Ed.—M.R.

life of a people, through isolation stagnates, deteriorates and even perishes, due to lack of new stimulus. I may say that deterioration of the once-rich Chinese and Hindu civilization was primarily due to cultural isolation and prevailing spirit among the cultural leaders of these peoples that they were "superior peoples" and they had nothing to learn from others who to their estimation were supposed to be inferiors culturally and spiritually.

If a nation is to remain culturally vital and vigorous and to enrich world's cultural heritage, then it must increase its own cultural assets which can be achieved by cultural co-operation in the broadest sense of the expression. This fact is today recognised by leaders of all peoples. Even the politically, economically as well as culturally the strongest nations cannot afford to be isolationist and cannot maintain their prominence by pursuing a policy of isolation. Thus we find the United States of America, to enrich herself and at the same time to aid other nations is inviting "foreign students and scholars" in her universities. Today there are more than 50,000 foreign students and hundreds, if not thousands of foreign scholars of all types associated with educational institutions and industrial and commercial organisations and research institutions of the United States.

Germany has made very vital contributions to augment cultural assets of humanity. As a natural consequence of defeat in the last World Wars, Germany suffered great losses materially and also culturally. But as a vital and virile nation, the German people, through their unceasing efforts for recovery have already achieved a marvellous success which has astounded other nations. German businessmen and specially scholars are again going to various countries, as if to conquer new fields of their activities. Above all, foreign students, foreign professors, foreign industrialists have begun to visit Germany to study, to carry on higher scientific researches and economic and industrial collaboration. There is no question in my mind that Germany of tomorrow will play a vital role in cultural co-operation with all nations.

II

Now I wish to devote a short time in discussing the significance of Indo-German cultural co-operation, its recent history of a movement for systematic endeavour for Indo-German cultural co-operation and its future prospects.

When we study cultural history of mankind we find supreme importance of cultural collaboration between the East and the West. From ancient times India has played an important role in influencing the life—not merley material life, but thought-life—of the East and the West.

It is needless to emphasise the fact that wherever the spirit of Buddhist teachings has prevailed, there we find the influence of Indian thought; and I venture to say that Buddhism which flourished nearly seven centuries before the birth of Christ, has influenced the spiritual and ethical life of the peoples of China, Japan, Central Asia, all the regions of South-east Asia which is generally known as "Farther India." It may not be out of place to point out, as Prof. Will Durant and others have done, that Greek thought had been influenced by Indian thought. There is no question in my mind that the Upanishads and the Bhagavat Gita antidate writings of ancient Greek philosophers such as Pithagoras, Plato and others. Thus Hindus were the first to inquire into the Nature of Man and coming to the conclusion that human life is something more than material existence—man is more than his body. Thus came the doctrine of Immortality of Soul, the Atman and the relations of the Atman to Brahman (the Divine Essence,—the Essence of Being, the Essence of Intelligence and the Essence of Bliss) Hindus were the first to delve into the laws of Karma which might be wel compared with the "law of causation and succession," which was so well developed by the great German philosopher Kant and the doctrine of Dharma and supreme Importance of Duty in man's life. It was long before the advent of Christianity, the doctrine of Compassion for all

proclaimed by Buddha and it was he who preached the doctrine that "hatred cannot be conquered by hatred, but hatred can be conquered only by love." The spiritual and ethical values of life as understood by the Hindus have long since been regarded as not a special property of the Hindus, but spiritual heritage of mankind.

Achievements of ancient Hindus were not limited to the fields of philosophy, ethics and religion. The peoples of ancient India built great empires and made substantial contributions in the fields of political theories and governmental administration as well as in the fields of positive sciences.

Western scholars have often given adequate recognition of contributions of the Arabs in the fields of sciences, specially mathematics and medicine. But the fact remains that fundamental contributions of the Arabs were nothing but the original contribution of Hindus, translated by the Arabs. Even the Islamic architecture, so Havel has pointed out, had its foundation in Buddhist architecture. It may be recorded here that for a period of a thousand years and longer—from the days of Asoka to those of Harsha and his successors, many Indian universities flourished and students from all parts of the world flocked there, where the ideal of investigations was founded on the doctrine "Victory of Truth."

With the downfall of India politically she naturally did not make great contribution in cultural fields direclty. But it may be said that she in many ways conquered the conquerors in the field of cultural life of the Islamic peoples and also their Western conquerors (as the Greeks did with the Romans). However, it may be noted here that not until the end of the nineteenth century the western world did not konw much or anything about the richness of Hindu culture. Credit must be given to the British scholars, Jones, Williams and others, who, during the administration of Warren Hastings as the Governor General of India, under the East India Company, while searching after the sources of Hindu laws, social institutions and customs, discovered vast storehouse of ancient Hindu literature and the relation of Sanskrit to all Indo-Germanic languages.

From the cultural point of view, even during the time of Frederick the Great, German language did not attain maturity and there was no German nation—United Germany—in the modern sense of the term. But it was most interesting that it was Germany with her cultural awakening or assertion took the most prominent part in the study of science of philology, linguistics and comparative literature and thus Indian



Dr. Franz Theirfelder, President of India Institute, welcoming Prof. Taraknath Das before he delivered his speech at the Universtiy of Munich

cultural assets—Bopp in the field of linguistics and Grammar, Schopenhauer and others in the field of Philosophy, Goethe, who appreciated Kalidas's Shakuntala, in the field of literature. Later on came Max Muller, Duessen, Oldenberg, Hildebrandt, Jolly, Geiger Winternitz and a host of great scholars and Indologists, who have done so much to spread Indian thought among the Western people. I wish to pay

tribute to German universities for the recognition they have given to importance of Indian culture, by establishing chairs on Indology and providing facilities for researches. By the beginning of the twentieth century Indian scholars wanting to specialise in Sanskrit and study it critically as well as Arabic and Persian and other fields of Oriental studies, began to come to Germany to study under German masters.

In modern times the German people have shown great appreciation of writings of great men of India—men of spirit such as Swami Vivekananda, Rabindranath Tagore, Sri Aurobindo, Mahatma Gandhi. The nature and depth of this appreciation can be fully understood from what Dr. Rabindranath Tagore once told me in answer to a question about his estimate of valuation of his works in the West. He said to the following effect:

"It was a group of British friends who induced me to translate a few of my poems from Bengali to English. They did so because of a very high estimate they had of the meaning behind these poems. Thus my *Gitanjali* or *Song Offering* was published. But when, in recognition of the universal character of the message in them and also its literary value, I was awarded the Nobel Prize of literature, it received world recognition. This had a greater significance—recognition of universality of mind, and refutation of all foolish assertions that the East and West could never meet. After I got the Nobel Prize, my books began to be translated into various languages and they spread all over the world. Japan was the first country where the Government through the Imperial University at Tokyo invited me to deliver a course of lectures. I must say that when I was in Japan, I first fully realised the extent of influence of ancient Hindu thought in Japan. But I was also conscious of the possibility of development of materialism and imperialism in Japan against which I gave my warning. But if one is to estimate the appreciation from the number of my books published and sold in a country, then I must say that it was Germany which showed the greatest recognition, because the number of my books sold in Germany was greater than those sold in all other lands. During my visit to Germany I felt the warmth of reception greater than anywhere alse."

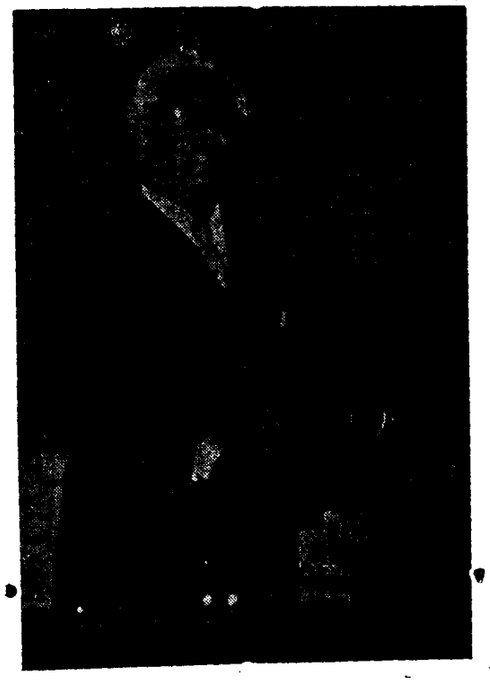
This appreciation of Tagore's works was not due merely to curiosity—seeking among Germans, but was due to the character of the literature in which the ideal of supremacy of Spirit over matter has been revealed with exquisite beauty and elegance. This literature is something like art and is an expression of the finest ideals and messages common in all religions. The same may be said about works of Vivekananda and Gandhi which inspire a new hope for men seeking for Peace for Inner Man and Humanity at large. I presume that this aspect of Indian contribution may be of great value to all mankind.

III

Political subjugation of a nation leads to its isolation in every field, and when a nation tries to become free and independent, it invariably tries to break the chain of isolation, politically, economically and specially culturally. During the early second half of the nineteenth century—about 1860, Indian students first began to go England primarily to seek opportunities for passing Civil Service Examination and thus qualifying themselves for securing positions of importance under the British Government. Later large numbers of Indian students began to go to England to study Law, Medicine and Engineering. Up to the opening of the twentieth century, India's contact with the West was primarily a contact with the British. This contact had its favourable side, but this contact was never a normal one, because the British were the rulers and the Indians were the ruled. However, with the growth of Indian nationalist movement at the beginning of the twentieth century, specially after the Russo-Japanese War, Indian students, specially those who were interested in Indian Freedom and development of Indian industries and re-assertion of India culturally, began to go to three lands—the United States of America, Germany and Japan—

because these countries were not opposed to and in fact were sympathetic to Indian national aspirations. America was regarded as the land of opportunity and freedom where men and women of all countries could work their way to get into the realm of higher education; German science and efficiency was highly appreciated by Indian scholars who wanted to become great scientists; and Japan was regarded as the only Asian country which had genuine and active sympathy for Asian Freedom and thus Indian Freedom.

Those Indians who could go to the United States had the great advantage of knowing the language of the country, while those who went to Germany and Japan had the great difficulty of learning a new language. But the number of Indian students slowly and slowly grew in German universities. By the time the First World War, 1914, broke out, there must have been more than fifty Indian students in different German universities; and some of them on their own initiative suggested to the German authorities that they would be glad to help the German cause against the British. The Germans, up to this time, did not think of the political and military value of India, and they hardly expected that Indian Power would be used against them so effectively in European, Asian and African battle-fields. Men like the German Chancellor Bethman Holwegg was hoping for British neutrality and some German politicians were dreaming about a successful Indian revolution during the World War I. Germans got a rude awakening about their own negligence of cultivating Indian friendship. Some German educators, like the late Eduard Meyers, the great historian, statesman Erzberger and a cultured Foreign Office Official, Baron von Oppenheim, became interested in the need of cultivating Indo-German Co-operation. But during the World War I, this effort was vitiated with the ideal of using India, at least to create a political and military diversion against Britain. Thus this effort was really not an effort to promote cultural understanding, but was an expression of Kultur-Politik in War time and therefore it did not have any spiritual basis and no permanence. After the first World War, defeated Germany with all her miseries did not have any use for India which fought against her, and poor Germany was not in a position to spend any money for Indo-German cultural co-operation, while her own studens, university students, did not have enough food and were starving.



Prof. Taraknath Das, one of the founders of India Institute speaking before a distinguished audience of professors and students of Munich University

IV

As early as 1914 I was one of the Indians who was deeply interested in Indo-German Co-operation and induced my teacher, the late Professor Eduard Meyers of Berlin, to give special attention to it. But I learnt my lesson that any effort for cultural co-operation controlled and directed by any Government or a group of Government officials might ultimately degenerate into a political movement camouflaged as a cultural movement. Thus

in 1925-26 when my wife and I came to Germany, we tried to find out if there was any possibility of starting a movement for co-operation between Germany and India purely on cultural basis. Not until 1927, I could find a group of German scholars who were interested in the idea and through their efforts, India Institute of Die Deutsche Akademie was founded during the academic year of 1927-28. Its programme was very simple: to secure a few scholarships, which will consist of free tuition and room and board, for really brilliant Indian graduates, for higher education in Germany, so that they would devote their life in educational work or increasing Indian national efficiency in scientific, industrial and medical endeavors. The programme also consisted of sending German professors to Indian universities to lecture, while Indian professors were to lecture in German universities on various subjects, specially on Indian History, etc.

It was possible to carry out the first part of our programme because German universities were willing to co-operate with India Institute. I am happy to say that in 1928-29 the University of Munich and Technische Hochschule of Munich were the first to extend four scholarships—one on Medicine, one on Indology, one on Applied Chemistry and one in Mechanical Engineering. The first scholar in Mechanical Engineering, Dr. Triguna Sen, is still serving India as the Principal of the College of Technology and Engineering near Calcutta, one of the largest Engineering Colleges in India. The example of Munich was followed by other universities, Stuttgart, Heidelberg and others; and our work flourished for a time. Nearly 100 Indian scholars from all parts of India were given scholarships and they creditably finished their studies in German universities. Today many of them are associated with Indian universities and as monuments of Indo-German Cultural Co-operation while others are serving Indian Government and industries.

The second part of the programme was also carried out in co-operation with the educational authorities of Munich and Calcutta University. The late Professor Benoy Kumar Sarkar of Calcutta University and National Council of Education, Bengal, was invited to deliver a course of lectures on Indian History at the Technische Hochschule of Munich and he also lectured in other institutions in Germany; while the late Professor Sommerfeld was invited by Calcutta University to deliver a course of lectures on Mathematical physics. The work of India Institute of Die Deutsche Akademie was a great success, but during the Hitler regime when the cultural institute was made a political instrument, the work was completely destroyed.

V

In 1949 the work of India Institute was revived primarily through the efforts of Dr. Franz Thierfelder, the present President and one of the founders of the old institute and others.* It has been helping Indian students in Germany many ways. It is helping Indian scholars and public men and businessmen to get in touch with proper parties in Germany so that they will be able to accomplish their mission in Germany and be in close touch with the German people. India Institute has been helpful to industrial concern like Tata & Co., by helping their apprentice engineers while getting practical training in this country.

It is the hope of India Institute (and also my hope too) that it will be able to arrange that German scientists and distinguished professors may go to India to serve Indian institutions for higher education and in raising her national efficiency. With the growing eonomic recovery of Germany German businessmen are trying to secure equal opportunities for trade in all parts of India and it seems that there are fine prospects of economic co-operation between India and Germany. It is also heartening that the Government of India has shown generous attitude towards Germany in

*Prof. Dr. Taraknath Das took the initiative to revive the work and made the largest contribution to carry on the work of India Institute.

settling the problems arising from the war. Thus it is apparent that there is every possibility for co-operation between two countries which have common interests in world affairs.

It is gratifying that during recent months the Government of India has arranged for giving several scholarships to Indian students to carry on higher studies and practical work in Germany. Some Indian universities have also taken steps to promote German studies while German universities have established lecturerships to teach Hindi. Through the generosity of West German Government several Indian students who have been studying in German universities and have demonstrated exceptional ability, have been awarded scholarships so that they would be able to finish their work. The cumulative effect of these activities will certainly produce most favorable possibilities for greater cultural co-operartion and better understanding between these two great peoples.

Here I wish to take the liberty to suggest that the scope of Indian studies in German universities should be broadened to embrace all phases of Indian life—history, economics, politics as well as philosophy, literature, art, music, etc. It will be most desirable that in every culture-centre of Germany, i.e., in important universities there should be an Indian professor among the members of the faculty. Presence of foreign students in German universities help broadening the outlook of German students; and may I say that foriegn scholars as members of faculties in German universities may also be useful to help the German scholars to understand the view-points of foreigners in various matters. Similarly I also hope there will be also German professors and students in Indian universities and the scope of German studies in Indian universities may not be limited to study the German language, but will include German History, Politics, Ecnomics, etc.

At this point, if I may be permitted to make a digression, I wish to say that the future of the great German and the Indian peoples are bright and they will play very significant roles in world affairs. If Europe is to survive, then the European people should work together and develop the ideal of a European community which is bound to be a very vital factor in the West and thus the world. Without German participation on the basis of equality there cannot be a



Prof. Dr. Rheinfelder of Bavarian Ministry of Education congratulating Prof. Das after his lectures

European Community, and in the final analysis, if there is going to be a European Community and One World, then it is imperative that there should be a United Germany. United Germany in a United Europe will help to strengthen her in every way, while she will not become a disturbing factor which will be opposed to her interest. Similarly India is the heart of Asia, there cannot be any decision regarding any part of Asia without taking Indian interests into consideration. In fact from the Suez and the beyond in the West and Indonesia and other lands in the East or East Asia form the left and right flanks of

great India. If there is going to be a real community of interest among Asian peoples, then India is going to play an important part. India to play her part effectively will have to strengthen her own position. Just as there is no room for a divided Germany in a United Europe, so according to my judgment there is no room for a partitioned India. As a partitioned Germany has become an asset to the cause of Soviet Russian expansion in Europe, so partitioning of India has strengthened Russian and Chinese position in Asia.

Partition of Germany is merely an episode in her history, so is also the case with partitioned India; and in course of time there will be a United Germany as well as a United India to play their legitimate role in world affairs toward maintenance of peace among nations.

The work of cultural co-operation between Germany and India is of vital importance not only for these two countries but for the rest of the world. India may rightly be regarded as the heart of Asia and Germany is the heart of Europe; and better understanding between these peoples will help the course of better relations between the East and the West, which is one of the most important factors for the cause of world peace. India Institute can do a great deal more effective work to accomplish its objective, provided it receives active moral and economic support from those who can afford to extend it and have the full sympathy for the cause. It is my hope that activities for cultural co-operation and better understanding between India and Germany will be crowned with success.

Munich, December 3, 1952.

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GREAT AZERBAIJAN POET

400th Anniversary of the Death of Muhammet Fizuli

By MAMED JAFAR

The 400th anniversary of the death of Muhammet Fizuli, eminent Azerbaijan poet, is widely marked in the Soviet Union.

This poet, one of the towering figures in Azerbaijan literature after Nizami, Hagani and Nasimi, exerted an even more potent influence on the development of literature in the Near and Middle East than his illustrious predecessors.

Fizuli was an exponent of the progressive national traditions in literature as well as in the social, political and philosophical spheres of his time. And he contributed to the development and spread of these progressive traditions throughout the Orient. The impact of his genius was so great that after Nizami and Navoi, he elevated literary thought to new heights not only in Azerbaijan but among all the peoples living in the Near and Middle East.

This made Fizuli enjoy in his own lifetime great fame far beyond the borders of Azerbaijan. He was particularly popular among nationalities speaking the Turkish, Persian and Arabic languages. He wrote in three languages—Azerbaijanian, Persian and Arabic. This meant that his poetry was read by Uzbeks, Turkmenians, Tartars, Turks and Uigurs living in China as well as by Arabs, Persians and Tajiks. To them he was like a native poet and they drew inspiration from the noble, humanist ideals of his poetry. Many editions of Fizuli's poetry had appeared at different periods in Samarkand, Tashkent, Cairo, Constantinople and Tabriz. In Cairo alone his famous peom *Laila and Majnu* was published several times. Fizuli's lyrical poetry is widely read by the nationalities inhabiting the Caucasus. Scholars of the literatures of the Near and Middle East have invariably displayed great interest in the work of this prominent Azerbaijan poet.

In the course of the more than forty years of his literary career Fizuli wrote many lyrics, long poems like *Laila and Majnu* and *Seven Chalices*, and philosophical poems, such as *Metlaul Etigad*, *Rind and Sakhid*, *Sihhat and Maraz* and *Enisulgalb*. Apart from their value as poetic works, Fizuli's poems are a virtual encyclopaedia of the history, culture, and social and political life of the Middle and Near East in the Middle Ages.

Both a poet and thinker, Fizuli reacted with great sensibility to the various trends current in his day and tried to understand the complex and contradictory age in which he lived. But he was not merely a cold observer of life. With all the ardour of the poetic temperament he dissected contemporary society and its material and spiritual relationships. He delved deep into the life, habits, morality and doctrines of his contemporaries, making a close scrutiny of antagonistic movements, comparing old and new religious and philosophical doctrines, trying to get at the bottom of the various existing sects and creeds, bringing to light their positive and negative features. He endeavoured to discover the answers to complicated and what seemed insoluble problems of the day. The course of human destiny was his great concern. Merely by perusing his *Melaul Etigad* the reader will glean the most exhaustive information on the level of development in the Middle ages of philosophy, religion, morals, psychology, medicine and other sciences in the Muslim East. Many of Fizuli's other poems give the same rich picture of the times.

Fizuli's real greatness, however, lies in the fact that he sought to liberate man's spirit from the fetters of medieval bigotry and dogmatism, boldly attacking the accepted creeds and existing feudal relationships.

Such great love has this poet enjoyed that he has been often referred to as the "poet of the heart" or the "sun of poetry." And there was not a single great poet who came after him who had not been influenced by his wonderful writings.

Fizuli's poems are either of a philosophical nataure or love lyrics. Like most of the world's great lyric poets, Fizuli extols, in the most inspired language, the glory, the exquisite aroma and ecstasy of love.



Portrait of Muhammet Fizuli, the great Azerbaijan Poet

The free, genuine love sung by Fizuli in his poems was held by current religious beliefs to be impure and sinful. Glorification of freedom of conscience, individual liberty, and strong passion was Fizuli's answer to the asceticism of the recluse and to those who sought to enslave the human spirit.

Fizuli's noble ideas have influenced the revolutionary poetry of the period between 1905 and 1920 as well as contemporary Azerbaijan poetry. Jalil Mamedkulizade, an eminent revolutionary Azerbaijan writer, has said: "Fizuli lives today. He is a symbol of the unconquerable and indestructible force of the progressive poetry of his age." Azerbaijan poetry continues to flower but the charm and freshness of Fizuli's poems still enjoy unfading glory.

THE AIJAL MARKET

Mizo Hills, Assam

By BINOD BEHARI GOSWAMI, M.A.

The Aijal Market is situated in the heart of the town and is the main marketing centre of the Mizo Hills district. The whole Mizo Hills district is full of undulating hill ranges. Two rivers, the Dhaleswari and the Dubinala, are situated downhill at 13 miles and 2½ miles away respectively from the Aijal Hill. Near the latter river some cultivators have become interested in wet terrace cultivation. They have taken subsidy from the Government Agriculture Department and are now doing well. The rest of the area has to depend only on the rains as there are no water sources for irrigation. This determines the difficulty in implementing the method of wet terrace cultivation. The characteristic of the landscape is the shaven patches of cultivable land in the dense bamboo jungle. Paddy, millet, maize and tobacco are the crops. Seventy-five per cent of the Mizo working hours are taken up for requirements of food (producing, collecting, processing and consuming). Every house has its own kitchen garden, which is laid out in a well-planned manner. Great care is taken to maintain the gardens free from stones and weeds. Apart from the things grown in the field some vegetables and fruit trees are grown in the kitchen gardens for household consumption. The whole area is away from the mining and industrial centres. The natural resources are all forest products. There is enough bamboo in the forest, but the shifting method of cultivation is causing a devastating damage to the vast natural wealth of the country. Every year the country is losing a huge amount of wealth by this deforestation method, yet nothing can be done, as there is no suitable method at hand to replace this primitive method of agriculture. Fuel is obtained from the nearby unclassed forests.

The people inhabiting in Aijal town and in the neighbouring area are mainly Mizos. The inhabitants of this fast-growing town are mostly businessmen, office staff, etc. Apart from the local inhabitants many outsiders like Gorkhalis, Bengalis, Marwaris and Assamese are also living in the town either as businessmen or as Government, office staff. Floating population is very small. Many of the Gorkhalis have got themselves settled here since the annexation of the district by the British, and have but negligible connection with their original homeland. There are no caste, class and tribal monopoly in the marketing pursuit. The Aijal market depends upon the neighbouring villages; some of them are composite in which Mizos and Gorkhalis both live together.



The Aijal Market

The growth of the market results in and indicates the increasing demand as well as the increase in the market attendence. Moreover, it reflects the likes and dislikes and habits of the majority of the people who indulge in buying and selling. The market is thus a good place where to some extent the relation between the mentifact and artifact can best be studied. The market meets the demands of the local population, hence must satisfy the needs and necessities of life. It is a place for commercial transactions. All these conditions are present in the Aijal market.

All Mizos, poor or rich, are agriculturists except a few who are settled in semi-urban areas and have taken up professions other than agriculture. They are very few as compared with the bulk of the population. The Aijal market caters to the need of both the sections of the population, producers and non-producers. Producers need their toilet goods, luxuries and comfort goods, kerosene oil for burning and sa[illegible]ooking, and other goods which are of occ[illegible]

sional use. Non-producers not only need the above-mentioned articles but also purchase other things like cereals, spices, tobacco for smoking, etc. For all these commodities the daily market is open and they can be purchased at any time in the week, except Sunday, between 8-30 A.M. and 5-30 P.M. There are some other markets, of course not so big as the Aijal market, in the Mizo district. Sairong, Lungleh and Champhai markets (13 miles, 120 miles and 87 miles from the Aijal market respectively) serve the same purpose as is served by the Aijal market. This market beats all other markets, in being the official headquarters and also the centre of a network of roads which connect all the marketing areas of the district. The connection of Aijal by motorable roads with Lungleh and Sairong is another important feature, which increases the importance of the market.

Analysis of the Market Site

The Aijal market came into prominence after the opening of the Aijal Lungleh motorable road. Before the opening of A. L. Road, the Thakthing village market was more important than all other markets in the district, due to its buckle-like position which fastened the Aijal-Silchar jeepable road and Aijal-Lungleh bridle path. It is still evident from the density of the population in Thakthing and Aijal (Barabazar), that the former was more thickly populated than the latter. The opening of the new alignment has increased the importance of Aijal (Barabazar) to a greater extent than that of Thakthing. A technical change, the opening of a jeepable road, has resulted in the shift of importance of one market over the other. A disorganisation in the original market centre resulted in the reorganization of a new market in a new centre.

In the Aijal market there are dominant zones for different consumption commodities. The market is held by the side of the only road passing through the town. The road at the market site is levelled and tarred. Sellers get themselves settled on both the sides of the road, thus making a narrow alley between the permanent side-shops and the back of the sellers, and also making a narrow way between the wings flanked by the sellers. Hence, the only way to approach the market site is the road which runs from north to south. Just above the market site is the Civil Hospital and the Police Thana from which people can approach the market site through small byways. Rows of open-air stalls which are arranged along this path have a kind of a system. No place is reserved for any seller and a earlier seller occupies the best position of his choice. Sellers sometime settle so near to each other that often customers confuse one shop for another. Vegetables predominate over all other perishable commodities and they are seen mostly on the eastern side in the central place of the market. When we go inside the market site from the north side, we first find on the



A typical Mizo

eastern side to our approach a shaded space reserved for butchers. These butchers do not belong to any special clan or tribe. Anyone intending to take up such occupation can do so. All meat is slaughtered in or near the seller's village and then brought to the market in big pieces. The method of bringing the heavy meat-pieces is by tying the pieces by a rope around a big strong cylindrical bamboo, which is then carried by two or more men. All the parts of the killed animal with almost no exception are consumed by the consumers. Meat is sold under a shed. The heavy pieces are hung in front of the shop and the customer chooses the piece of meat which the seller chops into pieces and then sews them with a fine bamboo strip which helps the buyer to conveniently carry the commodity home. Towards the right side of the approach fowls and eggs are sold where occasionally unslaughtered animals also, pig, goat, etc., are sold. Dried and fried fish are also sold here.

And then comes the area of vegetables which, as said earlier, predominate and dwarf the other commodities. In between the vegetable-sellers, tobacco, gur, rice and sweet sellers are also to be seen. Beside this zone a clustered area of stationery shops are to be found; shops belonging to sellers of ready-made garment, to toy sellers, fruit sellers, basket sellers, cooked food sellers are put in a row, which ends with the fowl sellers' shops in the other end of the market. One thing is evident from the above-mentioned description that the business of non-perishable commodities have a very important place in the open-air weekly market, as the business is owned and monopolized by the keepers of permanent stores and way-side shops.

The Aijal Barabazar is a large and active market where local products and consumers goods from other parts of the country are available in a variety and in large quantity. The shops and stores which are open all the days of the week except Sunday are very active between working hours. The activities of the market begin at 7-30 A.M. and last for about three hours, so that by 11 A.M. the business in the weekly market is over. And after that period permanent shops and stores find their customers. On the market days business in shops and stores goes up.

On the weekly market days, from early dawn villagers of the neighbouring area, specially women and young girls, march for the Aijal market with loaded baskets of commodities for sale. Many of the sellers come from villages often 20 miles away on foot. The local products dominate in the open-air weekly market, which are tobacco, rice, gur, fruit, fowl eggs, vegetables, dried fish, beef, pork, sheep, goat, baskets, etc. As regards consumers goods the demand for vegetables is the maximum, as in no other days except market days vegetables are available. Sellers who come to sell these commodities never face much difficulty. The rush for vegetables is so high that if a person reaches late, he gets mostly those vegetables which customers have not touched either due to high price or due to bad quality. During retail business in permanent shops and stores prolonged haggling and gesticulating are always avoided. The proprietors of the shops try always to sell things at a fixed price. But, in order to give a turn to business transactions occasionally the proprietors raise the price, and then pose to make concession for the customers; in other words they know how to create psychological situations for doing business, for concessions are always preferred by Mizos. Often the seller will ask for a high price which the buyer will at once flatly refuse, then the seller will request the buyer to make an offer. The buyer at this will get nervous. The buyer will quote an amount which according to him is low as well as justifiable. The seller then will request the buyer to increase the quoted amount, and this will go on calmly until a compromise is reached. This habit is acquired from the plains people. A man of interior country do not know such arduous process of gesticulation.

Shops and stalls of the Aijal Barabazar Market

Commodities	*Open-air stalls on market days*
1. Meat	15
2. Unslaughtered animals (Livestock)	13
3. Cooked food	10
4. Vegetables	150
5. Grains & Rice	12
6. Various fancy goods	6
7. Native tobacco	8
8. Cotton & Yarn	2
9. Smoked fish & dried fish	6
10. Baskets, etc.	4

This chart has been made out from observations during a year's study. And the number of stalls show the average attendance. Fluctuations in the market attendance are wide. In the month of November and at the end of December the number of sellers and buyers goes up high which again comes down in the month of March to July. As the market is dominated by the vegetable-sellers, the attendance, therefore, is governed by the agricultural seasonal cycle. Specially the number of shops of fancy goods and clothes increases during the months of festivals.

Like all other markets of the Assam Hills, women outnumber men in the Aijal market also. The hard-working women belonging to all classes [illegible] their baskets hung and supported at the back by plaited bamboo straps are the most common visitors. Almost all the sellers and buyers are women. As no stigma is attached to physical labour or to carrying baskets at the back, and as per the social norm women must endeavour to take up more work, this marketing business is entirely in the hands of women; almost all the shops and stalls are kept by women. Only in fancy goods shops and meat stalls men take up the job of selling.

The distinction in the role of sellers and buyers is not very marked as most of the sellers become buyers. Sometimes the same women who sell vegetables sell fowl, tobacco or basket. The sale of fowl is almost always combined with that of eggs or smoked fish. The woman or the girl who sells cooked food often sells local cigarettes or betels. The occupation of the seller is always reflected by the articles she sells. The identity of the seller, whether she is from the village or from the urban area can be known from the goods she sells. As a rule most of the sellers are from the village, but some of the women are from the town, who usually sell products like vegetables grown in their own gardens or purchased articles. Most of the women who sell cooked food are Nepalese. Baked breads and biscuits are sold by Mizos. No large-scale trade is done in this open-air weekly market. A large percentage of the sellers are occasional visitors who come for changing their kind into cash. But there are professional traders also, and those women are regular visitors. There are a few butchers, men of course, who are also regular sellers. Most of the women who sell consumers goods sell their husband's or father's farm produce.

Sellers who come to the market to sell vegetables or other consumers goods, purchase articles like salt, sugar, cloth, tobacco, paper, yarn, etc., from the permanent stores. Most of the villagers have shortage of cash and as no sort of barter system is practised in the market, the seller converts the goods into money which they spend in purchasing other necessaries of life. Apart from business, the market serves as a place where friends belonging to both the sexes meet one another. Young boys visit the marketing centre to meet their friends and to see the village belles. Wayside tea-stalls swell up with such parties, and entertainments run high. The social value of the market is very high amongst the Mizos, which can easily be gauged by the late attendance of the office-staff and of the school-going boys and girls on marketing days. Villagers from distant places meet in the market, exchange their life-experiences, revitalize their social relationship, bridge the gulf of distance and carry back to their own village the messages, if any, for others.

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UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

One of America's Great Universities

The University of California has reached its present position of eminence because it is dedicated to higher education for the largest number of people.

Comprised of eight campuses located at the cities of Berkeley, Davis, La Jolla, Los Angeles, Mount Hamilton, Riverside, San Francisco, and Santa Barbara, the University of California represents a vast wealth of knowledge placed within reach of almost anyone in the state. Yet it also shares this intellectual wealth generously with people the world over.

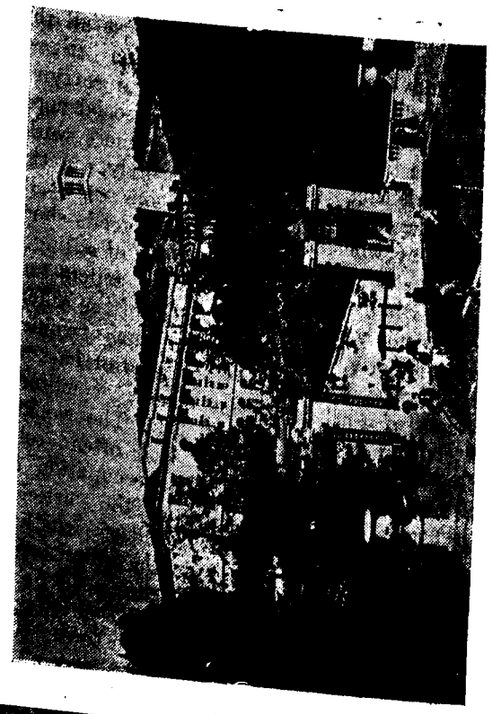
A full time enrollment of more than 38,000 students—plus a part time enrollment of some 100,000—and 5,872 faculty members, make this university one of the largest in the world.

The University of California spans all fields of learning. In addition to courses normally taught in letters and science curricula, there are colleges or schools of agriculture, architecture, business administration, chemistry, criminology, education, engineering, forestry, law, library science, medicine, nursing, optometry, pharmacy, public health, and social welfare.

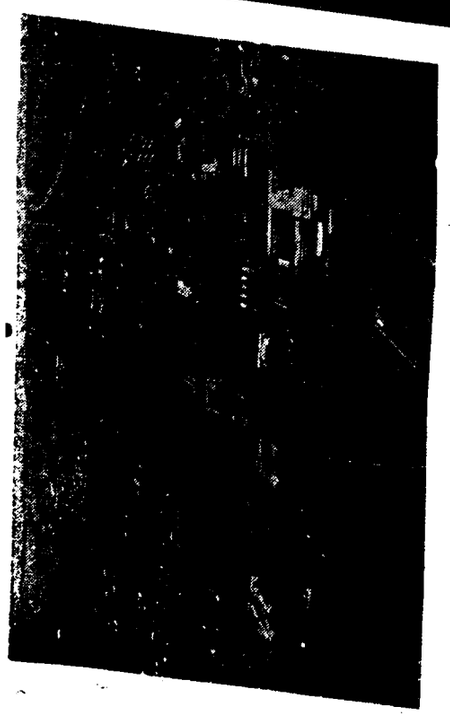
It maintains exceptionally high scholastic standards. Its outstanding faculty in-



Aerial view of the University of California's Medical centre in San Francisco



Sather Gate, entrance to the University of California at Berkeley



Aerial view of the 3,000-acre Davis campus of the University of California



Wheeler Hall on the Berkeley campus is one of the University's cultural centres where lectures, seminars, concerts and theatrical productions are held

cludes six Nobel Prize winners—more than at any other university in the world—and the second largest membership in the National Academy of Sciences.

The University of California was founded in 1868. It is largely supported by taxes appropriated by the California state legislature. Additional revenues come from student fees, gifts, endowments, state and federal grants for research and public services. Private industry has also contributed many millions of dollars for research conducted by the University.

Oldest of the eight campuses of the state-wide University of California is the Berkeley campus. It has an enrollment of 17,000 students and covers more than 900 acres in the foothills on the east shore of San Francisco Bay.

Its position across the bay from San Francisco, port of entry for ships and cargoes from Asia and the western world, its extensive teaching and research facilities, and the location of the International House at Berkeley, offer exceptional opportunities in almost every field of study.

The University of California at Los Angeles has the second largest enrollment in the University of California system—16,000 students. It serves the education needs of the southern part of the state. Like the other eight campuses, UCLA is an independent unit. It has developed a fierce traditional rivalry with the older campus at Berkeley which extends into academic as well as athletic life.

The 3,000-acre Davis campus is the largest in physical size of the University's state-wide system. Set in the heart of Central Valley, 13 miles west of Sacramento, the tree-lined campus and city of Davis are within sight of the Sierra mountains. About two-thirds of the campus is devoted to facilities of the College of Agriculture which includes schools of veterinary medicine, food technology, soils and irrigation, home economics, and poultry science.

The San Francisco campus is devoted exclusively to medical sciences. It includes schools of medicine and nursing, dentistry, pharmacy, and physical therapy, There are also research laboratories for radiology and tropical diseases.

Atop 4,209-foot Mount Hamilton, commanding the fertile Santa Clara valley, is the University's world-famous Lick Observatory. The Mount Hamilton campus is dedicated to study of the heavens. Its facilities are available not only to the staff, but to graduate students and scientists from universities throughout the world.

There is the new 120-inch telescope, second largest in the world, a 36-inch equatorial refractor, a 36-inch Crossley reflector, and a 20-inch astrographic telescope. Throughout its history, Lick Observatory has been a prolific source of astronomical data and the training ground for a large percentage of America's astronomers.

In addition to its four year liberal arts college, the Riverside campus of the University of California includes the world-famous Citrus Experiment Station. It conducts vital research in subtropical horticulture.

Santa Barbara campus also offers a four-year undergraduate liberal arts program. The small size of classes and the calibre of the faculty assure close attention to the individual student's needs. More than 40 major fields of study are offered here.

The largest institution in the world for oceanographic research, the Scripps Institution of Oceanography at La Jolla, sends vessels over the seven seas in quest of scientific information about the oceans. Each year it plays host to distinguished oceanographers from the United States and abroad.

In addition to these eight campuses, the University of California sponsors teaching, research, and public programs in many parts of the state. The Agricultural Extension Service, for example, maintains 50 County Farm Advisers Offices. Last year, these offices provided information and assistance to 125,000 California farm families.

The University also conducts a statewide adult education program. This program brings college-level classes to



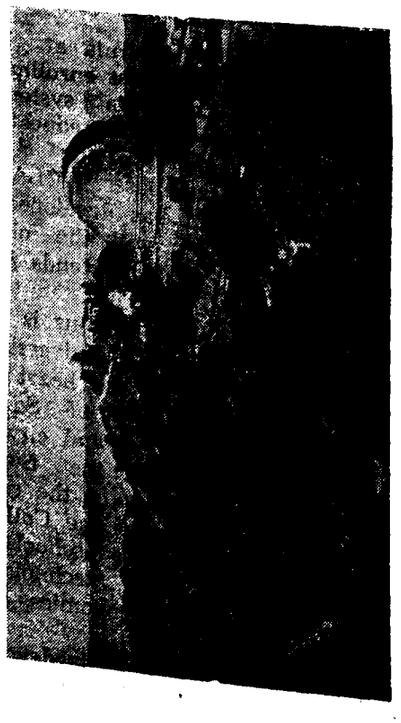
Students Lounge on Faculty Glade on the Berkeley campus of the University of California



Class meets in one of Boalt Law School's Modern Lecture Halls



Memorial Stadium at Berkeley is one of the largest in the United States



Dome of the 120-inch astronomical reflector telescope, second largest in the world, dominates lick observatory atop Mount Hamilton, California

approximately 40 communities in California. It also provides educational films, television programs, institutes, clinics, workshops, concerts, short courses and correspondence courses to groups and individuals throughout the state.

Other activities include medical and dental services, testing services for industry, studies for state and local government, and research and reports to business problems.

Since its establishment, the University of California has developed into an important cultural center at which the two-way flow of men and ideas from East and West converge. The West goes to the East, and the Orient comes to the Occident.

Some 1,500 students from abroad are currently enrolled in the eight campuses of the University of California. At the Berkeley campus, there are 81 Chinese students, 64 from Japan, 44 from the Philippines, 50 from Korea, 50 from India, 25 from Thailand, 18 from Indonesia, 8 from Pakistan, 5 from Malaya, 5 from Vietnam, 3 from Burma, and 1 from Ceylon.

Many students from Asia have gone on from the University of California to use their knowledge and training in the service of their people.

In turn, the influence of Asia on the University of California has been substantial:

The General Library of the Berkeley Campus, for example, has a collection of materials on India which covers many subjects including international relations, Indian law, geography, ethnology, and history of art.

In 1949, Indian students at the University laid the foundation for a collection of materials on the life and work of Gandhi.

In 1954 the Universities of California and Indonesia started a project under which 13 American medical specialists joined the faculty of the University of Indonesia while 13 Indonesian students came to the University of California for advanced medical training.

Indonesian and American students also intiated Project Cal-Indo, an organization devoted to increased understanding between the United States and Indonesia. This organization donated books in Indonesian to the University of California. The exchange of books is a reciprocal project of both Cal-Indo and its counterpart in Indonesia, Indo-Cal.

The East Asiatic Library, housed apart from Berkeley's General Library, ranks among the outstanding libraries of its kind. It contains many volumes in Chinese, Japanese and other Far Eastern languages. Oriental history, geography, and diplomatic relations are well represented. Many Chinese periodicals are on file and some 165 selected journals are received regularly from Japan.

The Institute of East Asiatic studies was formed on Berkeley campus in 1949. The primary purpose of the Institute is to promote research in culture, history, and current problems of China, Japan, Northeast Asia, India, Southeast Asia and the islands of the Western Pacific.

A scholarship has been established by the Korean-American Cultural Association. This scholarship is awarded to graduate students of Korean nationality who are working for master's degrees. Winners of the award are often asked to assist in developing the Korean Collection of the University's library.



THE BRITISH ASSOCIATION

By Dr. EDWARD HINDLE, F.R.S.,
General Secretary of the British Association, 1946-51

Among the many thousands who daily enter the gates of Burlington House in London, either to visit the Royal Academy —an interloper—or one of the various scientific bodies, including the Royal Society, for which the building was originally intended, it is doubtful whether one in a thousand ever glances upwards to the windows above the archway. Yet these rooms above the archway are worthy of more than a passing glance, for they house the offices of an institution which has done more than any other organisation to establish the present position of science in Britain—The British Association for the Advancement of Science (B.A.).

Nowadays it is difficult to realise the position of science in 1831 when the B.A. came into being. Not only was it unfashionable, but positively disreputable, and an article by Sir David Brewster in the *Quarterly Review* at that time painted a very gloomy picture of the way that scientific institutions had been discouraged and even abolished. He severely criticised the Royal Society and other scientific societies for their failure to press the claims of science upon the Government. There was some justification for this criticism as the Royal Society of that date can hardly be said to have fulfilled its promising start under Charles II, when it included among its fellows not only scientists but many of the leading men of the time and even the Royal Family patronised its meetings.

Brewster pointed out that not a single philosopher enjoyed a pension, or an allowance or a sinecure, capable of supporting him and his family in the humblest circumstances. Moreover, not one, however eminent, enjoyed the favour of his sovereign or the friendship of his ministers. The position of men of science in Britain was contrasted with that in other countries, especially France, where they took an active part in guiding the policies of their respective governments.

Humble Beginnings

However, the British Association has never concerned itself with such details as salaries and awards for scientific work, but confined its efforts to the wider objects for which it was founded.

The first meeting of the British Association was held at York in northern England in September 1831, under the presidency of Viscount Milton, later Earl Fitzwilliam, and was attended by about 200 "Friends of Science" including many outstanding men of the time. The objects of the Association were formally stated as follows:

> To give a stronger impulse and more systematic direction to scientific inquiry, to obtain a greater degree of national attention to the objects of science and removal of those disadvantages which impede its progress, and to promote the intercourse of the cultivators of science with one another, and with foreign philosophers.

From these humble beginnings the Association soon established its position as a forum for scientific discoveries and the attendance at its meetings rapidly increased. It met with a certain amount of opposition in its early years, the most serious, curiously enough, coming from some of the leading scientists, who mistrusted any popularisation of science. Even the novelist Charles Dickens wrote a series of scurrilous articles about the meetings in *Bentley's Miscellany* later collected as the *Mudfog Papers*. The most persistent hostility, however, came from *The Times* which for many years refused to publish any accounts of the meetings except to hold them up to ridicule.

Gains Public Recognition

It is only necessary to add that in later years *The Times* has become one of the greatest supporters of the British Association and during the annual meetings devotes more of its space to scientific matters than at any time throughout the rest of the year. There is no better evidence of the manner in which the Association has succeeded in its original aims than the way in which, starting with an indifferent public and government, reflected in a hostile press, the B.A. has now become generally recognised by all the more responsible authorities as a great public institution, whose reports are necessary for the information of the public.

The annual meetings remain the best known activity of the Association and have been held each year since 1831 with the exception of 1917 and 1918, and 1940 to 1946 inclusive. Their nature has changed very little, the organisation into sections, each representing some branch of science, having remained constant since 1832, although their number has increased.

Annual Meeting Highlights

The list of Presidents includes most of the great names in British science, Charles Darwin being a notable exception, as for reasons of health he was unable to accept office. The living past-presidents include two members of the Royal Family, H.R.H. the Duke of Windsor, who presided at the Oxford meeting in 1926, and H.R.H. the Prince Philip, Duke of Edinburgh, president at the Edinburgh meeting in 1951.

The presidential addresses have gradually become the chief scientific pronouncements of the year and are given the widest publicity. The meetings have often been the occasion for the announcement of some great new discovery, such as Sir J. J. Thomson's address "On the Existence of Masses smaller than Atoms" given at Dover in 1899; Clerk Maxwell's discourse on molecular physics in 1873; Crookes's first demonstration of the properties of a stream of electrons in a vacuum tube, now known as a cathode ray tube, at the Sheffield meeting in 1879; Sir William Ramsy's announcement of the discovery of argon in 1894; and to come to more recent times Professor P.M.S. Blackett's report in 1950 confirming by cosmic ray evidence the existence of a giant meson in the atom.

Industrial Applications

The applications of science to industry have always been a special feature of meetings of the Association. Sir Henry Bessemer in 1856 first described his researches which were to revolutionise the steel industry; Sir Oliver Lodge in 1894 gave the first public demonstration of "wireless" and a producer-gas plant supplying an Otto gas engine was shown in 1881.

In addition, the meetings have often been the scene of very heated discussions, one of the more famous being the battle between science and orthodoxy at Oxford in 1860. Wilberforce, Bishop of Oxford, commonly known as "Soapy Sam," gave an address on the Darwinian theory in which he showed his ignorance of the subject in almost every sentence. In his peroration he turned to Huxley and asked whether it was through his grandfather or his grandmother that he claimed descent from a venerable ape. Huxley replied, "If I am asked whether I would choose to be descended from the poor animal of low intelligence and stooping gait, who grins and chatters as we pass, or from a man, endowed with great ability and a splendid position, who should use these gifts to discredit and crush humble seekers after truth, I hesitate what answer to make." Hooker followed, and, in his own words, "hit him in the wind at the first shot in ten words taken from his own ugly mouth."

Impact of Science on Society

The first great period of the British Association extended well into the present century. During this period a considerable proportion of the leaders of science attended the annual meetings regularly, and these were used as a forum for the first public announcement of important discoveries. The Association had been successful in promoting a wide range of researches, but many of its functions had been taken over by the Government

Department of Scientific and Industrial Research, or similar bodies, founded largely as a result of its efforts. It had succeeded magnificently in obtaining a wider recognition of the importance of science to the general community, and in the words of one of our past-presidents, Sir John Russell, had become "an inseparable part of our national life."

The Association is about to enter upon a second great period of useful activities. Modern science and technology is now one of the greatest factors in the world for good or ill. Mankind has released vast forces of nature which he is still struggling to control and it is more essential than ever that there should be a wider understanding of the issues involved in this struggle. This can only be obtained by giving the widest publicity to important scientific discoveries and their impact on society.

Growing Appeal to the Young

The annual meetings of the Association still provide an excellent opportunity for communications of this nature, and since the war have attracted greater attendances than ever before. In addition, a striking feature of recent meetings is their growing appeal to the young and already at least a quarter of the members are students from colleges and universities and senior schoolchildren.

The Association is anxious to develop this interest among the rising generation and through the generosity of certain donors is already in a position to undertake a limited expansion of its activities such as arranging gatherings of special appeal to young people between the annual meetings. These will include lectures, demonstrations, discussion groups and open forums, all designed to arouse an interest in modern science, which has been aptly described as a fascinating mixture of experiment and theory, involving both manual dexterity and subtle thinking.

Expansion Programme

This is only one of the many ways in which the British Association is extending its activities. Various other expansion programmes are now under discussion, and if these receive the necessary financial support a great increase in the usefulness of the Association may be anticipated. A fuller knowledge of science and its implications is vital to modern civilisation and a more intensive development and rational use of Britain's potential reserves and talent can only be ensured by increased public understanding of the issues involved. In the creation of such understanding, the Association with its representative membership, its reputation for objective communications and historical prestige, is well qualified to make an important contribution.

It can strengthen the links between scientists and laymen, and promote the development and use of scientific research in industry and commerce, and also help to make the public aware of its importance. It can educate people in all walks of life to the absolute necessity of more, and more advanced, scientific education; and combat such feelings as still exist that the "arts" are in some ways superior to "science" in the education and prospects of the younger generation, but avoiding narrow specialisation at an early age.

It hopes to bring within its orbit companies, firms and associations which have neither the means nor the opportunity of doing research on their own account. Finally it will continue to stimulate thought and interchange of ideas concerning scientific matters among scientists in their own spheres, and also between administrators and scientists, so that all may find a common forum of debate and ways of getting into touch with each other personally, avoiding the necessity of going through bureaucratic channels whether official, commercial or industrial.

The Association is setting a high standard, but its past history gives every confidence that its supporters will not be disappointed in future developments.*

* Dr. Edward Hindle writes in *The New Scientist*, London.

PLANNING FOR PROSPERITY AND ACCOUNTANTS' ROLE IN IT

By SUDHANSU MOHAN BANERJEE

It is necessary at the outset, that one should have an idea of the basic objects of what planning is, particularly in the context of our own needs. If I were a poet or a philosopher I would wax eloquent on our country's great past, its history and tradition, its ideas and ideals, its civilization nearly as old and as hoary as recorded in history, its sense of deep spiritual values nourished on its own soil. I could speak of its Vedic forbears, its epic grandeur, its Upanishadic heights, its *Bhakti* cult, its banner of peace and prosperity, its poets and prophets. I am reminded of a quotation of Mathew Arnold, "The East bowed low before the blast in patient deep disdain, she let the legions thunder past and plunged in deep thoughts again." And we thought and we thought, while history inexorable as she is, a stern task master, took its toll and through vicissitudes of centuries we went the old way till we came face to face perhaps by accident with a dynamism which the West brought us and 170 years later on the fateful day of 15th August, 1947, the balance-sheet stood as follows: "Poverty, almost unbelievable poverty, unemployment, pressure on land, death, disease and starvation, teeming millions, a stagnant agriculture and industry, great inequalities of income and opportunity, a mounting population. Added to these was the immediate expectation of the people that independence itself would without delay solve these problems, that poverty and backwardness would disappear as if by waving a magic wand." In our new-found enthusiasm we forgot that there were to be years of preparation, toil, tears and sweat. Added to this was the sudden shock and tragedy of partition. What a colossal problem it created is evident to all of us.

I have spoken of the liabilities side. There were the assets side too. The first and foremost were the teeming millions—the human resources which could revolutionize everything if properly trained and tapped. Therein comes the role of education. Then there was the potential wealth waiting to be used and utilized. Iron ore of the highest grade, manganese, bauxites, coal, titanium, thorium, oil, in addition to jute, tea or cotton. There was the highest potential for hydro-electric power. The Brahmaputra alone where it leaves the deep gorge of its Himalayan shelter could produce millions and millions of killowatts of power.

Any development work therefore means that we are concerned with the shaping of future India. At the same time, there is the burden of history on our back. Our today is mingled with our yesterday and our vision of tomorrow. We cannot leave our past, we have to work for the present, but we have to hook our hopes for the future too. That is the great idealism of the framers of our Constitution—creation of a joyous and prosperous fraternity which will deny the negation of Man, assume the dignity of the individual and reflect the unity of the Nation.

The first positive organised overall planning began in 1951 though individual works such as Bhakra, Damodar, Sindri, Hirakud, etc., had begun much earlier. It was the first concentrated effort to utilize country's resources with foreign help where necessary through democratic means achieving a social and economic uplift, a new pattern of society, higher living standards, a richer and fuller life for the people.

To quote the Planning Commission the growth envisaged for the twenty year period from 1956-76 is foreseen as follows:

(See Table on next page)

There is one point to be explained here. The net investment is not the net outlay. As for example the Second Plan envisages Rs. 4800 crores expenditure in Public Sector and Rs. 2400 in Private Sector. Out of this about Rs. 1000 crores in Public Sector will be expenditure on social services, and though important enough to give indirect returns in the shape of better health, better facilities o[illegible]

	1st	2nd	3rd	4th	5th	Per cent in 20 years
National Income	10,800	13,480	17,260	21,680	27,270	152.5
Total net investment	3,100	6,200	9,900	14,800	20,700	576.5
Rate of investment as per cent of natural income	7.3	10.7	13.7	16	170	132.9
Population in million	384	408	434	465	500	30.2
Capital output ratio	1.8.1	2.3.1	2.6.1	3.4.1	3.7.1	
Per capita income	281	331	396	466	566	939

(The USA spends 4,800 crores in 80 days in defence alone).

insurance against risks such as floods, epidemics, it will not be investment in the accounting sense.

Immediately the question arises how is this huge expenditure (in our sense) being fianced. One must realize that this money has to be found in addition to services outside the Plan, *i.e.*, cost of defence, law and order, normal Government administration and basic services such as P & T, etc. We require 4000 crores in internal currency plus 800 crores in foreign exchange and Government hoped to balance its ways and means budget as below:

Taxes new	450	
„ old	350	
		800
Other revenues		400
Loans and small Savings		
Deficit financing		1200
Gap		1200
		400
		4000
plus foreign assistance		800
		4800 crores.

But this is so far as Public Sector enterrises are concerned. What about Private Secor's need for capital? This is a moot question ow. Ordinarily private domestic capital is obtained by making new issues, utilising corporate profits and reserves available for investment. There are other sources also such as finance from Managing Agents, excess profit tax refunds and capital from Government or Government financed or sponsored lending agencies such as Industrial Credit and Investment Corporations and also direct loan. Private enterprise also requires foreign exchange. Lengthened suppliers' credits sometimes meet the need but the problem is there in its acute form. Foreign exchange shortage has assumed such a big proportion that it has created in its train other problems, *e.g.*, restriction of imports and non-essential consumer goods obtained, of short-term credits, drawing heavily on sterling reserves. There has of course been new foreign investment side by side with repatriation of original capital, reconverted profits and capital gains, particularly in oil refineries, in drug manufactures, dye stuff, brick manufacturing.

Now what exactly is the Accountants' role in this great national programme both in public and private sectors—is it merely to keep the accounts of the projects concerned as neatly and correctly as possible, to close its ledgers and journals, draw up its trading and profit and loss accounts or write up a balance-sheet for the benefits of the share-holders be it the people or Government of the country or the individual holders of scrips? The Accountants' role is of course all these but something more. He has to be a little dynamic too particularly in the Public Sector where an Accountant-*cum* Auditor has the right to go a little beyond the Managing Directors' thumb impression, beyond

his red and blue pencil. To be brief, he can help in the following way:

(1) Planning for overall prosperity is very difficult and involves research —evaluation based not only on correct data but on correct interpretation of such data whatever we may plan, its achievements are to be reflected in rupees and *pysas* and the accounts must give a complete financial picture of the concern. Its interpretation is also of considerable importance—are we keeping accounts in a way that show either hidden reserves, assets or liabilities? If the financial aspect of a plan is based on rough estimates or incorrect data, plan estimates are sure to go awry.

(2) We cannot afford to have uneconomic and wasteful methods in the execution of the industrial schemes and projects. Elements which influence cost vary from industry to industry. There are various methods of financial control at various levels in the Public Sector and a Financial Administrator or Controller in the Public Sector is not necessarily an Accountant. Ordinarily an Accountant as we understand him is not concerned with financial control at the pre-operation or execution stages. He generally comes in, when the money is beginning to be spent and he sees it reflected in vouchers and pay-orders, bank-withdrawals and treasury-issues—debit and credit notes, letters of credit and store slips. Gradually the picture of the outlay becomes clear to him. He can if he is intelligent enough and if his accounts are sufficiently detailed, find out whether expenditure on a particular item is not getting more than the estimated one under the same head. Progress of expenditure and progress of work have to be synchronised nor that they should tally at an earlier stage. To take an example, if building is being erected at Rs. 12 lakhs and the time schedule is one year it may be that at the end of 3 months, the actual progress of building work may be 1/20th while the money spent may be as high as 1/3rd. Materials at site, advances, other expenditure may explain the position. But it is a help to the management to review the position by going over the Accountant's figures.

(3) Thirdly I must come to the role of a Cost Accountant and the part he can play in the correct estimation and evaluation of expenditure. We are still backward in this respect and somewhat hesitant in adopting modern techniques of cost control though we are adopting modern methods of industrialisation which involve handling of modern plant and machinery.

Supposing the cost relating to a particular operation in a particular project showed in the accounts an unconscionably high figure, naturally any Accountant should be worried as to why this should be so. It is sometimes found that the idle time and ineffective working of the machinery are responsible for this and if there were a proper Cost Accounting and the Unit Rate had been evaluated in time, the Management could have taken effective steps and prevented waste and ensured economy. In this connection I feel that there should be a standard cost code for various utilities. I was recently in USA and I found that all power-concerns adopt the same code. Whenever any one ventures into a big industrial enterprise there is not only to be a plant organisation, production planning and control but also a time study, operation analysis, quality control, job estimating and job evaluation so that ultimately manufacturing costs can be brought out and any element of waste be eliminated. Production cost represents the sum-total of expenditure incurred in converting, say raw materials into a further product. Such costs according to experts who know may be computed in a variety of ways:

1. By conventional financial accounting methods.
2. By use of cost accounting technique.
3. By various estimating procedures.

Financial accounting is concerned mainly with overall results. So it lacks internal data of how the various processes cost and at different stages. It is not possible to keep inventories and time statements at each stage. Cost accounting works as an extension of the double entry system and records an analysis of expenditure by functional activities, by plant divisions, by cost elements and for each component part.

So the ultimate aim is to control (1) expenditure by elimination of waste, (2) to price products, (3) to provide a basis for operating policies and (4) to supply data for future planning, *e.g.*, we know distribution of primary costs and secondary distribution, overheads, normal burden, unit costs based on effective production. A financial accountant is primarily interested in the compilation of the balance-sheet, and the profit and loss statement, the forecast of the cash position and such other matters as are of importance in revealing the status of the business as affected by external conditions. The cost accountant supplies the details of operations particularly those for the cost of production which reflect the forces at work internally, *e.g.*, by evaluating purchase prices, idle time of labour, machinery, etc., or man hours, the tempo and the rate of utilisation of raw materials.

These are some of the roles which an Accountant has to play in the growing economy of the country. Let us not forget that administration in the past had hardly any collectivised social objectives and were not involved too much in business either following a *laissez faire* policy. The administrative and accounting machinery was geared to a primary object. This inherited machinery today is neither adequate nor appropriate to meet our growing demand to plan for prosperity but no form of administration can remain static. We have to introduce new ideas even in our accounting and financial system. But there is one basic difference which we cannot forget; while in private business managers and promoters have a definite financial stake which controls them from committing financial harikari, in the case of State undertakings that incentive is not absent but impersonal and it is all the more necessary that we should evolve a proper financial and accounting control which should safeguard the interests of the common taxpayer and the man in the street. The checks and balances over which the new managers of public undertakings seem to chafe about in comparison to those of private undertakings are therefore fundamental. That is why the accounting and audit authorities question even the propriety of a particular expenditure even when there is proper sanction behind it, which a company accountant would never do.

The adoption of a socialist pattern of society as well as the need for a planned and rapid development which the Parliament and Government of the country have accepted make large demands on the country's resources of not only technical and managerial personnel but of trained accountants also. To quote an apt phrase: "We are making the first breach in the barrier of poverty" which had long held back India's economy and every one of us has to play a part in this mounting drama in writing this great saga of Fate and Faith and Accountants have definitely an honourable part to play. I recall the great words of our Prime Minister: "We are concerned with the shaping of future India. It is, therefore, with a sense of the burden of history upon me, upon us, that I face this problem. It is also with a great sense of humility because however great, however competent we may consider ourselves, we are small in relation to this mighty theme that is the building up of India." In that faith let us live and work.*

* A summary of a speech delivered at the annual meeting of the Chartered Accountants' Student Society, Calcutta.

EXPORTS AND THE THIRD PLAN

By L. D. JOSHI, M.COM., D.P.A.,
Lucknow University

Shri Kanungo in his opening speech at the first meeting of the Standing Committee of the Export Promotion Advisory Council held recently at New Delhi, emphasized the importance and urgency of stepping up exports not only for balancing the current trade but for strengthening the economy from the long-term point of view. An attempt will be made to examine how far such emphasis is soundly based.

As is well-known the present foreign-exchange crisis is the result of an inadequately controlled import policy, and with the shake-up brought about by this situation and the heart-searching that it followed, it looks that such a situation will not recur. But to think that the solution of the current crisis lies in the stepping up of exports is to be oblivious of the facts for as everybody knows, our exports are not so elastic, more so in a short period of time. The solution of the current foreign exchange deficit lies in exercising a greater selective control over the imports with a view that no addition henceforth is made to the deficit. This calls for a greater degree of control over the import policy—its framing and execution, and the planning of foreign trade.

It is also fallacious to assume that 'the strengthening of the economy from the long-term point of view' also rests on 'stepping up exports'. Foreign market is the least dependable and it is a wonder how even responsible people refuse to learn from the experience both of ours and of other countries that one cannot count upon the foreign market. The foreign market itself is shrinking and the days are gone when anything could find a market at any price. Almost every country of the world is on the threshold of industrialisation with the result that foreign markets now are limited. In fact, looking at the tariff restrictions in various countries, it seems there is a difference of degree only in the conditions of world trade obtaining at present and those during the thirties of the present century. Whatever foreign markets there are, the buyers therein are very discerning and only a product of sufficient find a support. Unfortunate as it is, our wares have earned a bad reputation in the foreign market (for which both the business community and the government is responsible, the former for resorting to malpractices and the latter for failing to take steps to check them), and whatever foreign markets we had have been lost and are still being lost. Our textile industry has a sorry tale to narrate.* Under such conditions it would be unwise to place reliance on the foreign markets. If at all we wish to enter the world market with a view to earning substantial foreign exchange, we shall have seriously to think about problems such as those of reducing costs and the promotion and ensuring integrity in business dealings.

Looking at the emphasis which is being placed upon the encouragement of exports, it seems as if we are planning solely for export. It has been said that we are producing more steel for exporting it and we learn that trade enquiries are already being made in anticipation of production. The same seems to be the purpose behind the higher targets of production of cement, coal, textiles, sugar, cashewnuts, tea, fans and so on. It almost looks as if the mythical 'common man' for the benefit of

* Japan had been our traditional rival in the textile market. Lately however, China is emerging as another tough competitor in this market. China is reported to be selling a cheap perfumed cloth of gay design in the East Asian markets, which retain its perfume for at least five cold washings, and this cloth is finding a ready market. Ceylon a very good market for our South Indian handloom 'lungies' has been recently closed and import of such material has been banned by the Government. Our tea exports are meeting with competition from the Ceylonese and Indonesian tea.

Probably, Manganese and Mica are the two raw-materials in which we can still claim our supremacy. But in view of the fact that these are minerals of which we do not have unlimited reserves and also that our strength would lie only in the development of industries where these can be utilized, export of these minerals is hardly beneficial for us in the

which all the planning was being done either has in his possession all these and other things in plenty or that he does not need them at all. Actually, however, the conditions are different. We do not know the 'common man' but we do know the consumer, and we also know that the consumer wants these commodities but he is unable to get them at the price which he can afford. The Indian consumer has suffered for almost a quarter of a century by paying higher prices for the protection of the industries. He has been suffering for about a decade now by paying a lot through higher prices and higher taxes for the sake of development. When at last the undertakings for which the consumer has suffered start bearing fruits he is deprived of their use. Either he is not allowed to have them or he is asked to pay so much that he cannot utilise them. The tragedy is heightened when he is further asked to pay a little more for his consumption in order that exports may be subsidized *e.g.*, in the case of sugar. This only shows how little is our planning sensitive to the needs of our own consumer.

Unfortunately our planning is dependent so much on things foreign that it looks as if we have nothing of our own to spare for our development. All through the Plan we hear about foreign exchange, foreign loans, foreign markets, foreign tourists, foreign machinery, foreign experts and even foreign ideas. Such an excessive dependence on foreign sources is bad for us and it is essential that our people should feel that the planning is by them and for them. This can happen only when, firstly, instead of depending upon things foreign we depend upon our own and, secondly, we take into consideration the needs of our consumers and plan for them. It may be that our Planning will not be so ambitious statistically speaking, but even in its modesty it will give satisfaction to the consumer who will feel himself identified with it.

It is, of course, true that our resources are inadequate compared to our needs but it is also true that too much dependence on foreign assistance kills local initiative besides subjecting the borrower to all sorts of restrictive conditions, and that facile credit leads to unproductive expenditure. In Planning proper husbanding of resources is of utmost importance but almost everywhere we see the utter disregard of much-needed austerity and the sad spectacle of money being wasted on fancy schemes. (To my mind, the introduction of decimal coinage and metric system of weights and measures are two such schemes among many. Decimal coinage has already confused the system of payment and the metric system will confound further the confused system of weights and measures prevailing in India). There is an urgent need, therefore, of laying down a scheme of priorities, and strictly adhering to it. Defining the 'hard core' of the Second Plan was probably the realisation of this fact.

Certain conclusions, therefore, emerge from the above discussion and a few tentative suggestions can now be given towards the formulation of the Third Plan:

1. Let the Third Plan be a modest Plan with the object of removing the stresses and strains, and consolidating our economy. There is no use starting more and more undertakings in the public sector if the existing units cannot be managed well. Similarly, there is little use in imposing newer and newer taxes unless the existing ones can be gathered successfully. It is common knowledge that our administrative structure has not been able to cope with the vastly enlarged functions of administration—in many cases it has proved to be a virtual bottleneck. Steps must be taken to rectify this state of affairs.
2. Targets should be framed keeping in mind the requirements of the people. Howsoever much we may claim to have progressed, food, clothing and shelter still remain the basic problems for the large mass of people. In the light of these requirements policies pursued so far may be critically examined and modified, if necessary.
3. We should not run after the mirage of foreign markets at the expense of our own people. We must seriously examine the possibilities of reduction of costs of our products and discouragement of imports. A certain amount of imports will, of course, be inevitable to maintain our economy, and, to pay for them attempt should be made to enlarge our foreign exchange earnings from sources other than the export of commodities, *e.g.*, development of shipping. It shall not be out of place to mention that tourism as an industry has failed to be an economic proposition considering the vast sums of money spent on its development and the meagre earnings acquired.
4. Our planning should be tackled on a war-level, that is to say, austerity measures should be imposed and effectively implemented. This will require a greater degree of administrative vigilance on the part of the government and self-restraint on the part of the people.
5. Finally, let us make an attempt to depend on our own resources. Self-sufficiency in food will contribute a great deal towards this. India has always been an agricultural country and it is still a truism that her prosperity even to-day lies in the development of her agriculture. I have just one humble suggestion to offer for achieving higher production of food-grains, which, if implemented, would be a bold step in the right direction. Let the water and power of the river valley projects be made free or nominally charged for a peroid of five years. It has been stated both by Government spokesmen and others that there is inadequate utilization of the water and power of the projects, for which a number of reasons have been given, an important reason being the unhelpful rate policy pursued by the authorities. If the rates are lowered or totally done away with for a period of five years, this will not only lead to a greater utilization of these resources but coupled with the propaganda for better farming practices, will also ensure a greater yield of food and non-food crops. We are importing every year food-grains worth a hundred crores on an average. The loss to the Government on account of the reduction of rates will not probably exceed this figure but the loss will be more than compensated by an increased production of food-grains on which our planning rests.

The logic of the situation demands us to be self-sufficient and it is this fact which has to be recognised while drafting the Third Plan.

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SECONDARY EDUCATION IN WEST BENGAL

By SANTOSH KUMAR BANERJEE

After 11 years since independence, our country has not very much progressed in the educational sphere. The percentage of literacy for the whole of India is still 16.61, which is much below the figure of any Western country. The percentage of literacy in West Bengal at 24.02 is, however, comparatively higher than that of many other States except Kerala with 40.88, which is the highest in India. Education is the responsibility of the State Governments, the Union Government confining its activities to the co-ordination of facilities and determination of standards in respect of higher education or research, scientific and technical education.

The problem of Secondary Education in West Bengal has already drawn the attention of both Government and the educationists of repute. With the object of removing the lacunae, a Statutory Board of Secondary Education with a large elective element was set up by the Government for the State. But instead of improving, the conditions became such that the Government had to supersede it for the time being. The Secondary Education Bill aiming at the improvement of the system and set-up is now before the State Legislative Assembly.

It is not possible for Government alone in any country to carry on the system of education, specially secondary education, if ready and wil-

ling co-operation does not come from the people. The Government can set up a Board or a Commission, but if its members, who come from the people in general, are not fully conscious of their tasks and duties, it is sure to end in failure. Any individual member of the public whether he is a member of such a Board or Commission, should have the earnest desire of effecting some improvement in the sphere in the part of the country he belongs to. There should be no politics or party considerations in his suggestions or the help he renders to the cause of education.

Teachers' Role

In the sphere of Secondary Education the teachers play a great role. It is no doubt a matter of regret that they are not getting adequate emoluments to enable them to enjoy the elemental necessities of life, but if they care to remember the lot of their predecessors in this profession, they will find that they too were not above worries. The difference between present-day teachers and the teachers of old is that the latter were satisfied and content with their simple ways of living if they had worthy students who were devoted to study and obedient and who could bring fame to their teachers by their own success. The present-day teachers do not seem to care so much for the quality of students they teach, but think more of their own sufferings. Indeed the proverb "Plain living and high thinking" specially applicable in the case of teachers of our country is not paid any heed to by the teachers of modern days so far as its underlying principle is concerned.

It is high time when a serious consideration is to be paid by all sections of the people towards the problem of secondary education and its early and easy solution. The people of the country have no less responsibility in this matter than the Government. Until and unless they wholeheartedly co-operate with the Government in effecting an all-round improvement in the standard and method of Secondary Education, no scheme of Government or any statutory board set up by them can achieve the desired results.

It seems that the students in Government schools are subject to better discipline and teaching as these schools are under the direct supervision of Government and manned by better-paid and qualified teaching staff. It does not of course mean that in private schools there is a dearth of qualified and experienced teachers, but due to various influences, including political and economic, most of the teachers are unable to devote their whole energy and time towards the education of the students placed under their charge. It is, therefore, in the interest of the public in general that the private schools should receive 'priority' consideration from Government for meeting their urgent and pressing demands. Along with the provision of better conditions of service, salaries and allowances for the teaching staff engaged in private schools the Government should, I think, consider whether the Headmasters, who are the "main springs" of such institutions, should not be made permanent officers of the State. If these Head-masters are taken in the permanent employment of Government and given adequate pay and allowances and they are subject to transfer from one school to another after specific periods, I think, the atmosphere in a particular school will not be monotonous for them as it is now, and they will be outside any influence of a Managing Committee or a political party or group. A Conference of such Head-masters can be arranged from time to time under the Chairmanship of the Director of Public Instruction and in this way they can have opportunities of mutually discussing and finding out ready solutions of many difficult problems that confront them in the discharge of their day-to-day duties. This will also give an impetus to other private school teachers to do their work more sincerely as they can as well expect to be promoted one day to the ranks of Head-masters and thus be rewarded for their honest labour in the cause of education of the boys reading in their schools, and in this way the joint co-operation of the Head-masters and teachers of private schools with the Government can help a great deal to improve the present condition of Secondary Education in the State of West Bengal.

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 acknowleged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

EDITOR, *The Modern Review*

ENGLISH

INTERPRETER OF BUDDHISM TO THE WEST: SIR EDWIN ARNOLD: *By Brooks Wright. Bookman Associates, Inc. New York. 1957. Pp. 187. Price four dollars.*

This is a very well-written account, from the pen of a discerning critic, of the remarkably varied and eventful career of a great Englishman in the Victorian era. It tells the story of the hero's parentage, birth and education, of his first appointment (1857) in India (as Principal, Deccan College, Poona), which opened to him 'the beauty of the Sanskrit classics and the sublimity of Hinduism' (p. 31), of his forty years' association (1860-1899) with the *Daily Telegraph* (the first penny newspaper in London) when he took part in chronicling and in some measure guiding the course of events during the era of high watermark of Britain's greatness (p. 39), of his world-tours in course of which he undertook very successful lecturing campaigns in America and was received as an honoured guest in India and Ceylon as well as in Japan, of his last years and of his death at the ripe old age of 74 (1904). In between these phases of his career is told the story of his happy domestic life and of his composition of literary works of an astonishingly varied range. As an associate of the *Daily Telegraph* he took a leading part in organizing the archaeological expedition of George Smith in Mesopotamia (1873) and the expedition of geographical discovery in Central Africa by Henry Stanley (1874-1877). A born master of languages, he drew the material of his compositions equally from the ancient Greek and Latin and Sanskrit as well as Persian and Arabic literature and from the literature of mediaeval and modern Japan. In politics he was a liberal at home and an imperialist abroad. It is, however, a tribute to his extraordinary generosity and foresight that he could foresee a time when the British would have to quit India because of her assimilation of Western ways of thought (and specially science and technology), and he advised his countrymen to work for such a consummation as the only natural and right one (p. 64). Among his poetical compositions inspired by Indian thought the first place belongs to *The Light of Asia* depicting the early life of the Buddha. This famous work commanded a phenomenal sale in England and in America, was translated into German, Dutch, French, Czech, Italian, Swedish and other languages and was reproduced on the stage and on the screen while it inspired a number of imitations by lesser authors. Other works of Indian inspiration were Arnold's translation of the *Bhagavad-Gita* ('*The Song Celestial*') and the *Gita-Govinda* ('*The Indian Song of Songs*'). After 1890 Japan cast the same spell over Arnold that had been cast before by India, and he published 'an impressive series of poems, plays, essays and translations,' reflecting his view of Japanese life and character. It is characteristic of Arnold's versatility that he wrote during these years a long poem on the life and teachings of Jesus entitled *The Light of the World* (reflecting his theological belief in Jesus as 'the most perfect revelation of God's truth to man' but 'not himself a god,' (p. 158), a systematic discussion of the doctrine of immortality of the soul, and a number of poems dealing with the civilization of Ancient Egypt. We can well conclude our notice of this fine work by quoting an extract from the author's concluding estimate of Arnold's life and character. 'He was a man who won recognition as a journalist, lecturer and poet, who was a patron of scholarship and exploration, who mastered a dozen languages and a half dozen religions. . . His permanent achievement was to serve as a bridge between the East and West.'

H. N. GHOSHAL

INDIAN ADMINISTRATION: *By Asok Chanda. George Allen and Unwin Ltd., London. 1958. Pp. 274. Price 25.*

In the days when the Indian Administration functioned under the mantle of Imperial guardianship, the curiosity of foreigners was excited less by its hieratic excellence than by the oddities of Nature in India and the eccentricities of her customs. Times have changed. Politically, India claims to be the bastion of democracy in the East; economically, she has become one of the biggest fields for foreign investment. How well the Administration is faring since the departure of the British, is no longer a matter of idle curiosity for the anxious investors in finance and ideology.

This book will not disappoint them. Mr. Chanda is himself a high administrator and writes with a personal knowledge of the major administrative problems. He does for Indian administration what Gunther did for journalism. His book is a triptych—the three main pieces being the Parliament, the Executive and the Financial Administration. He is a modest man; he describes the study as a profile but considering the amount of ground it covers, it could be the physiology, it certainly is the anatomy and to judge by the observations, such as (Public Accounts Committee) "Most of the members have been brought up in the barren wilderness of opposition and have developed a profound distrust of bureaucracy," can even be the endocrinology of the Indian Administration. Each main topic is introduced by a historical survey, each organisation is measured against its British counterpart, often embellished with the fruits of experience garnered from the French or the United States systems and interlarded with much useful criticism.

The criticisms are at times provocative. They suffer in some cases from over-compression and to the unsophisticated some of them may be misleading if not mischievous. Admittedly, the search for precedents exasperates one at times to the point of Jehad. Admittedly, they are often used by the idle to spare the exertions of fresh thought. But their utility, in the context of a democracy, in ensuring fairness, uniformity of treatment and impartiality, is unquestionable. The answer to "Precedents and continuity are not so important today as they were in the past. . . . ." is in the pages of elementary books such as Sautoy's *The Civil Service*.

British analogies have been heavily drawn upon. The efficiency of the British Civil Service today is partly due to the determined absorption in its higher grades of the best intellects that the best schools and the best Universities in the U.K. have to offer and partly due to the existence of public traditions which the civil servants share in common with politicians and public men outside nurtured by the same schools, Universities and institutions. The conditions are different in India.

Lastly, judgment is largely a matter of knowledgeably balancing the pros and the cons of an issue. Herbert Simon in his book *Administrative Behaviour* says: "The task of decision involves three steps (i) the listing of all the alternative strategies; (ii) the determination of all the consequences that follow upon each of these strategies and (iii) the comparative evaluation of these sets of consequences." Efficiency in judgment and decision varies directly with knowledge of the world and maturity but inversely with the need to court popularity. In the present conditions in India the choice between them may not be easy. The problem is not only how to raise the standard of efficiency and judgment, where necesary, by training on the job as in the U.K. or by professional training as in say France but that also of how to reconcile the claims of efficiency with those of popularity and with those of enthusiasm for things local on which much emphasis is naturally laid in the growing welfare state.

The theories do not appear to be adequately weighed against the practical and the sociological backgrounds. This is not to say that the case made by Mr. Chanda is incapable of standing its own ground or to detract form the considerable merits of the book. The contribution made by Mr. Chanda to the scanty literature today on public administration in India is so timely and valuable that one earnestly hopes that others as literarily gifted as he would take up the challenge of the suggestions with which the book is replete and take them a stage further.

MARGARET BASU

BAL-GANGADHAR TILAK (A narrative and interpretative review of his life, career and contemporary events): *By T. V. Parvate. Navajiban Publishing House, Ahmedabad. Price Rs. 7.*

To celebrate Tilak's birth centenary, the celebration committee, with Shri Morarji Desai as chairman, offered a prize of Rs. 10,000 to the best biography of Tilak in English. Subsequently, either, according to the judges, there was such a neck to neck race in quality, or promise being the soul of wit exercising its sway on the Congress leaders, three books were adjudged 'the best' and the prize money was divided. The book under review is one of the three. There is a feeling in Maharastra that the committee's enthusiasm was an 'election propaganda' and a 'hoax' such as to justify even one of the prize-winners to say so in the Preface of his book.

Our author has chalked out a new line to highlight his interpretation of Tilak as absolutely constitutional. He has disinterred some incidents only to explain away that Tilak's deep interest in the Revolutionary movement and resort to arms in compassing the freedom of India is academic. "The Mutiny of 1857," this is how the author begins Tilak—page 8, "must have taught him that the secret of British power lay in its superior civilization and organization and that collection of a few fire-arms and slaughter of a few white men would not shake the well-established British *raj* in India." The sneer at the Revolutionary party is unfortunate and uncalled for. Any way, the author sums up Tilak and we have the following at page 500: "It was, therefore, a practical and deliberate conviction of his, reached by him and his colleagues like Agarkar at the very beginning of their public life that lawful and constitutional action, education of public opinion and organization to follow deliberately-taken resolves were the only means open to them for the services of the people." So strongly the author feels about it that he has fallen foul of those —and with them are clubbed the C.I.D. spies— who believed that Tilak 'was something much more than a mere militant, aggressive, constitutional and lawful agitator,' Tilak was misunderstood because, the author says, 'his criticism of government measures was quite often very strong, he employed violent language, showed temper and sometimes used such condemnatory language as amounted to vilification,' The author would not even stand Tilak being called the Father of Indian Unrest, which is, he says 'a left-handed compliment.'

The picture, given above, is not in accord with the popular notion of Tilak; not in accord with what Gandhiji said of him that 'he considers that everything is fair in politics,' not in accord with what Romain Rolland understood him to be believing and saying that 'in politics everything is justified.' Never mind, the author is to be admired for his courage of conviction. For kindred spirits, according to the author, 'Dadabhai, Gandhiji and Jawaharlalji must remain as outstanding landmarks in India's march towards Swaraj.' We have also from him that "the gold of India's present leadership has been burnt in the Gandhian furnace, melted and made solid in the Gandhian crucible, hammered on the Gandhian anvil and has been polished by the Marxian process of approach to affairs of life." There is a tide in the affairs of man; let that tide be our author's.

JOGES C. BOSE

SANSKRIT

MULAMADHYAMIKA-KARIKA OF NAGARJUNA (Chaps. I—V) Pt. I: *Translated into English and Bengali with notes by Prof. Herambanath Chatterjee. Published by the author, Sanskrit College, Calcutta. Pp. i-xxxiv + 39.*

The book under review is the outcome of erudition, precision and a close acquaintace with the Madhyamika school of Philosophy can be traced to the teaching of Buddha. Buddha called his ethical teaching the Middle Path. In fact the Madhyamika philosophy seeks to repudiate all extreme positions—subjectivism of the Yogacharas or realism of the Vaibhasikas. Nagarjuna (1st century A.D.), one of the greatest thinkers of India is admitted to be the earliest exponent of this school of thought. His Mulamadhyamakarika served as an impetus to the later writers of this school. Nagarjuna's work is pregnant with abstruseness of thought. It is Candrakirti who made a bold attempt in unfolding the deeper subtleties of Nagarjuna's standpoint. The present editor has exhibited his erudition in delineating the formidable logical subtlelies in a lucid manner. The book is enriched by introduction which, as a whole, compresses within its limited compass the history as well as the philosophical implications of the four Buddhistic schools of realism and idealism. The editor has amply brought out the various misconceptions regarding the exact implication of *sunyata*. His dissertation on *sunyat*

abounds in original reflections and reveals an independent and effective thinking. The introduction also contains a summary of the first five chapters. The Bengali translation based on the commentary of Chandrakirti, is quite readable. The reviewer feels no hesitation in asserting that the present publication will be welcomed by all lovers of Sanskrit learning specially by all serious students of Buddhist Philosophy.

GOPIKAMOHAN BHATTACHARYA

BENGALI

SATABDIR SISU-SAHITYA (1818-1918): *By Khagendranath Mitra. Vidyodaya Library Private Ltd., 72, Mahatma Gandhi Road, Calcutta-9. Price Rs. 7.*

The author is a well-known writer of children's books. Indeed children's literature and the history of children's literature are not the same thing, for literature is born of imagination and history is the product of research, study and mastery of facts. As regards his books written for children though Khagendranath Mitra is mainly an imaginative writer, he has succeeded to a high degree in bringing out a comprehensive history of children's literature during the period of a hundred and one years (1818-1918). We have a history of Bengali literature enriched by contributions of modern research, but up to now scholars have almost neglected children's literature, and an account of its rise and growth has been long due. The author has done well to remove a long-felt want. He is a pioneer in the field. The book is divided into two parts. The first part is concerned with periodicals meant for children, the second part deals with books. The first part is again subdivided into two sections: periodicals of the nineteenth century and those of the twentieth century. It is interesting to note that children's magazines preceded the publication of children's books by several years. *Digdarshan*, a monthly published by the Baptist Mission of Serampore, though ostensibly meant for youngmen, is, according to the author, the first children's magazine. The publication of *Sakha* in 1883, under the editorship of Pramada Charan Sen, is a landmark in the history of children's periodicals. The author divides the second part into three sections: the era of the School-book Society, the era of Vidyasagar, and the post-Vidyasagar era. According to the author, the story of Bhuban in Vidyasagar's *Barna-parichay*, Dwitiya-bhag, is the first real short story in Bengali literature. Though the earliest, a powerful story of the type is rare in the realm of Bengali short story. Two names, those of Jogindranath Sarkar and Upendrakishore Roy Choudhuri, should ever be remembered as the two great pioneers in the field of children's literature. Sri Mitra has, through oversight, omitted the name of Manomohan Basu. He is the author of *Padyamala*. Jadugopal Chattopadhyay is the compiler of *Padyapath*. Covering 240 pages, demy octavo, *Satabdir Sisu-Sahitya* or Children's Literature of the Century, though research-work, is never dull reading. Khagendranath Mitra knows how to present facts in an attractive form.

SAILENDRAKRISHNA LAW

BRISTI YADI ASE (If Rain Comes): *By Samir Chowdhury. Charu Sahitya Prakashanee, 68, Bhupendra Basu Avenue, Calcutta-4. 1958. Pp. 56. Price Rs. 2.00.*

Samir Chowdhury, the author of this collection of poems, is one of the talented Bengali poets of the younger generation whose life is threatened by the moral tuberculosis. When I first came into contact with his poems on the pages of the now defunct *Nutaner Sandhane*, which was spiritual offspring of Shri Sisir Ray, I was at once struck by the beauty and force of his language and the depth of his emotion. No reader of this volume can fail to be impressed by the poems. Shri Subhash Mukhopadhyaya, one of the foremost poets of Bengal, truly says in his foreword to the book: "The poems are all written with death at the door. Yet there is no whimpering or complaint. He is always faced towards life. There is no surrender, but the will to fight it out—an acute consciousness of the present permeating all through."

SUBHASH CHANDRA SARKER

SRI CHAITANYA VIJAYA BA NAMAMAHIMA: *By Bhavani Bhattacharya. To be had of Sarasvata Mandir, 1, Ramesh Mitra Road, Bhowanipur, Calcutta. Price Rs. 2.*

A drama based on incidents connected with the lives of Sri Chaitanya and his great disciple Haridasa. Sri Chaitanya's spiritual attainments and courage and Haridasa's devotion to him have been particularly stressed. Materials have been gathered from the important biographies of Chaitanya. The theme here is more important than literary craftsmanship.

D. N. MOOKERJEA

HINDI

BANGLA AUR USKA SAHITYA: *By Hansa Kumar Tiwari. Rajakamal Prakashan, New Delhi. Pp. 146. Price Rs. 2.*

Sometime back Saraswati Sahakar, Delhi, under the general editorship of Shri Kshemachandra "Suman," embarked on the commendable project of acquainting the Hindi-knowing public with short histories of the various regional literatures, which constitute the corpus of Indian literature. The present volume pertains to Bengali literature. In a brief compass the author has covered a very wide ground, indeed, from the early beginnings of the Bengali language to the age of Rabindranath. His treatment of the subject is objective and assessments and evaluations fair.

G. M.

GUJARATI

GANDHI-NASTIK-SAMVADA (Translation from 'An atheist with Gandhi'): *Navajiban Prakasan Mandir, Ahmedabad. July, 1956. Price ten annas.*

G. Ramchandra Rao, a professed atheist but philanthropist, had exchanged letters with Gandhiji and had also met him and naturally on the topic of atheism. But even Gandhiji with his 'One step enough for me' and Ramchandraji Goraji with his strong atheistic convictions could meet on some common ground—the good of the people.

The detached soul of Gandhiji comes out very clear in these pages, and it is seen how his approach was scientific rather than dogmatic. Gandhiji's letters in original recall a number of associations which bring into relief his character and stand. The book should find its way to every library where Gandhi literature is favourite reading.

P. R. SEN

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Indian Periodicals

Towards Harmony

Prabuddha Bharata observes editorially:

It is easy to see that religions agree on some of the most vital factors that are calculated to sustain and advance co-operative activities in various fields and make individual lives richer and more harmonious. But it is not quite a simple matter to reconcile the religious people; for here we have to reckon not with religion as such, but the readings of it by the faithful. For this difficult task we have to discover ways and means.

The Hindus found long ago the real key to the resolution of such individual differences in the Vedic declaration 'Truth is one but the sages call it by various names'. And Vedanta enunciated the universal basis of a spiritual life on which all can take their stand. The result has been that in India different philosophies, sometimes standing poles apart, flourish side by side without generating any intolerance or conflict beyond verbal wrangle or literary debate. And yet the adherents of these philosophies are not mere intellectuals, but staunch religious believers! This approach, then, can serve as a very good starting point. Fortunately, again for us, a mighty spiritual genius like Sri Ramakrishna realized in our own time the truth of that Vedic saying and declared that all religions are true. This augurs well for the future of mankind. And yet we must be cautious in our dealings with other groups so as not to antagonize them in our zeal to tell them of this patent truth. For prejudices die hard; and if the new outlook is identified and claimed exclusively for India or the Vedas, or even the great prophets like Rama, Krishna, or Ramakrishna, the chances are that we shall defeat our purpose to a very great extent. A warning to this effect was sounded by Romain Rolland: 'In accordance with the Vedantists I do not need to enclose God within the bounds of a privileged man in order to admit that the Divine dwells within the soul and that the soul dwells in everything—that Atman is Brahman; for that, although it knows it not, is a form of nationalism of spirit . . .' (*The Life of Ramakrishna*). At the same time, we are not prepared to discard religious personalities altogether, for with them comes and goes religious inspiration itself. If we leave out Rama, Krishna, Buddha, Jesus, and Muhammed, religion will be reduced to a mere cultural expression or a bundle of moral precepts without any life-giving impulse. We must accept all the prophets of all ages and all climes at the same time that we refrain from advancing any exclusive claim in any one's name. Our approach will be impersonal in the sense that the basic facts of their teachings will be emphasized rather than the theological dogmas centering round them. When speaking of their lives, we shall deal with facts that illumine their original thoughts, rather than the communal interpretations of later days. This does not, however, mean that in personal beliefs also we shall strip ourselves of inborn convictions. There is a Hindi saying that one can say 'yea, yea' to everybody at the same time that one sticks firmly to one's own faith. This is the method followed all along in India. As a result the Hindus as a whole venerate and accept all the saints and prophets of all ages and climes, though they do not become Buddhists, Christians, or Muhammedans.

Realism in Krishnagore Modellers

Dr. Sudhir Kumar Nandi observes in *The Aryan Path*:

Krishnagore is the district headquarters of Nadia in West Bengal. It is the home of modellers best known for

their excellence in clay modelling. It is proposed to discuss in this paper the sense of realism of these modellers, who for over a century earned great distinction. It was no mean achievement for them to have earned praises from a foreign dignitary such as Napoleon III of France when there was little knowledge of Indian art and architecture abroad. The genius of Germany found its full expression in Hegel; yet even he shows a regrettable lack of appreciation of Indian art when he characterizes the whole of Indian art as "grotesque." It is surprising also to find Max Muller apparently completely ignorant of the vast wealth of Indian aesthetics when he writes: "It is strange nevertheless that a people so fond of the highest abstractions as the Hindus, should never have summarized their perceptions of the Beautiful." The recognition that Krishnagore moddellers won at foreign exhibitions for over a century may well be judged against the background of such apathy and ignorance of Indian art and architecture among the 'elite' abroad. We can well imagine the tremendous ovation that would have been accorded to these art traditions had there been adequate knowledge and a correct appreciation of them.

These modellers have been noted for the verisimilitude of their work, for their true presentation of life in all its roughness and grandeur. A studio of a Krishnagore modeller will take you to the very heart of Bengal. There you find a ploughman plodding his weary way, a woodcutter setting out for his day's work, a damsel with a pitcher looking through her characteristic veil, a typical village schoolmaster, a fight between two street urchins, a Jantric, a mendicant, a beggar with a bowl, a priest with wooden sandals and a tuft of hair upon his head, and a love-lorn couple exchanging furtive glances in imitation of Lord Krishna and his eternal love Radha. All these are there brought to life in clay and colour. The note that strikes the observer is that of a realism which is indigenous. The native genius finds its full expression in presenting life in its divers forms. Our art tradition, a heritage fror the epic age, recognies realism as a poten factor in giving art its character. Thi realism is in the very soul of Indian ar and literature. We may trace this poign ant sense of realism to our epic poet: such as Valmiki, and it percolated throug the ages to reach us unstained. We hav imbibed the spirit for presenting the con crete and the individual from our ol masters and it worked up in various form and description. The late Dr. Dasgupt the eminent scholar and critic, writes c this sense of realism and of our realisti traditions:

"But apart from such human analogie the general tendency of Valmiki's descrip tion is realism—description of fruit and flowers, of birds and beasts, of muddy roads and moist winds and so on. Bhava bhuti seems to have followed this realis tic tendency of Valmiki in his descriptio of nature, which is sometimes sublime an sombre. Such a realistic tendency can b found in other poets also."—*History of Sanskr Literature* by S. N. Dasgupta and S. K. D p. cxxviii.

We believe that the Indian mind has taste for the definte and the concrete and i has characterized our outlook on life an literature in infinite ways. In spite of al the abstract thinking we did in the realm o metaphysics, "with regard to mundan affairs, the Indians have always been abso lutely definite, concrete and realistic ir their conceptions." In ancient sculptur the Indian artists showed a type of versimi litude that is still found and appreciated ir the caves of Ajanta and Ellora, at Bhu vaneswar and Konarka, at Tanjore an Sri Rangam. Without being inaccurat in the least we could say that the Indian artists' sense of realism was displayed no only in mundane affairs but also in mak ing gods and goddesses and other celestia figures. We could adduce evidence in ou support from the celebrated Dr. Ananda Coomaraswamy:

"In Indian images, great significanc is to be attached to gestures; a part of this

is very obvious, as appears if we contrast the stillness of a Buddha with the fluidity of Nataraja. This gesture symbolism derives directly from life . . . . The gods are of human imaging."

The human and divine figures carved on the walls of Indian temples are noted for their artistic excellence. Herein we find the profound sense of realism of Indian artists. Coomaraswamy notes this realistic trend: "Such hands and limbs of Indian images reflect the Indian physical type in their smoothness and flexibility and the nervousness of their vitality." This was due to our profound love for the individual and the concrete. We loved the individual in aesthetics and worshipped the abstract in metaphysics.

It is no wonder that the Krishnagore modellers should be true to such an aesthetic tradition and should show a wonderful skill in the representation of real life. Rabindranath Tagore testified to their matchless portrait-making in plaster and clay, and it is no exaggeration when he says that nowhere in the West had he seen such power of swift portrait-making so refreshingly true to the original. Shri K. C. Paul, the noted sculptor, made Tagore's portrait in about ten minutes' time.

This legacy of realism has not, however, been altogether advantageous, as it was responsible for the slow growth of diversified art movements in India. The faithful copying of life in art made art somewhat static. It must be admitted that faith in true presentation of life in clay and plaster was responsible not only for the good name the Krishnagore modellers enjoyed but also for whatever criticism they deserved. Till recently the majority of these artists could hardly rise above mere imitation in their works of art, though they earned great fame as mimics of life. When discerning people looked beyond imitation, for something other than a copy of life, in art, they decried these realistic art-patterns of Krishnagore. It is of great significance that the sympathetic Havell, the senior contemporary of Avanindranath Tagore, could not appreciate this abject surrender of the artist to his sense of realism. It was Havell's studied opinion that these works lacked a robust display of imagination and were lop-sided. Havell advised Shri Jadunath Pal, the doyen of Krishnagore modellers, to put more imagination into his work. The business of art was not to copy life but to recreate it. Havell's pointer does reveal the innate weakness of this old art tradition of Bengal. What was a virtue in portrait-making became a sin in the larger context of general art.

It is heartening to note that the present generation of artists in Krishnagore realizes that they will have to transcend these categories of reality and unreality in art because art has nothing to do with reality in the ordinary sense of the term. Art creates its own reality and it has its own standard. It is futile to refer the excellence of artistic beauty to beauty in nature; for they are judged differently. A visit to the studios at Krishnagore on the banks of the Jalangi would reveal beyond doubt that these artists are no more confining themselves to copying reality in minute detail. The dancing damsels representing the various schools of Indian dancing, the brooding maid in a hut, the Three Musketeers, the searching heron and other specimens done by Shri Vishnu Pal, Shri K. C. Paul and Shri Mukti Pal will amply bear out that they follow life, but transcend it as well. They implicitly and unknowingly follow the old maxim enunciated anew by Avanindranath Tagore, that art must follow nature and at the same time transcend it. Thus their art must not today be considered in terms of "real and unreal." If it is real, its reality is different from the reality of life. The rigidity of nature gives place to a flexible contour in art. The artist rejects much of nature and selects his "content." The Krishnagore modellers of today do not present life but represent it—in the Aristotelian sense of "recreate." A new shape or form is presented by the artist, and thus the light that never was on sea or land illuminates his work. The subtle expression of the love-lorn damsel made of clay certainly does not represent life, but speaks of the artist's ever-moving imagination at work. This imagination created concrete individuals without presenting in them a true picture of life. Thus new

trends are discernible in the art of Krishnagore; they create new characters and new situations which are far superior to the "real" in life. They create an order of reality which far surpasses the ordinarily "real" in dignity and grandeur. Their realism has taken a new turn, which is quite in keeping with the ever-changing concept of art and its content.

Thailand

The Land and its People

Chandradhar Sharma writes in *Careers and Courses*:

"Thailand—the land of the white elephant"—it may sound very strange but there is no cause for being perplexed about it. It in no way stands for the proverbial meaning of the term "White Elephant." Thais are undisputably intelligent and industrious people. They are famous for their honesty and forwardness throughout the world. It is known as the land of white elephant, because it actually happens to be the home of this monstrous species. Its forests abound in white elephants. Tigers, leopards, bears, lions, deer are the other important denizens of the Thai forests. The forests cover 65 per cent of the total area of the country.

Land and Landscape

Thailand is a beautiful country where gilded, horned, and red-roofed temples rise out of green gardens, where giant trees and bamboos grow and where on moonlit nights canoes sail calmly on the shimmering waters of Mekong. Comprising an area of 198,247 sq. miles this land of the free people (Thai meaning free) offers opportunities to tourists of all tastes and temperaments. Its dancing dales, running brooks, towering cliffs, extensive meadows, and vast forests are things which none can afford to miss. The large number of spas and springs and wats and pagodas dotting the teak-clad shores are an added attraction.

Sandwitched between Burma in the West and Indo-China in the East, the country is noted for its bracing climate. The summer (March to May), rainy season (June to October) and winter (Nov. to Feb.) are the three distinct seasons. In the Southern Thailand, there are only two seasons; the summer and the rainy season.

People and Professions

The population of Thailand is 23,29,287 and is made up of Thais, Chinese, Indians and Malayans. Thais account for ninety per cent of the population. The remainder consists of the immigrants from India, China, Malaya and Burma.

Thais are sturdy and short-statured people and belong to the Indo-Mongolian stock. Their figures are soft and rounded with prominent cheek bones and slanting eyes. Fishing and agriculture are the major occupations of the people. They are mainly engaged in lumbering and transporting the teak wood. Rice is the major crop and is also the main item of export. The country is also rich in mineral resources. Tin, silver, gold, wolfram, lead, copper, manganese, zinc, rubies and saphires are the chief mineral deposits. However, only tin is extracted in commercial quantities and that also is restricted to the southern province of the country.

History

The history of Thailand begins with the colonisation of the country by the immigrants from India during the early centuries of the Christian era. Nothing exactly is known about the people inhabiting this area in the pre-Christian era. The Indians who mostly came from South India first settled in the Menam Valley lying beyond the River Chao Phya. It will be interesting to note that Indian settlers like the early European settlers in Africa and Australia did not embark upon a policy of repression of the local inhabitants. On the contrary they employed their traditional power of assimilation to absorb the local inhabitants. With the aid of their rich culture and cosmopolitan religion they were very successful in civilising the aboriginal Lawas. The Lawas were savages and belonged to the Mon-Khmer family of lower Burma. According to one account the Lawas were not the original settlers: they were rather preceded by Negritos who are now found only in the interiors of Malayan Peninsula.

Hindu Influence

Indian settlers cleared the jungles and established colonies, the remains of which can still be seen in the entire length and breadth of the country. Lopburi, Dvaravati, Rajbouri, and Chandaburi are a few of the many cities built by them. It was

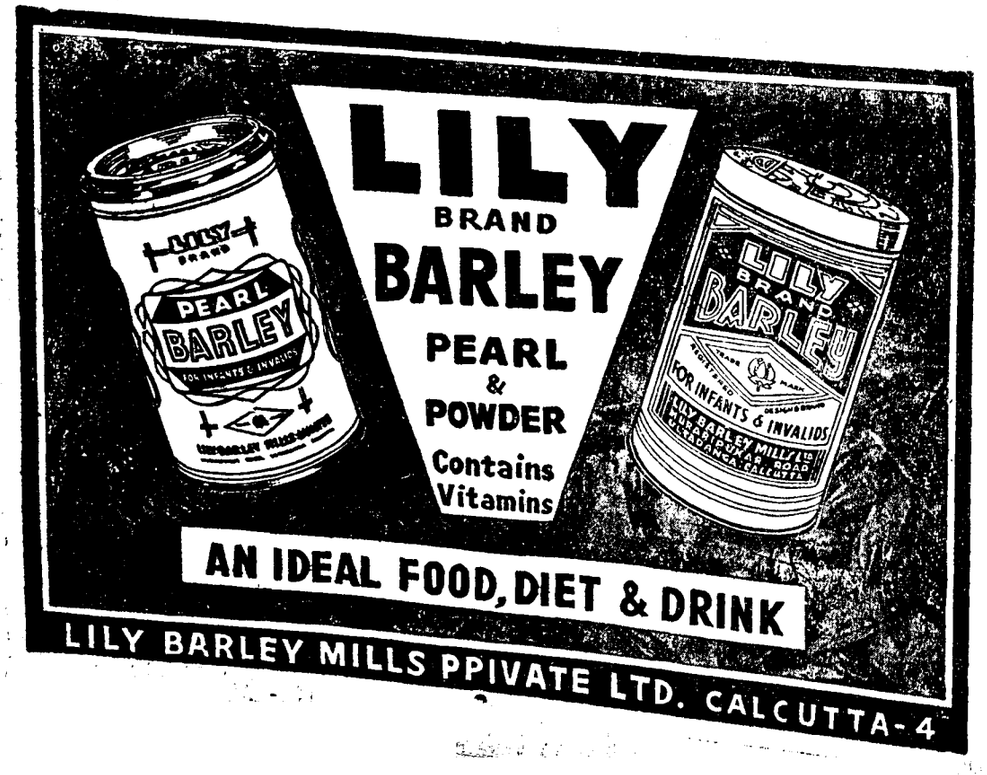
through Thailand that Brahaminical culture made inroads into the neighbouring countries of Laos, Cambodia, Indonesia and Malaya. A number of temples dedicated to Hindu Gods were erected during this era of Hindu glory. The magnificent remains of Angkor Wat in Cambodia and Borobudur in Java are reminiscent of the highly artistic talent and architectural superbness of the Hindu settlers. Thai culture, as a matter of fact, is nothing short of a variation of Hindu culture adjusted to local needs. The Indian imprints on Thai language and customs can still be traced with great ease. The names of the local people invariably have a Sanskrit suffix or prefix. Morever, the ceremonies pertaining to birth, marriage and death, though Buddhist, are still Hindu in character. Thais like Hindus bathe their dead before cremation. Like Hindus libations of water are still made to the dead elders on the Songkran day.

Buddhism

Buddhism which is now the religion of the overwhelming majority of the Thais was also introduced by the missionaries from India. Phra Uttra and Phra Sona were the first two Buddhist envoys from India to land in Thailand. Buddhism of Hinayana school was the first to enter Thailand. Hinayana continues to be the predominant religion of the area extending from Ceylon to Combodia. In Japan, however, Hinayana school of Buddhism is not so popular.

Original Home of the Thais

The present-day Thai people were originally the inhabitants of the Yangtse Valley in South China. They were as a matter of fact masters of the areas extending from Yunan to Kwangtung. The famous Non-Chao Empire the occasional references to which are found in the history of South China was established by none else but an ancestor of the modern Thai nation. In time they descended to the plains of fertile valley of river Chao Phya. This process of immigration necessitated by the economic and political reasons was even and gradual. It was only towards the close of the 13th century that this mass of immigrants took the form of the nation in the modern sense of the word.



Indraditya was the first Thai to conceive the idea of independence from the Khmers of Burma. He subsequently manoeuvred a revolt against the Khmer overlords and was ultimately successful in exterming the Khmers from Prades Thai. He established a dynasty which continued to rule till the middle of the 14th century. His illustrious son Rama Khamheng till today is considered to be the foremost hero of Thailand. Sukhodai was the seat of authority of this first Thai empire which extended from Menam Valley to Palembang in Indonesia. In 1350 Sukhodai dynasty was replaced by a new dynasty founded by Phra Chaou-Dong. The now ruined town of Ayudhya was the capital of this new empire which ruled the country for more than four centuries.

Golden Period

This era can be rightly called the Golden period of the Thai history. Art and architecture attained new heights. Large number of wats, temples and monastries were raised at Nakon Pathom, Nakorn Shrithamaraj, Songkla, Sukhothai, Lampoon, Chiengmai, Pitsamiloke and Ayudhya. The Phra Budha Jinaraj temple at Pitsamiloke is probably the oldest in the country. The image is said to be over six centuries old and is famous for the exquisite craftsmanship embellishing it. The Emerald Buddha carved out of solid emerald-like translucent Jasper, enshrined in the Grand palace at Bangkok is another proof of the Thai craftsmanship.

Destruction of Ayudhya

In April 1767 the beautiful town of Ayudhya was completely sacked by the invading Burmese army. This invasion did great loss to the country in the way of destruction of the entire written records and literature. The invaders, however, had soon to retreat in the face of the valiant fight put up by Phra Chao Tak Sin, an undaunted soldier of the Chinese origin. Having driven away the invaders he established his capital at Thonburi on the Western bank of the Chao Phya River, opposite the present Bangkok.

Present Dynasty

He was succeeded by one of his generals, Chao Phya Chkra who founded the present ruling Chakri Dynasty. The kings of this dynasty are precisely known as Rama. He shifted the capital to the eastern side of the river Menam, i.e., Bangkok.

The first important king of this dynasty was Phra Chom Klao (1851-1860). Great progress in the fields of trade and commerce was registered during his regime. He reformed the administration pattern and evolved ways and means to develop a sense of national unity.

Visit to India

However, it was left to his son Chulalogkorn (Rama V) to establish a firm authority at home and cordial relations with the countries abroad.

The regular diplomatic contacts were for the first time established with the neighbouring countries and emissaries were sent to the West. Rama V visited India, the Land of Lord Rama, as well. He also went on a good will mission to Europe on two occasions (1897 and 1907).

By the close of the first decade of the present century Bangkok had become so important a point on the diplomatic map of the world that on the occasion of the coronation of King Vajiravudh (Rama VI) in December, 1911, the gathering of European representatives at Bangkok was the greatest ever before seen in Asia. The new king launched upon a number of schemes aiming at the economic and social uplift of the country. As a matter of fact the Thai nation in the present form is more a creation of this era (1910-1925) rather than that of any other.

King Vajiravudh was succeeded by his brother Prajadhipok (Rama VII). Prajadhipok had a great admiration for the western thought and ideas especially those pertaining to economic and social justice. Soon after his accession to the throne he ordered the formation of a Supreme Council of State. The Council was instituted mainly to act as a permanent advisory body to the sovereign. The king in all matters pertaining to the State consulted the members of the Council and respected their advice. He revised the earlier treaties which on the whole were not favourable to the country. As a result of these modified treaties Thailand succeeded in obtaining full fiscal autonomy.

The End of Absolute Monarchy

While going through the modern history of Thailand one fact must always be remembered that Armed Forces play

dominant part in deciding the political issues of this country. As in the countries of South America, the coups here are also very frequent and common. They have, however, always been bloodless. The first coup d'etat was staged on 24th June, 1932; the aim being the establishment of a constitutional monarchy. The king, however, readily agreed to it and on the 10th December, 1932 he signed the new constitution guaranteeing constitutionl monarchy to the country. This constitution has since been repealed, reinstituted and revised on occasions more than one. This constitution was replaced by a new constitution on 10th May, 1946 which in turn was superseded by a revised constitution on the assumption of power by Field-Marshal Pibul Songgram following the coup d'etat of 8th Novermber, 1947. In 1951, the constitution of 1932 was restored following the coup d'etat of 30th November 1951. Under the 1932 constitution the Upper House was abolished and the People's Assembly constituted. The Assembly consisted of equal number of elected and nominated members. The term of the elected members was to be four years.

Rama VI abdicated in 1935 and was succeeded by his nephew King Ananda (Rama VII). On the untimely demise of King Ananda, his brother Prince Phumbhol Aduldej succeeded to the throne on 5th May, 1950. He was born on 5th December 1927 and is the reigning King.

The era of coups heralded in 1932 still continues. Marshal Pibul Songgram was replaced by Pote Sarasin who in turn was replaced by General Kritti Kachora. The recent coup d'etat has put Marshal Sarit Thanarat at the helm of affairs.

Art and Architecture

Thais as we know are a gay people. They love music, songs and graceful movements, rather art in every form. Its proof is found in their colourful festivals, beautiful gardens and the artistic wealth enriching various pagodas and wats (temples). Both art and architecture and the language and customs bear a marked Hindu influence. The classical form of Thai drama for instance very much resembles the ancient Sanskrit drama. Like the form the theme too is so often Indian. Fables and incidents from Ramayana, Mahabharata and other Puranic scriptures are popular themes with the exponents of classical form of Thai drama.

Khon, Rabam, and Lakon are the three major subdivisions of the Thai theatre. Khon is a masked play whereas Rabam is mainly a character dance. On the other hand Lakon is an operatic ballet. However, the common point about the three forms is their symbolic character, i.e., signs and gestures are employed to express different ideas and emotions.

Thai architecture, as already stated, very much resembles the temple architecture of ancient India. The Wat, Viharn, Stupa, Sala and Mondope are the major architectural patterns. The wat consists of a temple (Bote) flanked by a congested colony of attendant monks. Viharn on the other hand is a huge assembly hall wherein Buddhist sermons are delivered. Around the viharn are sala and stupa. Sala is like the Indian *Dharm Shala* and is likewise utilised as a resting place. Mondope is used either as a library or to enshrine the sacred relics. It is very much like the Mandapam in South India.

Politics

Politics in Thailand is not a politics of the people and the parties. It is rather of the Marshals and the princes. Unlike the Greeks, the politics is not a popular subject with the Thais. They have more than enough rice to eat and a large number of rivers to fish in spare moments.

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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Rice Cultivation in China Observed by a Japanese Expert

Mr. Terada, Leader of the Japanese Agricultural Technician Group who had been engaged in technical guidance of rice cultivation in China for six months at the invitation of the Chinese Agricultural Association, commented as follows on his return to Tokyo at the Press Conference on agricultural condition in China:

Rice cultivation in China has been making a remarkable progress for the last two years; however, the general standard seems to fall far short of that in Japan. The best record of rice crop in Japan being 17 Pyoo per 1 Tan in 1955. According what we were informed of at a collective farm, the crop was at best approximately 10 Pyoo per 1 Tan. The planting of rice plants is conducted in such a jumbled-up way that proper weeding is sometimes made difficult.

The aim of the Japanese Technician Group was to apply the Japanese method of rice cultivation in such a way as to best fitted for the climatic condition in China and to show in practice every process of rice cultivation from seeding to harvest. We could achieve a very good success with the yield of 12 Pyoo per 1 Tan, to a great surprise of the people in the state farm. We took with us from Japan about 40 varieties of seedrice and many of them were found suitable for the climatic condition in China. Much remains still to

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be done for the improvement of rice plant breeding in China and the Chinese people expressed the hope to make use of every seedrice we took there.

In China, they adopted *warm seed bed method* with covering this year, to which our technique made a very useful contribution. Their manuring method is also left far behind and artificial fertilizer such as Potash fertilizer was scarcely used at sowing time. Such being the case, we put much stress on the improvement of manuring method and, I believe, our effort produced an effective result.

The Marxian Concept of Democracy

Julius Smulkstys observes in **Lithuanus,** a college quarterly published by the Lithuanian Student Association :

In orthodox Marxist philosophy, democracy occupies an important position in the evolution and goal of social dialectics.

The history of more recent times is marked by three modes of production, which are responsible for the existence of the feudal, bourgeois and proletarian societies. Each society has a roughly corresponding form of political system: monarchic, liberal-democratic and the proletarian dictatorship.

This interpretation of the bourgeois and proletarian states forms the basis of the Marxists' contention that a proletarian dictatorship is far more democratic than the typical bourgeois democracy. The dictatorship operates only against the bourgeoisie, which constitutes a small fraction of the total population.

Marx mentioned democracy as the ideal goal of social dialectics: "Democracy is the soultion of the **riddle** of all constitutions. Here the constitution is . . . . . constantly reduced to the **real** men, the **real** people, and posited as their own work." With the abolition of classes under the proletarian dictatorship, the state ceases to serve class interests.

The realization of communism is accompanied by a simultaneous change in nature, which with the disappearance of classes becomes depoliticized.

There is sharp disagreement among Marxists themselves as to whether Marx rejected the possibility of the realization of communism through democratic method. For instance, Marx argued for the revolutionary method and held such democratic reforms as universal suffrage, direct legislation, etc., to be "a mere echo of the middle-class People's Party."

After the unsuccessful experience of the Paris Commune, Marx and Engels seem to have concluded that in countries where a liberal democracy was firmly established, there was a possibility of the 'proletariat' coming to power through nonviolent means.

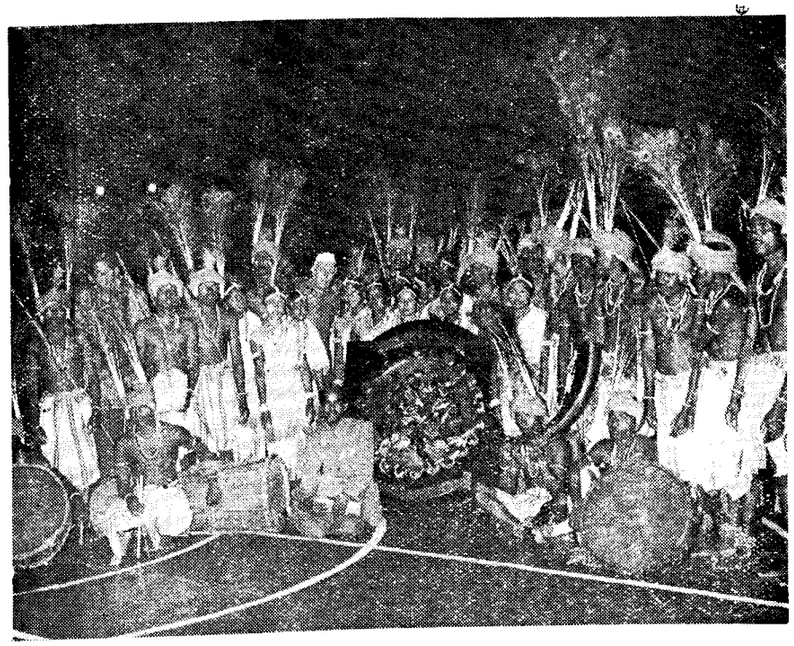
At times Lenin called democracy the most convenient arena for the class struggle, a test of the proletarian consciousness, a factor in sharpening class antagonisms. On other occasions he regarded democracy merely as a bourgeois instrument for deceiving the working class, a device employed for the purpose of corrupting the proletariat.

This constant ambivalence toward democracy can best be explained by the fact that Lenin did not consider ideology an important factor in social processes. For him, ideology was at once cause and effect.

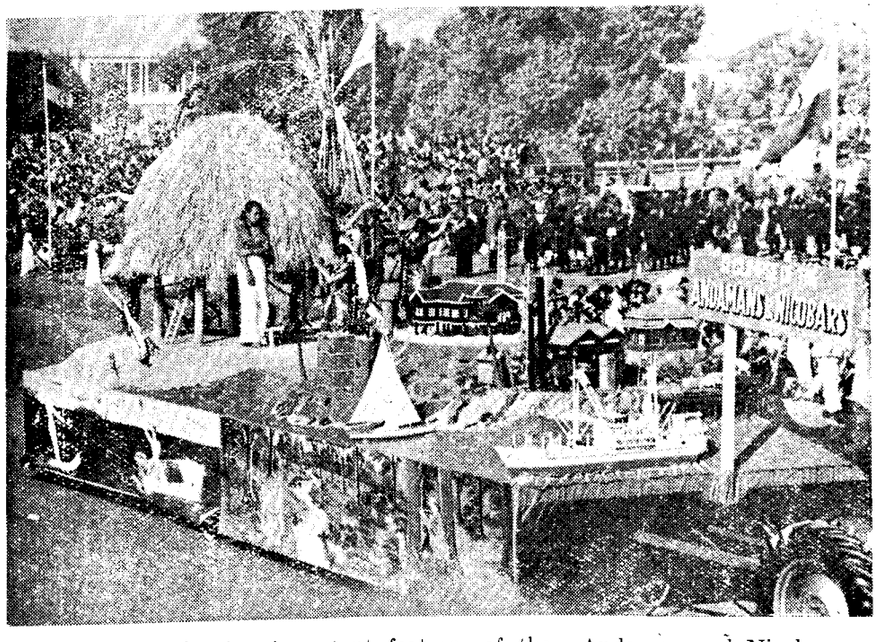
After the October Revolution, Lenin and his collaborators showed that once they had acquired power and were faced with the necessity of putting their former declarations to the test of practical politics, all their earlier notions about the democratic method had completely disappeared.

It is interesting to note that today Communists do not hesitate to proclaim themselves to be the only true democrats and the countries in which they are in power to be democracies. This insistence on a monopoly of perfect democracy is congenial to the present institutions and practices—aimed at the creation of the "new" man and the "new" society—of the Communist-controlled states.

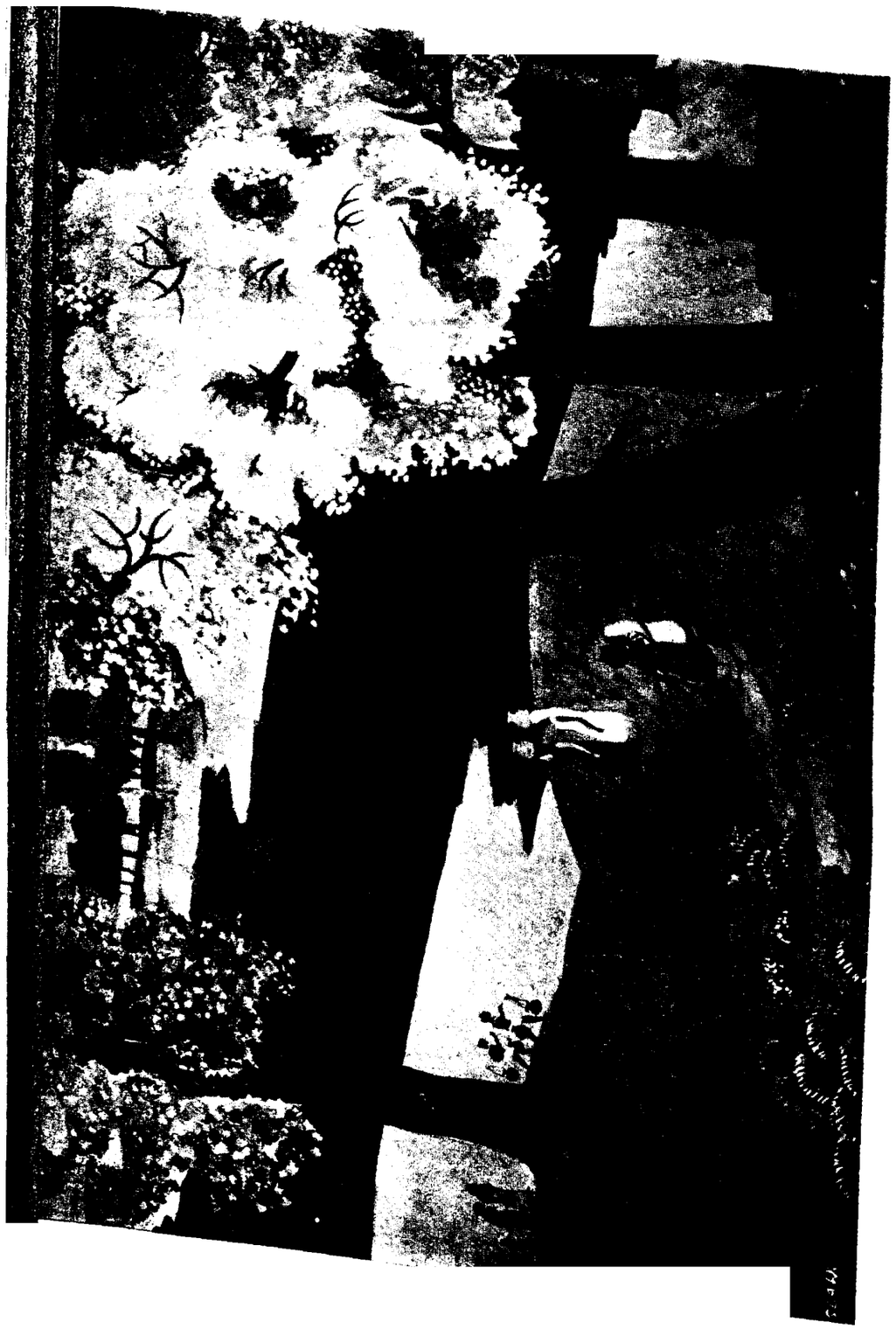
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The Santhals of Bihar whose *Shikar* dance won for them the trophy in the Folk Dance festival held in New Delhi



The tableau showing important features of the Andaman and Nicobar Islands, Republic Day, 1959



ON THEIR WAY TO THE MARKET
By Satindra Nath Law

Photo: Press Officer, Tripura

THE MODERN REVIEW

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NOTES

THE MORAL BUDGET

Many years ago, about three decades back to be exact, the ancient State of Persia got a new King of Kings, a new royal lineage and a new name. The king was Reza Shah Pahlevi, the new dynasty—which continues today—was the Pahlavi Dynasty and the new name was Iran.

The new ruler found that although the whole imperial set-up and the entire administrative set-up had been changed from top to bottom, to the extent of abolishing the time-honoured system of feudal rule and exactions, the ancient system of corruption continued. Reza Shah was an iron-gloved autocrat and his will was the law, even to the extent of abolishing the picturesque head gear of the Iranians, modification of the *purdah* system and curbing the power of the *mullahs*. But even so, he found that corruption flourished everywhere, only like the equally ancient system of Persian irrigation by *Qanats*, it had gone underground and spread far and wide in a subterranean way.

The Shah decided on stern measures. The few—very few—persons who were totally and absolutely in his control and confidence, were formed into an exclusive Corruption Investigation Bureau, under the guidance of a "Ministry of Corruption," and he himself took charge. Steel containers, shaped like letter boxes, were placed all over the country, of which the locks were sealed with the dreaded Imperial Seal, which were only opened in his presence. Any person was at liberty, without let or hindrance, to put in any complaints whatsoever in them, and the prevention questioning of any one posting a complai was a crime. At the end of definite periods t containers were replaced by fresh ones and t old ones were taken to Teheran, opened a the contents sifted.

The system seemed ridiculous but worked. Even the Prime Minister was caug and severely punished and the psychologic effect was tremendous. The fear of God—a the Shah—descended on the corrupt and at la the tide of corruption began to ebb. Wo War II stopped this measure of Reza Sh from attaining its logical conclusion and the tale stops here.

We are not suggesting any such Draconi measure for our country. For one thing have the Party System here, which means a powerful political corruption. Even the sec ballot boxes in elections are not free fr tampering, so what is the use of sealed co tainers? Then again, on whom the final de sion in a Democracy?

Otherwise the times are ripe for a Min try of Corruption on the Reza Shah mod Corruption has reached an all-time high a *paper is scarce,* so normal-sized containe might contain the letters! We would reitera that paper is all-nigh unprocurable in the op market and scarce and of poor quality in t black market, as evidenced by this issue of o journal.

In all sincerity, however, we would e phasise on the necessity of a moral census the people and their titular heads of state this shibboleth-ridden nation.

NOTES

The Union Budget

The Union budget for the year 1959-60 while casting no immediate gloom on the economy of the country, still does not brighten up the prospects of the future. The economy of the country is already much too darkened by the sad tales of poverty and unemployment, falling production and larger imports, rising costs of living and chronic deficits in the balance of payments position. While the larger doses of deficit financing have tended to widen the disparity between different income groups, the mounting public debt has further encouraged the concentration of wealth in the hands of the few. The so-called picture of prosperity drawn by the Finance Minister is more a matter of economic fiction than a matter of economic reality. It is said that the national income has gone up by 18.4 per cent during the First Five-Year Plan and by 5.1 per cent during the first year of the Second Plan. The per capita income has also increased by about 1 per cent during the period 1951-56. But uch things signify nothing and the rise in nonetary prosperity is unreal because it has not raised the national prosperity in terms of reality. The authorities point out that the boosting up of the stock exchange shares indicates the national prosperity. But the stock exchanges today do not represent the nation, they are the handiwork of a few powerful monopolists in the country who play foul and fair on such exchanges.

The imports are restricted resulting in the shortage of consumer goods. People in consequence turn towards stock exchanges to employ their excess money and thus the speculative rise in prices of stock exchange securities by several times cannot be regarded as a true index of the rise in national prosperity. The excess income of the rich today is finding its way into gold holdings and hoardings and to that extent the country is deprived of the benefit of capital formation in terms of net addition to the productive capital of the country. The revenue income of the Union as well as of the States is progressively increasing, mostly through new taxation measures, but a large portion of this increased budgetary resources goes into waste being spent on unproductive projects. The new budget for the year 1959-60 is to be appraised in these contexts.

For the financial year 1958-59, against the budgeted revenue of Rs. 767.99 crores, the actuals thus are likely to amount to Rs. 728.20 crores. The expenditure met from the revenue is placed at Rs. 788.15 crores against the original estimate of Rs. 796.01 crores. In the result, the deficit of Rs. 28.02 crores provided in the Budget is likely to rise to Rs. 59.95 crores. The increase of Rs. 31.93 crores in the revenue deficit for the year, states the Finance Minister, is entirely due to a fall in the anticipated revenue, mostly in the revenue from Customs. But the overall deficit for the current year is now estimated at Rs. 255 crores against Rs. 200 crores assumed in the budget.

The new budget for the financial year 1959-60 is geared to the implementation of the Plan and this consideration necessarily conditions the budget. The Union Finance Minister is mainly concerned with the creation and mobilisation of resources for the Plan and the budget may now be taken to have a purpose, the purpose of mobilising resources for the economic development of the country. But from that viewpoint, the budget has not gone far and seems to be more concerned with the consolidation of steps taken in previous years. It aims at simplifying some of the undesirable elements in budgetary scheme. While there will be an appreciation for the endeavour at simplification of the tax structure, there will also be general regret in so far as the budget failed to tackle boldly the problem of mobilising resources.

The budget for the year 1959-60 estimates a total revenue of Rs. 757.51 crores and an expenditure of Rs. 839.18 crores, leaving a deficit of Rs. 81.67 crores in the revenue account. The Finance Minister has summarised the overall budgetary position next year in these words: "At the existing level of taxation and expenditure, there will be a revenue deficit of Rs. 82 crores. Capital outlay will amount to Rs. 420 crores, loans to State Government and others to Rs. 525 crores and debt payments to Rs. 130 crores. This total outgo of Rs. 1,157 crores will be met to the extent of Rs. 111 crores by repayments of loans to Government, Rs. 240 crores from public borrowing in India, Rs. 85 crores from small savings, Rs. 337 crores from foreign assistance, Rs. 95 crores from the issue of special securities to meet the payment of additional subscription to the International Monetary Fund and Rs. 44 crores from miscellaneous receipts under debt and deposit heads, leaving a deficit of Rs. 245 crores which will be met by the issue of treasury bills."

With the continuing restrictions on imports, the downward trend in the revenue from Customs is likely to continue. For the coming year, the budget has taken credit for a sum of Rs. 130 crores from Customs against the current year's revised estimate of Rs. 136 crores. Union excise duties next year are likely to show an improvement of Rs. 5.85 crores. The receipts from corporation tax and income tax would be higher by Rs. 6.50 crores. Under the other principal heads of revenue the receipts next year would remain almost the same.

The summary of final estimates is given below in lakhs of rupees:

REVENUE

	Budget 1958-59	Revised 1958-59	Budget 1959-60
Customs	170,00	136,00	130,00 +2,77 *
Union Excise Duties	304,76	301,15	307,00 +18,08 *
orporation Tax	55,50	56,00	58,75
axes on income other than Corporation Tax	84,53	86,70	87,63
Estate Duty	12	12	14
Tax on Wealth	12,50	10,00	10,50 +2,50 *
Tax on Railway Fares	7	11	11
Tax on Expenditure	3,00	1,00	1,00
Tax on Gift	2,00	1,20	1,20
Opium	2,87	3,31	3,92
* Interest	6,60	8,36	10,75
Civil Administration	44,24	45,63	35,80
Currency and Mint	36,62	34,76	55,60
Civil Works	2,87	2,87	3,00
Other sources of Revenue	32,93	29,21	41,93
Posts and Telegraphs—Net contribution to general Revenues ..	2,34	5,38	4,20
Railways—Net contribution to general Revenues	7,04	6,40	5,98
Total Revenue	767,99	728,20	757,51 +23,35 *

EXPENDITURE

	Budget 1958-59	Revised 1958-59	Budget 1959-60
Direct Demands on Revenue	94,45	99,63	101,65
Irrigation	13	16	16
Debt Services	40,00	42,06	57,88
Civil Administration	200,44	197,72	222,73
Currency and Mint	8,50	9,14	9,83
Civil Works and Miscellaneous Public Improvements	18,71	18,32	19,35
Pensions	9,40	9,53	9,63
Miscellaneous:			
Expenditure on Displaced Persons	20,48	24,75	19,69
Other Expenditure	50,33	57,81	71,30
Grants to States etc.	47,03	46,95	49,02
Extraordinary Items	28,40	15,21	35,26
Defence Services (Net)	278,14	266,87	242,68
Total Expenditure	796,01	788,15	839,18
Deficit (—)	—28,02	—59,95	—58,32

* Effect of budget proposals.

Since the year 1957-58, the budget deficits have been larger. This is owing to significant contraction of revenue coinciding with an increase in the quantum of development expenditure met from revenue. In the past the comfortable revenue surpluses were partly due to the resilience of revenue and partly to shortfalls in expenditure. Both these factors are now ceasing to operate. The larger revenue income in the past was mainly under Customs. But because of the drastic cuts in imports and the progressive reduction or withdrawal of export duties, Customs revenue has suddenly contracted and is likely to remain static for some years to come.

The Union budget is now Plan-conscious,

and the needs of the Plan determine the shape of the budget. It is no longer a simple account of Government house-keeping. In the words of the Finance Minister, "Each budget marks a stage in the country's continuous development and has to be judged by the contribution it makes to this development. In a sense, therefore, the stage that has been reached in the implementation of the Plan conditions this budget." India has to go forward with the Plan and this is the major factor round which the budget has to be built. India's problem today is a crisis of development, a crisis of resources. The country has, however, passed through the most difficult phase, the Finance Minister believes, in its economic development. He thinks that these difficulties are purely transitional and should act as a spur to greater effort on the part of the community.

Taxation Measures: The yield of additional taxation undertaken over the last three years at the Centre and in the States is estimated to aggregate to about Rs. 900 crores over the five-year period. The tax proposals made by the Finance Minister in the budget for the year 1959-60 will yield a total revenue of about Rs. 26 crores and this amount will cover only one-fourth of the revenue deficit of Rs. 81.67 crores. The direct taxation measures have reached the maximum point and it is time some relief is granted to the low and middle income group who are hit hard by the spate of both direct and indirect taxes of the Union as well as of the States. The progressively rising inflationary spiral, strengthened by mounting deficit financing, further acts as a taxation measure depriving the fixed income groups of surplus. The exemption limit in their case should have been raised to give them some relief in the ordeal of development. The tax structure of the country deserves to be broad-based so as to distribute the incidence equitably among all the different income groups as far as practicable. India's agricultural income constitutes about 50 per cent of the country's national income and still this sector does not have to pay at all any direct tax. The big landholders today are better off than the ordinary clerks in the cities and towns. The more prosperous land-owners are grossly undertaxed, although they reap the benefit of betterment outlays and higher prices for agricultural commodities. The income from taxation measures constitutes only 10 per cent of the country's national income and of this nearly two-thirds are in the form of indirect taxes. Of the tax proposals for the coming year, the indirect tax changes are estimated to yield the major portion of the additional revenue and the proposed changes in the indirect tax are primarily aimed at simplifying the direct tax system.

The abolition of the Wealth Tax on companies and also the tax on excess dividends will be welcomed by the corporate sector. The welath tax on companies has been subjected to severe criticisms. Companies making no profits are even required to pay this tax. The wealth tax has been regarded as a disincentive to investment and capital formation. The wealth tax on companies together with the wealth tax on shareholdings resulted in double taxation and the abolition of wealth tax on companies will eliminate this anomaly. The tax on excess dividends was first introduced by Sri Chintaman Desmukh. Following the withdrawal of the income tax rebate on undistributed profits, the tax on excess dividends was imposed so as to provide a measure by which a differential tax in favour of undistributed profits could still be maintained, although the rebate on undistributed profits had been abolished. The tax on bonus shares was another measure of integrating the taxation structure of the country and this was also introduced by Shri Desmukh. While ordinary bonus issues are subject to tax, bonus issues which are made out of share premium account are not now taxed. With effect from 1960-61 these issues will also be subject to taxation like other bonus issues.

Taxation of Company Profits and Dividends: The practice of grossing has undergone some changes. At present an Indian company is generally required to pay income tax at 30 per cent plus a surcharge of 1.5 per cent and super-tax at 20 per cent of its total income. When dividends are declared out of the balance after payment of these taxes, a portion of the income tax paid by the company is deemed to have been paid by the shareholders. In the assessments of the shareholders, the dividends received by them are included in their income after being "grossed" and they are credited with the amounts deemed to have been paid by the company on their behalf. This process of grossing is somewhat complicated. The dividends themselves might have been paid out of reserves accumulated over some years, which again complicates the determination of the effective rate at which the profits have been taxed. The legal fiction of deeming the income tax paid by the company as having been paid by the shareholders and the complicated process of grossing the dividends received by the latter will be abolished. The present scheme of grossing of dividends will cease to operate from 1st April, 1960, in respect of dividends declared for the accounting year relevant to the assessment year 1960-61 and subsequent years.

The wealth-tax payable by individuals and Hindu undivided families will be increased by half a per cent at each slab with effect from 1959-60. The new rates of wealth-tax on individuals will be 1 per cent on wealth in excess of Rs. 2 lakhs but up to Rs. 12 lakhs; 1½ per cent on the excess between Rs. 12 lakhs and Rs. 22 lakhs and 2 per ent on any excess above that. For Hindu undivided families, corresponding changes will be made. The extra revenue on this account will amount to Rs. 2.5 crores.

The revenue yield from the Expenditure tax has been quite disappointing. Prof. Kaldor has pointed out some loopholes of this tax. There are too many exemptions which defeat the purpose of the tax. The budget proposes to withdraw some of the exemptions which are now allowed in the case of Expenditure tax. Henceforth the husband, wife and minor children shall be regarded as one unit for the exemption limit of Rs. 30,000 in the matter of non-taxable expenditure and not as separate assessees if they have incomes in their individual rights.

In the field of indirect taxation, the budget proposals are mostly by way of readjustments of rates and concessions in the existing duties of excise. There will be an increase in the duty on vegetable product from Rs. 7 per cwt. to Rs. 8.75 per cwt., with a corresponding adjustment in the exemptions in favour of the small producers. The additional revenue will be Rs. 95 lakhs. Khandsari sugar is now exempt from excise duty but pays the usual sales taxes. The Finance Minister states that there has always been fiscal preference in favour of this sugar but, with the recent substantial increase in the duty on crystal sugar, this preference has further widened resulting in the shift of production to this form of sugar. There are strong reasons for reducing the margin and this is being done by the levy of the basic duty of Rs. 5.60 per cwt., with an additional duty of 70 naye paise in replacement of the sales taxes. The basic duty will yield Rs. 1.82 crores and the additional duty, which will accrue in its entirety to the States, Rs. 25 lakhs. In order to raise the competitive strength of Indian tea in the overseas markets, certain relief has been granted to the tea industry. There will be a readjustment in the rate of excise duties on the teas grown in certain areas of the country and to reduce, at the same time, the effective rate of export duties from 26 naye paise per lb., to 24 naye paise per lb.

Plan Outlay and Resources

The *Economic Survey*, 1958-59, sums up the latest position of the Plan outlay and resources. The National Development Council has decidded, on the basis of the Planning Commission's estimates, that the total outlay for the five-year period should be limited to Rs. 4,500 crores as compared to the outlay of Rs. 4,800 crores that was originally envisaged. Outlays in the first three years of the Plan are estimated as follows:

	In crores of rupees		
	Centre	States	Total
1956-57 (actuals) ..	342	297	639
1957-58 (expected) ..	500	346	846
1958-59 (expected) ..	582	399	981
Total	1,424	1,042	2,466

This leaves a balance of Rs. 2,034 crores of outlay to be incurred in the next two years. There has been in each of the

three years a shortfall in actual outlay as compared to the budgetary provision. The total of the Plan allocations for the Centre and the States for 1959-60 has been placed at Rs. 1,092 crores. This estimate takes into account the expenditure on the steel projects in the public sector. In the memorandum submitted to the Development Council in November last, the Planning Commission estimated the total available resources for the five-year period at Rs. 4,220 crores as against the earlier estimate of Rs. 4,260 crores. The estimate of Rs. 4,220 crores was made up of domestic resources at Rs. 2,028 crores, external assistance at Rs. 1,100 crores and deficit financing of Rs. 1,092 crores. Excluding deficit financing, the total resources of the Centre were estimated by the Planning Commission at Rs. 2,354 crores and for the States at Rs. 774 crores.

To finance a plan outlay of Rs. 4,500 crores would require an expenditure during the next two years of Rs. 1,088 crores at the Centre and Rs. 946 crores in the States. The total gap in resources was estimated by the Planning Commission at Rs. 280 crores, of which Rs. 198 crores was expected to be at the Centre and Rs. 82 crores in the States.

The *Economic Survey* states that a substantial tax effort has been made over the last three years. The yield of additional taxation undertaken over the three years at the Centre and in the States as expected to aggregate to about Rs. 900 crores over the five-year period. Market borrowings which suffered a setback in 1957-58 registered a striking improvement in 1958-59. Small savings have also improved. The net collections up to January 1959 were Rs. 47.1 crores, that is, Rs. 9.3 crores more than for the same period in 1957-58. The amount of external assistance coming into the budget has also gone up year by year. But still the budgetary deficit over the first three years is estimated at about Rs. 950 crores. The deficit in 1957-58 was exceptionally heavy. The position of resources in 1958-59 was difficult. The *Survey* points out that the size of the budgetary deficit in any particular year is not necessarily a measure of the inflationary impact of all governmental operations on the economy in that year, especially as there is a time lag between the contractionist effect on the economy of the sales of the commodities thus obtained and the budgetary accounting of the receipts. But the creation of money incomes ahead of increases in production has to be kept down to the unavoidable minimum, especially as the foreign reserves have fallen to a low level.

Public revenues have been higher significantly over the last three years, partly as a result of the tax measures adopted and partly in consequence of the rise in money incomes. The proportion of public revenues to national income has gone up from 9.1 per cent in 1956-58 to about 10.1 per cent in 1958-59. But this increase has been absorbed more or less by the increase in non-development expenditures. As a result, the reliance on borrowings from the public, from the banking system and from foreign countries and institutions for financing the Plan has tended to increse.

The *Economic Survey* shows that the sterling balances held by the Reserve Bank declined by Rs. 540 crores over the first three years of the Second Plan, despite the accommodation of Rs. 95 crores received from the International Monetary Fund and an acceleration of the pension payments by the U.K. which brought in Rs. 35 crores. The total external assistance authorised up to the end of January 1959 comes to Rs. 1,018 crores. This includes the assistance made available as result of the August Conference in Washington. There was, in addition, a carry-over of Rs. 193 crores of assistance authorised during the first Plan period. Of this total of Rs. 1,211 crores, Rs. 479 crores were utilised between April 1956 and September 1958. The implementation of the second Plan will, on present estimates, have involved external assistance of the order of Rs. 1,500 crores, despite the large draft on foreign exchange reserves. In other words of the total investment, public and private, which may turn out to be about the level of Rs. 6,200 crores envisaged in the Plan over the Plan period, as much as one-third would be accounted for by external assistance and the utilisation of past savings in the form of foreign exchange reserves.

In 1958-59, the deficit financing amounted to Rs. 255 crores and in the coming year it would be about Rs. 245 crores. Recently, the five Creditor Nations have agreed to give India further loan assistance of Rs. 166 crores (or $300 million). This amount is estimated to meet India's outstanding external commitments of foreign exchange requirements. The November estimate of the Planning Commission placed the total deficit financing at Rs. 1,092 crores. But up to the fourth year of the second Plan, the total amount of deficit financing would come to about Rs. 1,195 crores and in the last year there will be a further dose of deficit financing. And thus the expenditure exceeds even the latest revised estimates. Again, the foreign exchange spending has also exceeded the revised estimates. The November estimate placed the need of external assistance at Rs. 1,100 crores. The *Economic Survey* places it at Rs. 1,500 crores. Taking into account the latest grant of $300 million and the assistance under P.L. 480, the external assistance received by India would come to nearly Rs. 1600 crores. These indicate that outlays are always overstepping the estimates and as a result inflationary gap between the excess of monetary income of the people and the availability of consumer goods has become a continued feature. There must have been leakages in foreign exchange spendings and that is why notwithstanding large carry-overs and fresh grants, India is handicapped on account of shortage of foreign exchanges.

Rise in Civil Expenditure

The country has just reasons to be anxious about the steep rise in civil expenditure of the Central and State Governments. The fact that the rate of increase of expenditure has always tended to outstrip the rate of increase of revenue goes only to add to such anxiety. The total civil expenditure of the Government of India went up by nearly Rs. 91 crores in two years up to 1958-59; it is estimated to go up further by Rs. 75.22 crores in the coming year (1959-60). The expenditure on civil administration alone rose from Rs. 35.5 crores in 1948-49 to Rs. 197.22 crores in 1958-59 and is estimated to exceed Rs. 222.73 crores next year. The Finance Minister has defended this increase without being able to explain its justification. His defence of the increase in civil expenditure is based on the argument that nearly Rs. 130 crores out of it account for the Plan expenditure on social services such as education and health and Rs. 82 crores represent the allocation to the States from the Central revenues. But he does not explain the reasons for more than 600 per cent increase in the expenditure on civil administration over the relatively short period of ten years.

There is no reference in the Minister's speech to the excessive increase in the number of officers and employees of the various Ministries to which attention has been drawn by Acharya Kripalani and Shri Feroze Gandhi. "While before independence a department was managed by one Secretary and a joint Secretary," Acharya Kripalani observes, "today, we have Principal Secretaries, Secretaries, Special Secretaries, Additional Secretaries, Assistant Secretaries, Joint Secretaries, etc. In some departments we have over them all a Secretary-General. What is missing is a Secretary Extraordinary! But perhaps all the additional secretaries are extra-ordinary! They have been unearthed after independence." Following Parkinson's Law this numerical rise of officers has been paralleled by a rise in the number of subordinate employees. In course of the past two years, as Shri Gandhi has pointed out, the number of personnel in the Finance Ministry alone increased by 15,000. Maintaining that the staff requirements of the various Union Ministries have gone up out of all proportion with work, he quotes the following figures of personnel employed as on December 31, 1957: Commerce and Industry—9,562; Education and Scientific Research—14,909; Finance—82,000; Auditor-General's Office—30,000; Food and Agriculture—18,258; Health—5,500; Home—14,383; Information and Broadcasting—8,262; Irrigation and Power—10,048; Rehabilitation—

6,705; Transport and Communication—218,000; Works, Housing and Supply—39,471; Defence (civil employees)—270,000. There is extreme disproportion in the wage structure of these Government servants. According to the statistics cited by Shri Gandhi the salaries of the highly-paid Government servants (1.7 per cent of the total number of employees) account for 13.5 per cent of the total wage bill of the Government, while the appropriation on account of the salaries of the remaining 98.3 per cent comes to 86.5 per cent of the total wage bill.

It would be mis-leading to conclude from the above that the rise in civil expenditure has been due solely to the increase in the number of personnel employed in the various Ministries. The love of pomp and grandeur and the luxurious habits of the Ministers have made no mean contribution to this rise. The Ministers and the Senior Civil Servants maintain a fleet of cars which are hardly always necessary for efficient and economical administration. A lot of money is also spent in the installation and maintenance of air-conditioning plants in Government offices and buildings. Incompetence and mismanagement again not infrequently tend to inflate the cost of administration. The basic cause of this persistent tendency for administrative expenditure to rise beyond all reasonable proportions lies in the trends towards extreme centralization of all activities in the country which gives rise to a lot of unnecessary and unproductive paper work. Centralization, bureaucracy and extravagance are inseparable from one another.

Inquest on Steel

The Thirty-third Report of the Estimates Committee of the (Second) Lok Sabha relating to the Ministry of Steel, Mines and Fuel is a document of the greatest public importance. Its detailed analysis of the working of the Ministry and the Public Sector in the all-important steel industry illuminates several aspects of the functioning of Government Departments and the nationalized undertakings which generally remain obscured from the public view. The report would enable Parliament to take stock of the situation and to suggest measures for improvement in the administration of public industrial undertakings.

The Committee has expressed general dissatisfaction at the manner in which the Ministry has handled the matter of the installation of three steel plants at Durgapur, Rourkela and Bhilai. It has referred to failures both in matters of policy and execution. From the evidence tendered before the Committee it has concluded that if the decision to set up steel plants had been taken in time, they would have cost 40 per cent to 50 per cent less than they would actually do. In the initial stages even the requirements of steel could not be assessed properly with the result that much valuable time was lost in preparing projects and in revising them while the world prices of plants were rising and finished steel was being imported at the sacrifice of much-needed foreign exchange. When ultimately the installation of the steel plants was decided upon in principle there was no uniformity in the approach to the foreign parties so that three different methods were followed in negotiating with German manufacturers, the Soviet Government and the British Consortium leading to a lot of avoidable expenditure. "It is not clear," the Committee says, "why the method of appointing a large Expert Committee to study the Russian offer which yielded good results was not followed in the case of other two negotiations (with the German and the British). Indeed it is regrettable that the other two had undesirable features . . . ."

If the Planning of the projects was so much faulty, their execution was not far better. The estimates were extremely defective and the selection of contractors equally unhappy. Within a short time the estimates of the steel projects went up from Rs. 353 crores to Rs. 439 crores, *i.e.*, to the extent of about 25 per cent while the foreign exchange component increased by about 28 per cent excluding Rs. 38 crores, the estimated foreign exchange component of the cost of ancillaries. The Committee is not satisfied with the explanation offered for such an increase in the estimated cost and has called for a reassessment of the estimates to find out the real reasons for the increase. It is strange to note that estimates of imp[illegible]s had not been

indicated to Parliament. The Committee has been "particularly surprised to find that even the fees of consultants were not included in the original estimates," when they had been put up for the approval of Parliament.

The situation was worst in the Rourkela project where some of the contracts had extraordinary provisions. By virtue of one contract, the contractors could claim hire charge for certain equipments which would exceed their cost price by Rs. 15 lakhs. In another instance an additional expenditure of Rs. 2.62 crores had to be incurred due to the shifting of the site; no adequate reply has been given to the Committee's question as to why the site had not been carefully examined before the work of installation had been begun. There was failure even in the actual work of installation. Thus while the extent of plant and machinery received differs from project to project, the percentage of machinery installed out of that is 60 per cent in Durgapur, while at Rourkela and Bhilai it is 30 and 10 per cent respectively.

The Committee has been struck by the fact that "an important aspect of the projects, *viz.*, the association of Indians in the Planning and designing work has not been given the attention it deserved."

The Committee ascribes this failure largely to the organizational set up through which the projects have been sought to be implemented. Referring to the composition of the Hindusthan Steel Private Ltd., it says that it is "strange that the administration of Rs. 560 crore steel projects rests largely with two to four officials or erstwhile officials of the Government who have had no previous experience of steel industry, or of any industry, for that matter." It has called for the termination of the association of Secretariat officials with the Board of Directors which blurs the responsibilities of the company and the Government and thereby vitiate the very purpose of forming a company. It has suggested for a more thorough examination of the various aspects of the three steel projects by a team of experts.

Basis of Corruption

The Union Finance Minister, Shri Morarji Desai, spoke like a candid friend when he was inaugurating the Third Annual Convention of the National Federation of Indian Railwaymen in Patna. Urging on the railwaymen to discharge their duties and responsibilities honestly and sincerely in their own interests and in the larger interests of the country he told them that the grounds of their complaints would largely disappear if they on their part tried to remove the grounds of public complaint against the railway services in India. The situation in Indian railways, Shri Desai added, had shown little improvement since his student days and corruption was as rampant as ever, not being "confined to any particular part of the country. Every railway station has its own fixed rates. If it was four annas during my student days, it is possibly a rupee now."

The Finance Minister deserves praise for the fact that in pointing out their shortcomings to the railwaymen he did not mince his words but frankly gave out his mind. The railwaymen would do well to consider his suggestions for the improvement of service in the railway with utmost seriousness. The country would certainly expect of them to do all in their powers to root out the evil of corruption in railway services which causes so much suffering to the people.

It would be unwise however to restrict attention upon corruption in the railways only, as if other sectors of public services are free from its corroding effects. Far from it. It would be difficult to mention any branch of public services that is not afflicted by this disease. There is again no room for the belief that the Private Sector either can claim any immunity from it. By the nature of things corruption is being made a national institution and the ultimate responsibility for this sad state of affairs must be borne by the Government and the Party of which it is constituted and of which the Finance Minister himself is a member. The responsibility of the Government and the ruling party cannot end with a mere criticism of existing weakness inasmuch as it is upon them that the task of removing these shortcomings devolves. Along with its criticism the party which constitutes the Government should place before the country its programme for removing the evil. If it considers itself unable to cope with the

task it must make room for others to have a try at it. Not only has there been no serious and concerted effort on the part of the Government, so far, to root out corruption, there are instances on the other hand of grave inaction when definite complaints of corruption were levelled against officials and ministers. Again, so far as punishing corrupt officials is concerned the Government apparently finds the task difficult because it is not seldom that reports appear referring to corruption at levels higher than the permanent services.

Betterment Levy Agitation in Punjab

Disquieting developments are taking place in the Punjab over the movement against the levy of betterment fee on lands falling within the area served by the canals of the Bhakra project. More than six thousand people have already courted arrest as a protest against the Government's decision to realise betterment levy and many more are reported to be prepared to do so. The Government has so far dealt with the situation with a very stern hand though without appreciable success in breaking up the resistance of the people led by the Kisan-Sabha.

The movement against the betterment levy in the Punjab is being led by the Communist Party with the active assistance of the Jan Sangh and the Akali Dal and the tacit support of a number of Congressmen who do not see eye to eye with the present Chief Minister. The fact that in the existing situation the Communist Party stands to gain as much from the success of the movement as the Congress Party stands to lose has made it more difficult for Congressmen to make an objective assessment of the whole affair.

For the unfortunate predicament in which the State Government now finds itself it has none else to blame than itself. Its record is far from being wholly clean. The reimbursement of the cost of Bhakra project was originally scheduled to be effected in fifteen years from 1954-55. Nothing was, however, realised in the form of betterment fee up to the end of 1958. The Government now proposes to recover the whole cost in ten years. This is manifestly an absurd position to take insofar as it hardly takes into the consideration the farmers' ability to pay the levy. The manner of the imposition of the present levy is equally questionable. The levy was promulgated through an Ordinance on January 4 just after the meeting of the State Assemby had been adjourned. The administration has not been able to offer a satisfactory reply to the criticism as to why the matter, which vitally affects the life of such large numbers of people connected with a vital sector of the national economy, could not be placed before the Assembly, which was in session only four days before, for decision.

The opponents of the levy have challenged the very principle that the entire capital cost of a development project should be borne by those who benefit by it. If the Government could subsidise exports to earn foreign exchange, why cannot it subsidize agriculture to conserve foreign exchange through the reduction of imports of agricultural goods, they ask. They have further contended that the whole of the Bhakra project is a productive one; and under the Betterment Levy Act the levy can be charged only on unproductive schemes and not on productive ones. The Punjab Government calculates its share of the Rs. 170-crore Bhakra Project at Rs. 87.41 crores. The net income from water rate and water advantage rate, after deduction of the cost of maintenance of canals which comes to Rs. 84 lakhs, is estimated to be Rs. 2.74 crores, which, when capitalized, would pay back only Rs. 32 crores leaving an outstanding balance of Rs. 45 crores which has to be raised through the levy of betterment fee. According to the Opposition calculation the Government's share of the cost of the Project comes to about Rs. 70 crores after the deduction of the allocations for electricity and the share of Rajasthan. The net increase in the income of the Punjab Government after meeting the annual maintenance charges of the new canals, they maintin, would amount to no less than Rs. 3.5 crores a year —on the capital cost of Rs. 70 crores—yielding an annual return of more than 5 per cent as against the payable interest of 3 per cent on capital outlay.

Betterment levy is not new in India and has been realised in the past from owners of lands benefited in consideration of the increase in the value of land following [illegible] of canal irrigation. From the series of agitations in different States it would however appear that there is some inherent short-coming in the procedure through which the levy is sought to be imposed. While charging the levy it is always necessary to remember that the improvements must be of such a magnitude as would allow the assessee to pay the levy and at the same time to achieve a higher standard of living. It is for this consideration that in the United States, from where the inspiration for the multi-purpose irrigation schemes has come to India, no betterment levy is imposed until after ten years of the completion of the project (in the Bhakra project the levy is being imposed right on its completion). In the USA again the levy is spread over a larger number of years (40 to 45) than in India (the cost of Bhakra project is being recovered in ten years). Another generally accepted policy is to discriminate between the richer and poorer sections in the matter of levy. The owners of arid lands in the Punjab are far from rich, yet the Government has imposed upon them the maximum rate.

The implementation of the policy of realising betterment levy in the different States, including the Punjab, betrays a lack of principle and a great degree of confusion in official thinking, which in turn have often led to disturbances and unnecessary hardship for the people, as is at present the case in the Punjab. The matter calls for a thorough enquiry for a dispassionate consideration of all relevant factors with a view to evolving a national policy. Meanwhile, it is to be hoped that the Punjab Chief Minister would in the broader interest of the people be able to overcome his obsession for the assertion of administrative authority and would utilise the overtures for a compromise to bring an end to this intolerable situation to which he has driven more by his own actions than by any other thing.

Individual and Party

The move made in the Congress Legislature Party in Bombay for taking disciplinary action against Shri Brijlal Biyani, a Congress member from Vidarbha, for his speech in State Legislative Assembly criticising the bilingual State of Bombay and pleading for its break-up into four States—Maharashtra, Gujarat, Vidarbha and Bombay—raises an important question of principle which has an intimate bearing upon the relationship between an individual member and his party. There has been enough in the form of discussion in press, platform and the legislatures about the merits and demerits of the bilingual State in Bombay for all legislators, in the Bombay State at least, to be able to form an intelligent opinion about the matter. Any remark of an individual is therefore not likely to tilt their opinion this way or that way. Moreover the Congress Party has a comfortable majority in the State Legislature and, unless a majority of them had so long been keeping their real views about the bilingual State in their own minds, it had nothing to feel particularly embarrassed at the criticism of an individual member. Notwithstanding these facts the Congress Party has taken a very grave view of the matter which leads to the question: Has a member no *right*, under any circumstances, to disagree publicly from the party, to which he belongs for the time being, on any given matter of policy? In other words the question is, should membership of a political party necessarily involve the absolute sacrifice of individual conscience at the altar of party solidarity irrespective of any consideration of whether the real need for solidarity does actually call for such absolute conformity or not?

The relative merits or demerits of a bilingual State in Bombay or Shri Biyani's motives in raising the matter at the particular time he did are irrelevant in consideration of this principle, though as a matter of fact Shri Biyani was perhaps doing nothing more than to improve upon the Prime Minister's declared formula of a dividing Bombay into three States. Nor does it involve the renunciation of the rights of political parties to enforce discipline upon their members on questions of fundamental importance from the consensus on which the parties derive their distinct entities. A man feels inclined to join a political party only because he finds himself in general agreement with its policies. Such general agreement cannot, however, exclude disagreement on the time, manner and extent of particular measures. The principle centres upon the question whether a

member, who does not have any disagreement on the majority of the opinions held by other members of the party, can, if he feels himself called upon to do so in the interest of party solidarity and public welfare, openly come out with a criticism of one or the other aspect of a particular policy.

At present this *right* is not conceded by any major political party though some may tolerate a degree of public criticism by individual members on considerations of expediency. The case, in the United Kingdom, of Mr. Nigel Cameron who has been disowned by the local branch of the Conservative Party for his opposition, in Parliament, to the Governments' Suez Policy, is a recent pointer to this fact (though in his case his position was somewhat better by the support openly given to him by several national leaders). National interest, even party interest, would however seem to call for the recognition of this right by all the political parties. Not infrequently, in the past the most significant ideas made their appearances as minority views. The course of even the mighty Russian Revolution, and indirectly that of the history of the Party, might have been different if the Bolshevik Party Central Committee had in 1917 expelled Lenin whose views on the political perspectives the majority did not accept. True, a Leninist sagacity is not to be met in individuals all too often. But then, as the subsequent history of the very same Party reveals, the majority may also persistently continue to repeat mistakes which may inflict grave injuries on large numbers and which might have been avoided with a little more of tolerance. People join parties on some understanding. The objective basis of this understanding is in a process of continuous change. Some are quicker, or slower, than others in gripping with the realities of this change. Therefore, unless there are other overpowering immediate considerations dictating the imposition of the strictest conformity, an excessive insistence on the appearances of unity, when the basis is not there, may ultimately result in grave moral and political injury to the nation as well as to the party in question.

Basically the principle of showing an united front to the outside public cannot be challenged. But supposing a member is an ardent supporter of the cardinal principles of the Congress, as laid down by long years of precedence, but considers that the majority opinion is dictated by a small group of powerful leaders—who might be misguided or opportunists—in violation of the same principles, then what should he do? What was Mahatma Gandhi's advice to Assam leaders at the time of the Partition of India?

We are no supporters of any faction or party on the question of Bombay. But we believe that further deliberation is needed before a precedent is laid down in support of dumb obedience.

Lok Sabha Proceedings on Mathai

The resignation letter of Mr. M. O. Mathai, Special Assistant to the Prime Minister and its publication through the *Press Information Bureau* was one of the principal subjects debated in the Lok Sabha last month.

The Lok Sabha asked its Privileges Committee to consider whether M. O. Mathai had committed contempt of Parliament by certain remarks he had made in his letter of resignation.

The issue of privilege was first raised by a Jan Sangh Member, Mr. Atal Behari Vajpayee, and after the House had granted leave to discuss it, Mr. Hiren Mukherjee moved his motion recommending that the matter be referred to the Privileges Committee.

Commending his motion to the House Mr. Hiren Mukherjee said that in one of the passages of Mr. Mathai's letter there was "an indirect but considerably effective reflection on the Speaker and a very direct reflection on the conduct of the Members of the Parliament." Mr. Mathai had referred to an "ever-mounting tendency in our Parliament and our Press to attack public servants without caring to verify facts." Prof. Mukherjee contended that that was a very serious reflection on the way the proceedings of the House conducted. "It is very clear that Mr. Mathai implies that the proceedings of this House are not regulated as they ought to be. This I submit is a very clear reflection on the conduct of the Chair." Mr. Mukherjee said that he was not suggesting that the House should go into his matter straightway. It would be better if he whole thing was discussed by the Committee of Privileges. The Committee should give a report to this House so that it may make up its mind as to what it should do in this matter.

Raja Mahendra Pratap, the distinguished independent member of the Lok Sabha, opposing the motion said that the members should not get "puffed up with pride and always talk of privileges." He urged that the matter should be dropped.

The Prime Minister in course of discussion referred to Raja Mahendra Pratap's suggestion that the matter should be dropped and said, "since the suggestion of Raja Mahendra Pratap had not taken the form of a definite proposal, I need not say anything about it. At this stage any suggestion to drop this matter would," he said, "not be a right one, because it would almost appear that an attempt was made somehow, to hush matters or hide matters." It would not be a good thing for any such impression to be created. Therefore, I would have opposed the Raja's proposal to drop this matter (if it had been formerly proposed)," said Pandit Nehru in continuation. The House then passed by a voice vote Mr. Mukherjee's motion.

One thing deserves mention here without going into the question of Mr. Mathai's case which is under consideration of the Parliament. The other aspect of the question is no less grave. Mr. A. D. Gorwala writes in *Bombay Chronicle*: "Mr. Nehru comes very badly out of the Mathai incident. All the facts are not known as yet, but on his own admission he is shown up as a person with very little judgment." In a newly-born State like India it is not impossible that the progress of Democracy may be obstructed by such handicaps. The executive, the legislature, the press —all parts of the State organism should remain vigorous. In case, the latter fails to be so, the former two if properly active may provide the balance required. In the light of this text every true lover of democracy will be glad that due attention has been given by the Parliament to the Mathai episode which was admitted there for free discussion and referring to the Committee of Privileges for further report.

Co-operative Farming

To begin with we give here some extract from the text of the resolution on Agrarian Organization Pattern adopted by the 64th Session of the Indian National Congress:

"The future agrarian pattern should be that of co-operative joint Farming, in which the land will be pooled for joint cultivation, the farmers continuing to retain their property rights, and getting a share from the net product from the proportion to their land. Those who actually work on the land, whether they own the land or not, will get a share in proportion to the work put in by them on the joint farm.

"As a first step, prior to the institution of joint farming, service co-operatives should be organised throughout the country. This stage should be completed within a period of three years. Even within this period, whherever possible and generally agreed to by the farmers, joint cultivation may be started.

"In order to remove uncertainty regarding land reforms and give stability to the farmers, ceilings should be fixed on existing and future holdings and legislation to this effect, as well as for the abolition of intermediaries, should be completed in all states by the end of 1959. This does not mean any ceiling on income, as it is expected that by intensive cultivation as well as by additional occupations, rural incomes will rise. Such surplus lands should vest in the panchayats and should be managed through co-operatives consisting of landless labourers."

The Prime Minister addressing a mamoth rally of villagers at Baoli in interior of Meerut District on February 10, 1959 likened the system of Co-operative Farming to an army, which he said, was so effective because it worked as a team. "If each soldier decides to go alone, he will not be able to do anything, however strong and experienced he may be."

"Co-operative Farming," said the Prime Miniter, "do not mean that the land belonging to the cultivator would cease to

be his property. Those who tell you that Co-operative Farmnig amounts to some sort of confiscation of land are trying to cheat you. It is just a question of joining hands to raise the yield." Sri Nehru added that the Government did not intend to force Co-operative Farming on anybody. "It will be done with the willingness and consent of the people." "I know," said Sri Nehru, "it is a new thing for you and you will not understand its various benefits straightway. That is why we have decided to allow some time, say two to three years, to lapse before it is introduced. Meanwhile, I would like model co-operatives to be set up at various places so that people can see this system of farming at work." "Before people took to Co-operative Farming," said the Prime Minister, "they shall develop small co-operative societies to help them in procuring good seeds and manures and also marketing their produce. Such co-operatives are good both for the producer and the consumer as they eliminated all changes of hoarding and creating artificial scarcity by the middle-men. Official rules for running these co-operatives shall be reduced and people encouraged to run them mainly by themselves." Turning to the need for putting ceiling on land holdings, Sri Nehru said that that was the second important step that had to be taken in the interest of the cultivation. The number of persons having large holdings, he said, was small. Yet it was necessary to put a ceiling. "If it is not done there is a danger of the Zamindary system coming back to life some day."

President Prasad in his address to the Parliament, February 9, 1959, said: ". . . . my Government will seek to promote agrarian reforms, co-operation and devotion of function to village units."

During the second day's debate, February 16, 1959, on the President's address in the Lok Sabha, Mr. M. R. Masani (Independent), the eminent economist of India, vehemently opposed Co-operative Farming. He said that the new agrarian policy of the Congress was an "insidious attempt to bring in Collective Farming of the Communist pattern by the back-door." He warned that if an attempt was made to force it on the people, it will lead to class conflict and civil war. Writing in *The Hindu* dated February 5, 1959, Sri Rajagopalachari thought that there would be an element of compulsion in introducing Co-operative Farming. Speaking on 'Despotism Old and New' in Delhi on January 29, Sri K. M. Munshi gave his opinion on the Congress resolution: "If farmers owning economic holdings were kept out of the co-operatives, instead of harmony, there would be class conflict . . . we would then have set in motion processes which will lead us through hatred and violence to naked totalitarianism." Speaking at Baranasi, on February 11, Sri Jai Prakash Narain, Sarvodaya leader, said that though personally he was in favour of Co-operative movement, it would not be successful in the country unless there was an army of persons who were sincere in the service of the public without any selfish motive.

Mr. Ajoy Ghosh, General Secretary of the Communist Party of India, told newsmen on February 25, 1959 in New Delhi that the Central excutive of the Communist Party, then meeting in a five-day session in Delhi, had approved the approach of the Nagpur Session of the Congress in this matter and was expected to give a call to all democratic parties and the masses to join hands to put the resolutions passed into effect with the utmost speed.

Prime Minister Nehru again on February 19 in replying to Mr. Masani's remark said that Mr. Masani had a tremendous confusion in his mind. As for himself Mr. Nehru said that he did not agree with Collective Farming nor would he encourage it. "But I do believe in co-operation and I do firmly and absolutely believe in the rightness of joint cultivation. Let there be no doubt about it." He added, "I shall go from field to field and from peasant to peasant begging him to agree to it. If the peasants do not agree, I cannot put it into operation, it is for them to do it."

The controversies mentioned ... show that there are differences of opinion on this problem in India to a great extent. Mahatma Gandhi wrote in *Harijan*, in 1942: "I firmly believe that we shall not derive the full benefits of agriculture unless we take to Co-operative Farming." Sriman Narayan in an article in *Yojana*, February 22, 1959, wrote: "It will be useful to know that Gandhiji was in favour of joint Co-operative Farming rather than merely the formation of Service Co-operatives. The Prime Minister is, therefore, following a very cautious approach and there is hardly any element of radicalism in his proposals." Almost all of us possibly know the extreme opinion of Vinobaji on this subject. His favourite maxim is: *Sab bhumi Gapalki hai*. As regards ceilings on land his recent reaction is: "It is a sin to have individual ownership of land. Land belongs to all. The idea of ceiling is obsolete. In this modern era, all the land in all the parts of the world belongs to all mankind."

Our points of view on these controversies regarding land problems will be best stated with the following news:

Nagpur, Feb. 11.—Twelve peasant families of village Keliveli in Akola District who engaged in an experiment in Co-operative Farming on February 2 last year, have succeeded in raising by fifty per cent the agricultural produce on their farm during one year of its working, according to *Samya Yoga* of Wardha, a Marathi weekly devoted to the Sarvodaya Ideal.

The village family has raised during the year produce vaued at over Rs. 9,000 as against only Rs. 6,000 when they were cultivating individually.

The experiment is said to be the first of its kind in Vidarbha. All twelve families have given up their individual rights on their land. Every member is bound by a charter not to leave the joint family at least for five years, not to keep or sell his land or cattle and also not to work on any estate or farm other than their joint estate.

The only further qualification that we would put on the Co-operative cultivation plan is that the quality of each holding and the condition in which it has been maintained, should be given a consideration while allocating shares. Else 10 acres of ill-kept and/or *usar* land will have the same value as 10 acres of weed-free and efficiently tilled land, which is obviously wrong.

Nepal's New Constitution

At last Nepal has had a democratic constitution of its own. Deliberately isolated for centuries by its rulers, Nepal is now emerging into the modern scene. Situated on the southern slope of the Himalayas, bounded on the north by Tibet, on the east by Sikkim and Bengal and on the south and west by the rest of India. There are many fertile valleys lying in the slopes of the lofty mountains, including Mt. Everest, with an area of about 54,000 square miles and an estimated population of 8.3 million. The capital is in a fertile valley, 15 miles long and 20 miles wide, which supports 450,000 inhabitants and is noted for its many shrines, nearly all lavishly decorated examples of Nepalese art. Nepal has rich forests and quartz deposits. The country exports jute, rice, grain, cattle, hides, wheat and drugs, and imports textiles, sugar, salt, hardware, etc.

King Mahendra, in a royal proclamation recently, gave his country a constitution assuming a parliamentary form of government. The country was originally divided into numerous hill clans and petty principalities, the inhabitants of one of which the ruling group, with the aid of Gurkhas, became predominant about 1769. The ruling family until 1951 was that of Ranas—Hindu Rajputs. Maharajadhiraja Tribhubana Bir Bikram (born June 30, 1906), a member of the ruling family, who formerly were figureheads in the Government ended on February 18, 1951 the ancient system of rule by hereditary premiers and established popular government, which was sworn in on November 16, 1951. King Tribhubana died on March 13, 1955, and was succeeded by his son, Mahendra Bir Bikram Dev, who was officially crowned on May 2, 1956.

Reading out his brief proclamation, King Mahendra said that the constitution will come into force on a date to be appointed by him later. The constitution is the "fundamental law" of the land. It establishes a parliament

consisting of two Houses—Pratinidhi Sabha or Lower House and Maha Sabha or Upper House. The Lower House will have 109 members, all elected by as many single-member territorial constituencies on adult franchise. It will have a life of five years. The Maha Sabha or the Upper House will have 36 members—18 elected by the Lower House, the remaining 18 nominated by the King at his discretion. The constitution also provides a Cabinet form of government responsible to the Lower House. Except in the matter of amending the constitution, the Lower House will have larger powers than the Upper House. The constitution amending bills must have a two-thirds majority support of both the Houses and the royal assent to such bills is a matter of the King's discretion. The executive power of the King "is declared to rest in his majority and ordinarily it will be exercised on the recommendations of the Cabinet." Prime Minister to head the Cabinet will be selected by the King. He, in royal opinion, must command a majority of the Lower House. The size of the Cabinet has been limited to Prime Minister and not more than 14 other ministers. Besides, there may be assistant ministers. All ministers are to be appointed by His Majesty on the recommendation of the Prime Minister.

This is briefly the new constitution of Nepal. Great Britain's monarchical constitution, the reader may perceive, has a similarity with the new constitution of Nepal in outer form.

Lincoln's 150th Birth Anniversary

Abraham Lincoln, America's 16th Republican President, was born on February 12, 1809 and so the commemoration of his 150th birth Anniversary has just begun on the same date, February last.

Lincoln's humanity, lofty concept of humanity and generous spirit made him the hero of the common man the world over. In fact he himself came from the lower middle strata of life. He was born in a log cabin. "I was born and have ever remained in the most humble walks of life" —Lincoln wrote in 1832. Later he enlisted in the militia for the Black Hawk War, 1832. In New Salem he ran a store in 1833, surveyed land, 1834-36, was postmaster, 1833-36. In 1837 Lincoln was admitted to the bar and became partner in a springfield law office. He was elected to the 30th Congress, 1847. He opposed the Kansas-Nebraska Act and extension of slavery, 1854. In 1858 Lincoln had Republican support in the Illinois legislature for the Senate, but was defeated by Stephen A. Douglas, Democrat, who sponsored the Kansas-Nebraska Act. Lincoln was nominated for presidentsrip by the Republican Party over Wm. H. Seward, on an anti-slavery platform, at Chicago, May 18, 1860. Though he attained the highest success in political life Lincoln never forgot his humble beginnings. In 1860 he stated: "I am not ashamed to confess that twenty-five years ago, I was a hired labourer, mauling rails, at work on a flat-boat just what might happen to any man's son."

Lincoln was inaugurated March 4, 1861. He was already familiar with the grim tragedy of human exploitation and about the time he took his seat in Congress, said: "In the early days of the world the Almighty said to the first of our race, 'in the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread,' and since then, if we except the light and the air of heaven, no good thing has been or can be enjoyed by us without having first cost labour: And inasmuch as most good things of right belong to those whose labour has produced them." In a speech in 1859 Lincoln declared: "Labour is the great source from which nearly all, if not all human comforts and necessities are drawn." In 1860 he remarked: "I am glad to know that there is a system of labour where the labourer can strike if he wants to. I would to God that such a system prevailed all over the world." Lincoln's sympathies for the lowly extended to people of all creeds and colours. He was especially interested in the welfare of the Negro. "I want every man to have the chance—and I believe the black man is entitled to it—in which he can better his condition"—he declared in March, 1860. In a letter of August 24, 1845 to his Kentucky friend, Joshua F. Speed, Lincoln wrote: "In 1841, you and I had together a tedious low water trip on a steamboat from Louisville to St. Louis . . . there were on board ten or a dozen slaves shackled together with irons. That sight was a continual torment to me." The end that he hoped for was assured by the Emancipation Proclamation, the Thirteenth Amendment and the triumph of Federal arms. In his address to Congress in 1861 Lincoln commented: "Labour is prior to, and independent of, Capital. Capital is only the fruit of labour and could not have come into existence if labour had not first existed. Labour is the superior of capital and deserves much the higher consideration." "Labour is the true standard of volue" he also said in the same year at a Pittsburgh gathering. It will be very much interesting to note here though a bit abrupt to compare Lincoln's this theory of value with that of Karl Marx, the founder of the modern socialist movement. There are many differences between them, especially where Marxian concept lay in the "materialistic interpretation of history" yet when Marx says, "the value of a commodity is determined by the quantity of labour expended during its production," or "value is determined not only by labour, but belonged wholly to labour," we are instantly reminded of Abraham Lincoln's words about labour and values. Lincoln reached the highest degree of eloquence at Gettysburg National Cemetery, November 19, 1863. His remarks have gone down in history as the classic Gettysburg Address:

"Four score and seven years ago our fathers brought forth on this continent, a new nation, conceived in liberty, and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal.

"Now we are engaged in a great civil war, testing whether that nation or any nation so conceived and so dedicated, can long endure. We are met on a great battle-field of that war. We have come to dedicate a portion of that field, as a final resting place for those who here gave their lives that nation might live. It is altogether fitting and proper that we should do this.

"But in a larger sense, we cannot dedicate—we cannot consecrate—we cannot hallow—this ground. The brave men, living and dead, who struggled here, have consecrated it, far above our poor power to add or detract. The world will little note, nor long remember what we say here, but it can never forget what thy did here. It is for us the living, rather, to be dedicated here to the unfinished work which they who fought here have thus far so nobly advanced. It is rather for us to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us—that from these honoured dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they gave the last full measure of devotion—that we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain —that this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom—and that government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth."

Tibetan Unrest

The *Statesman* gives a background report about the happenings in Tibet which seems to be a likely conjecture. We append extracts below:

Knowledgeable sources believe that the recent incidents in Lhasa were a camouflage to divert the attention of the Chinese while resistance forces spirited the Dalai Lama away. This is still a conjecture, perhaps, wishful thinking, but it must be remembered there was a gap of seven days before the first Tibetan demonstration and the actual fighting in Lhasa. During those seven days the Chinese had allowed Tibetans to surround Norbulinka and demonstrate in front of the Indian and Nepalese Consulates. The Dalai Lama was last seen in public on March 10.

If the Dalai Lama has escaped, where is he? Will he cross over to India? It is difficult to surmise. Another question arises, whether the fighting around the Indian Consulate, which falls in the direct route between Lhasa and Norbulinka, was merely another red herring, drawn by the Tibetan masses to mislead the Chinese forces into thinking that the Dalai Lama had taken refuge there.

To obtain a true perspective about the

significance of the Dalai Lama's escape, it is necessary to reconstruct major events happening inside Tibet since the reluctant departure of the Delai Lama from Gangtok after his Indian tour of 1956-57. In Lhasa, he had to face increased Chinese pressure to curb this nationalistic spirit while his own countrymen insisted on his using his influence to ask the Chinese to liberalize their dealings with Tibetans and to give them a much broader-based autonomy eventually leading to complete independence. In this growing tension the Dalai Lama fast began losing favour with the Chinese, which resulted in the present cryptic invitation to visit Peking.

Meanwhile, two major episodes occurred in Tibet last year which, though seemingly insignificant at the time, in retrospect seem full of potential possibilities. The first was cancellation of Mr. Nehru's visit to Lhasa on Chinese insistence. This left the populace sullen and dissatisfied, while the monks were openly critical, if not hostile.

Khampas in large numbers began leaving Lhasa and moved towards the South. *En route* they plundered and pillaged, taking booty of firearms and food. Simultaneously the Chinese decided to introduce large-scale settlement of Chinese in the Golok and Amdo areas of North Tibet. This in turn drove the Amdos and other Tibetans, in a migration, towards Central Tibet as far as Jeykundo, between Kham and Lhasa. The migrants then bifurcated, one group moving on to South Tibet, Thago, Knogbo, and (Pemak), while the other went south-east, Serathang and Minavak.

Newspaper Industry

Mr. H. V. Pataskar, Governor of Madhya Pradesh, inaugurating the first convention of Madhya Pradesh Union of Working Journalists in Bhopal last month said that the Newspaper Industry in the country must be regarded as a "joint endeavour of the investors and workers."

Mr. Pataskar said that those who had invested money in the running of the Press could not ignore the trends in the social and economic life of the people which were changing so fast. "Those who look upon press as a means of investment will have to face the fact that no industry can now be run with the sole objective of maximum return for the money invested nor can it be run as an industry in which the investors and the workers alone are interested" said Mr. Pataskar in continuation.

The Governor said that of far greater concern was the interest and well-being of the common people of this country and so in the final analysis it was the duty of the Government to "co-ordinate the relations of those who have to work on them." It was, therefore, necessary, the Governor said, that the government should intervene and mould the relations between the Financiers and the Workers in a just and equitable way and above all to prevent conflcts between them from doing harm to the interest of the country as a whole. Mr. Pataskar also said that in this context the formation of the Federation of Working Journalists for the country as a whole was but a development in the right direction and it was but a consequential step that the working journalists of this new State should form a unit of the Federation.

Not a Tourist But a Pilgrim

Martin Luther King, U.S. Negro leader, recently came to India for a month-long study of the Gandhian philosophy of non-violence under the auspices of the Gandhi Smarak Nidhi and the America Friends Service Committee.

It is interesting to note here that this Negro leader is a very young man of only thirty years of age. In occupation, Dr. King is a Baptist Minister. Seeing "that the American Negro has faith, that he can get justice within the frame-work of the American democratic set-up," Dr. King led the successful Negro bus boycott in Montgomery, Alabama and won for his community the right to ride integrated buses.

At a press conference in New Delhi, King paid his tribute to Gandhiji and his philosophy of non-violence. He said: "To other countries I may go as a tourist, but to India I come as a pilgrim. This is because India means to me Mahatma Gandhi, a truly great man of the ages. India also means to me Pandit Nehru and his wise statesmanship and intellectuality that are recognised the world over. Perhaps, above all, India is the land where the techniques of non-violent social change were developed that my people have used in Montgomery, Alabama and elsewhere in the American South. We have found them to be effective and sustaining—they work!"

At Palam Airport, Mr. G. Ramachandran, Secretary of the Gandhi Smarak Nidhi, greeted Dr. King with a *khadi* garland. We support Mr. Ramachandran's action wholeheartedly. Amidst the chaos and confusion of the world Gandhiji's voice and deeds are the sole hopes of mankind. This is now being realised even by the martial and warlike nations of the world. But the poor and the distressed, the toiling and suffering masses, for whom Gandhiji lived and died, are following it in a more earnest way. The number of Gandhites are growing day by day in India as well as in other parts of the world. The more it grows the better. But these new followers of Gandhiji must be very careful in their actions. Gandhiji once said in his Delhi prayer-gathering that there would be no Gandhite after his death. By this, we think, Gandhiji did not mean that his preached doctrine would have no permanent appeal of its own and so would become obsolete in the future. The exact thing which Gandhiji meant was, perhaps, that his creed did not depend upon a particular austere rule or conduct of life but was based primarily on the broader principles of humanity. This principle is not a static but a dynamic one which with age and experience moves, accumulates, grows and becomes changed sometimes. But the main issues of the principle never change. Thus a clear conception of Gandhiji's ideal must be kept clear in the mind of a Gandhite so that he may avoid perversions of both kinds—austerity and lavishness —and particularly at a time when his ideal has an obvious significance for the world.

The Law Commission and Pandit Pant

The *Statesman* gives the following report on Pandit Pant's repudiation of the Law Commission's "allegations." We append extracts below for all they are worth:

New Delhi, March 20.—In the controversy over the selection of judges, Pandit Pant today presented in the Lok Sabha a well-argued case on behalf of the Government and denied the Law Commission's allegations.

Before the Sabha passed the Home Ministry's demands for grants, Pandit Pant placed before it facts and figures to prove that the Government had in no way interfered with the selection of judges of High Courts and the Supreme Court.

Besides his denial—firm and dignified—of the Commission's charge, he expressed his unhappiness over the fact that certain remarks which did not enhance the dignity of the Supreme Court had been made public by a responsible body like the Law Commission.

According to Pandit Pant there was nothing more "preposterous and unimaginable" than the suggestion that the judges did not act with courage. The large number of Central and State laws which had been declared *ultra vires* recently was convincing evidence of the court's independence.

The factual data that the Home Minister disclosed was convincing. He said that all the 17 Judges appointed to the Supreme Court since 1950 had been selected in accordance with the wishes of the Chief Justice. Of the 176 High Court Judges appointed in this period all except one had the approval of the Chief Justices.

The six persons connected with the selection of a High Court Judge were the Chief Justice of the local High Court, the Chief Minister and the Governor of that State, the Home Minister, the Prime Minister and the Chief Justice of India. In as many as 161 cases all the six had concurred. In 14 other cases there was divergence of opinion but the view of the Chief Justice of India ultimately prevailed.

As to the allegation contained in the Law Commission's report that sometimes the Chief Justice of a High Court did not express his true opinion for fear of being overruled by the Chief Minister, Pandit Pant asked why the Chief Justice of India did not take "corrective steps" if he knew that such a state of affairs existed.

P.T.I. adds: Pandit Pant said recently there were proposals for the appointment of

two Judges to a High Court in a State "where the Ministry does not owe any allegiance to the Congress." Certain proposals were made by the Chief Justice of the High Court which were not quite in accordance with the proposals made by the Government of that State. The appointments were made with the approval of the Chief Justice of India who did not quite agree with the Chief Justice of that State but agreed with the recommendations made by its Government.

Hooliganism by Students

Indiscipline and lawlessness seem to be on the increase amongst students all over India. There was a recent outbreak in Calcutta. We give extracts from the *Statesman's* reports below:

Chaos prevailed at almost all the Intermediate Science examination centres in North Calcutta and at some in Central Calcutta on Wednesday afternoon. About 11,000 students were sitting for their examination in the second paper in Chemistry.

The day's examination at these centres had to be stopped when student demonstrators, in protest against what they described as difficult questions, tore up examination papers, broke furniture and dragged fellow students out of the examination halls.

According to Dr. N. C. Roy, Controller of Examinations, Calcutta University, the trouble started almost simultaneously in the University halls when the question papers were distributed to examinees at about 2 p.m. He had asked for police help during the remainder of the examination which would continue according to programme at all centres, including those affected on Wednesday.

Calcutta saw an orgy of rowdyism at examination centres in North Calcutta at the end of March last year when School Final students were sitting for their history paper. On that occasion also student demonstrators dragged other examinees from out of the halls on the excuse that the questions set were too difficult.

The most obnoxious part of the incident was the raid by student demonstrators on other examination centres. About 300 boys raided Bethune College when the examination had been in progress for over an hour. There was some commotion when the papers were handed in. Some girls were crying, the Principal later told me, but many were still writing. At about 3 P.M., the demonstrators entered. They broke two window panes and snatched papers away from some students. The police arrested seven demonstrators, all examinees. They were seen later entering the police van with inkpots in their hands.

The authorities of Maharaja Manindra Chandra College on Bhupen Bose Avenue told me the same story. The examinees there were completely peaceful and the examination had been in progress for about an hour when about 200 student demonstrators came to the college gate which was closed. They threw brickbats and damaged many glass panes. One of the iron bars in the gate was twisted and the demonstrators entered the college by scaling a wall. When I reached the college I found the Principal's office and other rooms strewn with glass and stones. The police arrived and order was restored but not before the demonstrators had torn up some of the examinees' papers.

A Professor of Sanskrit College complained that the police arrived late. For about half an hour, he said, the authorities tried to pacify the demonstrators who came from outside. But then the demonstrators had got the upper hand and were crowding the examination halls. The police later made three arrests from the centre. The number of arrests totalled 16, ten in North Calcutta and six in Central Calcutta.

Condemning the rowdyism, the general secretaries of the Calcutta University Students' Union, said that it might be a fact that the questions appeared difficult to the average students but no rational student could indulge in acts of rowdyism. If the questions were too difficult there were other methods of protest than quitting examination halls, breaking furniture and dragging willing examinees out of the halls. The Union categorically condemned such acts and appealed to the authorities to look into the grievances of the examinees.

The West Bengal Chhatra Parishad's general secretary, Mr. Ramen Mukherjee, in a statement urges students to unite to prevent "acts of hooliganism" and see that the remaining examinations are held peacefully.

THE PROBLEM OF UNITY VERSUS GROUP ISOLATION IN INDIA

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Introduction

In the present seminar it is being asked how national unity can be encouraged especially through education at the University level. It may be stated at the outset that education by itself can do comparatively little to promote national unity unless the forces that promote such unity are otherwise strengthened, and the factors that encourage isolation or fissiparous tendencies are neutralised. In this article an attempt will be made to analyse what are the factors that have promoted unity and what forces tend to disrupt it, illustrating the same with factual examples from past experience This will be the main topic here dealt with. At the end an attempt will be made also to indicate the lines on which the forces in favour of unity can be strengthened and the role of the University education in relation to it.

I

A nation is held together by the political authority that operates in it, by the cohesion engendered by economic forces, and by the homogeneity of culture that promotes community feeling. There has also to be a unified geographical entity. In simple primitive societies the unit known as a tribe is the counterpart to the nation. It is usual to define it as a group knit together by possession of a common language, and common territory, and capable of uniting for common action. Common culture for the unit is taken for granted in the definition. A unified political authority is, therefore, a fundamental condition of nationhood; so also is common economic force to bind the units. While economic structure is not the sole determinant of the direction in which a society shall move, it furnishes the steel frame that supports it, or if a biological simile is preferred it furnishes the skeletal structure which may be covered with somatic features of more than one variant type, within the limits of the framework. Culture and language are almost inseparable. Any one who speaks or writes in a foreign tongue and mixes with such a people realises this, from delicate nuances of difference in terms, apparently the counterpart of the same idea or with the same meaning, in two different languages. As all the perceptions, and the processes based on the same, of an individual, find expression through the verbal symbols that we term language, it is but natural that culture and language should so deeply interpenetrate. It is for this reason that a conquering people desirous of imposing their culture on the subject-population, seeks to suppress the language of the latter by various means. If the rulers are not numerically strong and this numerical disparity is fairly great but cultural difference is not so sharp, and hostility does not persist too long, fusion and assimilation may occur and a language based on that of the larger population but enriched and modified by that of the dominant group, emerge eventually as the national language. In a new colony, on the other hand, the immigrants may restrict fresh in-rush of others to people of their own language, or insist on others who come, to accept this speech as their common language. The United Kingdom and the United States of America furnish illustrations of the two different ways indicated above in which a common language may develop. In the northern, eastern and western areas of our country the first process occurred in hoary antiquity. But as the folk of the different areas were somewhat dissimilar in race as well as culture, the Indo-Aryan language that furnished the common leaven, produced somewhat different kinds of bread and pastry, in the shape of the regional languages, of different areas. Large remnants, however, remained of other speeches, for example, of the tribal folk of Austric speech. People of other language families also came to the northern and north-eastern borderlands,

for example, men of the Tibeto-Chinese family of speech. In the south again, another dominant language family, the Dravidian, held off the expansion of Indo-Aryan. In each of the language areas, the basis of the common speech of that area was a numerically dominant people of a common culture. This difference is noted quite early in the *Natya-sastra* of Bharata in the distinct regional speeches and ways of expression by gestures, of different areas of India. It is also evident in the differences in these areas in social and sex-customs as described in the *Smritis* and in the *Kamasutra*. The different types of production and political structure are mentioned in the *Arthasastra*. The statement by some scholars that such linguistic-*cum*-cultural groups are of recent importance, in the sense of recognition, is not supported by these facts. This composite group of nations and cultures had, in fact, developed in partial geographic isolation under the combined influence of the earlier culture testified now by Mohenjodaro remains, and of the later Vedic culture. The result was a land of many languages and cultures, with however a common veneer of what is often referred to as Indian culture. It is not suggested that the later movements of population, especially the impact of Islam did not bring about very important changes in the content of language and culture in many areas in North India. But these changes did not basically alter the earlier distribution of people by language and culture in our country. Some scholars have suggested that the ancient common bond of India mentioned above was based on a common religion. The term religion as usually understood involves belief (a) in certain dogmas of faith, (b) in a particular supreme deity, (c) in a particular messiah or group of prophets, (d) that salvation lies only in acceptance of these beliefs. The Christian and Moslem religions satisfy these conditions. Hindu religion for the whole of India does not, however, conform to these requirements. What is common is a philosophy and a way of life. This is what is called Dharma, which is not Religion in the sense it conveys to the ordinary Christian or Muslim. It was this Dharma that enabled people worshipping different deities to tolerate temples of other gods than the one worshipped and to visit *tirthas* or places of sacred tradition of various cults. In the old days it gave rise to the reconciling philosophy of *Brahmasutra*. In modern politics, it has evolved support of Panchasila.

Political cohesion in a single unit occurred in India only twice prior to British conquest. The Mauryas who were people of the country built up an empire extending from the borders of Assam in the east, to the Hindukush ranges on the west and right down to Mysore in the south. After the Mauryas, this political unity did not persist. Also, the Maurya rule did not, so far as data indicates, impose on the common people, the culture of the Pataliputra area. The writings of Bharata in the *Natyasastra* and of others referred to earlier, all of whom wrote several centuries after the Mauryas testify to the differences that existed at the later time. The Mughals came as conquerors. By the time of Akbar, they had been partly Indianised, but some of Akbar's successors cannot certainly be held to have followed his policy of tolerance. In any case the political unity ended practically after Aurangazeb. In this rule also, the culture and language of the different areas remained separate as before, with some changes in course of time and under historical forces.

While it is true that the common people on the small States on the Indus rose up under their Brahmanical rural leaders against the invading forces of Alexander, even after their princely rulers had submitted to save their own skin, this kind of popular political consciousness which is the basis of nationhood, did not spread in those early times. The almost self-sufficient village economy, the slow means of early transport and the absence of printing, combined with caste divisions, prevented the normal flowering of this early trend. It required the passage of two millenia and vastly changed economic conditions, not only in India, but in western Europe, to regenerate the trends on an All-India scale. It is true that the rulers of northern India and the local leaders united in a fight against Hunas, in the time of the Guptas and a little later. It is a fact that the village headmen and leaders united in Gauda to elect Gopala as ruler of the larger Bengal of those days. It is also correct that the Maharastra rulers dreamt of a united Hindu India. But neither the Imperial Guptas, nor the Pala

emperors, nor the much later Maharashtra Peshwas held themselves to be one with the people of other speech-culture areas, although on occasions in some areas, national sentiments were aroused. Their behaviour in relation to the other folk makes this abundantly clear. The altered economic conditions arising out of modern means of production, and modern quick transport, brought about changes that are recognised as revolutionary. The villages ceased to be self-sufficient and self-supporting. The clothes worn and tools used, tended to be purchased from outside in place of the acquisition of local goods by a kind of barter. Many people were thrown out of traditional crafts on land and there was economic distress. The people did not however know where to look for remedy, and the former rulers and landlords were not helpful in this respect. It is true that the latter organised a revolt, out of their discontent, for the loss of their power, position and wealth. It is also correct that since they represented the dominant class of the Pre-British period, the armed struggle of 1857 was a national uprising in a limited sense. Nevertheless even here, there were divisions. The rising intelligentsia and middle class did not join it, as their aim of the future of their country was very different from that of the princely rulers. Further, some of the areas did not participate in the struggle. The Sikhs of the Punjab, actually fought side by side with the British against the Sepoys of Uttar Pradesh and Bihar who had revolted. Earlier, some of these sepoys had helped the British to conquer the Punjab. Still earlier sepoys recruited by the British in South India had fought against the troops of the Nawabs of Bengal.

These details have been noted as it is sometimes alleged that the Indian nation and Indian unity has existed from times of old and that it had assumed a unified structure by the middle of the last century. The facts reveal that this is an illusion. The rising intelligentsia as well as the middle class all over India had felt the need of political power as well as social and economic reform. Their organisation to express these aspirations took shape only in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. The basis of their unity was their common interest, which required common action against the British rulers. The need of rousing the mass of the people to awareness of these needs for the welfare of the country, was also felt quite early by the organisers. It is true that much earlier there had been isolated peasant uprisings in Bengal, Chhotanagpore and elsewhere. But actual large-scale organisation to ensure mass-consciousness began only towards the end of the first quarter of the present century. The four-anna fee or its equivalent in labour for membership of the Indian National Congress came into existence after the first two decades of the present century. Even so, industrial labour did not secure acknowledgement of its rights in the charter of the Congress until much later. Again, the discontent felt by linguistic minorities in different provinces where they had been thrust, often deliberately, by the British in their policy of Divide and Rule, threatened to create rifts in the Congress. This was met by the pledge given to set up separate states on the basis of common language and culture, on attainment of independence. Any attempt to impose a single regional language as the dominant language of India now will again bring to the surface the sharp discontent against this type of linguistic imperialism. There was also a much later pledge given by the Congress in 1942 in the famous resolution asking the British to quit India, and calling upon the people to help to form a national government. It is that the National Government so formed—I am now quoting the actual words—"shall devote themselves to the welfare of workers in fields, factories and elsewhere, to whom all power must essentially belong." In the course of the Civil Disobedience Movement of 1930-33 it had become increasingly clear that the fight against British rule was being carried on by different groups with different objectives. Thus when the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee sought to impose economic pressure by organised boycott of British goods, those groups inside the Congress which were financed by businessmen having large commercial interests in British cotton goods sought to direct picketting to British Banks especially after the boycott had been effective in 1931 in Burrabazar areas. A member of the council of four persons who were in charge of the movement in the province of

Bengal at this time pointed out the futility of Bank picketting but failed to persuade the particular groups. Again, prior to the movement of 1942, it was evident that organisation of peasantry through local struggles against landholders (zemindars and big jotedars) was not favoured by the Congress organisation, although such struggles would have helped to unite the peasantry, Hindu as well as Muslim. In the field of industrial labour, the industrialists and financiers did not in general (even when they supported the Congress with funds) believe in Gandhiji's trusteeship theory. They were also not prepared to give up profitable war contracts to support the national struggle. This was revealed again and again. After the attainment of independence, it has been found necessary to abolish zemindari rights in the interest of the peasantry and to introduce various labour legislations to protect the interest of workers. There is however a strong feeling among the poor peasantry and the industrial workers that they have not yet obtained the rights as promised in the 1942 pledge of the Indian National Congress. Only a complete redemption of the pledge given can remove these sharp feelings of class, and secure adequate integration of our people.

II

Reference will be made to another factor which had stood in the way of Indian unity in the past. It was the apprehension felt by Muslims that they would not get a fair deal at the hand of Hindus who would form a majority in free India. The British rulers had naturally encouraged communal differences. But during the period following the First World War, the Congress under the leadership of Gandhiji had made common cause with the Khilafatists and temporarily united the two communities through common political interests although based on different forces. In a limited sphere, in Bengal, and notably in Calcutta, Deshbandhu Chittaranjan Das had inspired confidence in the Muslims of Bengal by giving practical proof of his intention to arrange for them the desired facilities in the field of education and of employment, on their population basis. As one of those who in the Calcutta Corporation helped to carry out his programme, in one particular field the present writer can speak with authority on the friendliness and support of the Muslim community such work engendered. Later, with the death of this great leader and the failure of the Congress group to appreciate the real needs of the common Muslims in Bengal, there was alienation. As an example of the kind of mistake made, may be noted the ignoring of the very genuine grievance of cultivators with regard to security of tenure and other rights in land. Later when Janab Fazlal Huq came into power with his Krisak-Praja party, and formed a coalition ministry with the Muslim League party, and passed the laws regarding agricultural debtors and about moneylenders, which safeguarded among others the common village peasant against mahajans and zemindars mainly Hindus, the impression was strengthened among Muslim peasants that the Congress would not safeguard their interest, and that they must have their own government for it. Naturally, the Muslim intelligentsia and ruling class in power encouraged such belief by vigorous and misleading propaganda in their own political and economic interest. Nevertheless when partition of Bengal to separate Eastern Pakistan was mooted by the All-India Muslim League, a large section of the Bengalee Muslims did not support it in the beginning. They approached some Congressmen, and Leftists inside and out of the Congress, to discuss under what circumstances it might be avoided. The Muslim Leaguers wanted autonomy for the State of Bengal as a condition of remaining within the Indian Union. The Hindu feeling was that the Muslim League Ministry in power had kept out qualified Hindus from all kinds of jobs, paid less attention to Hindu areas in Bengal in the matter of education and sanitation, and given heavy weightage to Muslims in the matter of contracts. The Muslims wanted internal autonomy to make sure that their economic, educational and other interests will not suffer. A compromise was effected, that the Bengali-speaking areas of Chhotanagpur side would be added to Bengal (so long not pressed by the Bengal Congress to placate Muslim opposition) and an equal number of seats allotted in Legislature to Hindus and Muslims. This decision to remain within the future Indian Union as an autonomous unit with these safeguards, was

accepted by the Bengal Provincial Muslim League, in spite of the known opposition of Quaid-e-Azam Jinnah. Muslim feeling in Eastern Bengal was also in favour of it, and expressed in large meetings held and addressed by Hindus jointly with Muslim supporters of this formula, in Noakhali, Mymensingh and other districts in 1944-45. Unfortunately this did not prove acceptable to most of the Congressmen in Bengal, who were under the delusion that partition would not come. This view was expressed at a special Congress workers' conference held about this time. At an informal group discussion, just before the elections of 1945, where Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru was present, the head of the Bengal Congress Executive and also a well-known nationalist Muslim leader, assured the future Prime Minister of India, that the nationalist Muslims supporting the Congress would win at least one-third of the seats in Legislature. This forecast proved to be hopelessly incorrect, only three seats coming to nationalist Moslems. The results indicated what factors sway the polls. Nevertheless, the same Muslim League Ministry which rode to power in 1945 and again East Pakistan after partition, was swept out of the East Pakistan Legislature almost to a man, when they tried to impose a speech alien to Bengal and ways alien to the area, on the Bengali-speaking Muslims of East Pakistan.

These details have been noted at some length, as furnishing factual evidence of what generates fissiparous forces and why people try to break away from a particular State, and form a separate political unit. Whether the agreed formula would have worked, now belongs to the realm of speculation. But the facts show that the feeling of being a Bengali was in the case of East Bengal Muslims stronger than that of being an Indian. That this is not an isolated phenomenon is proved by the intense agitation for linguistic States and the incidents that accompanied the same. The admitted and proved oppression of linguistic minorities in several States fully support this view. The desire for one's own State based mainly on a single language, was apparent even when the movements for Indian independence were slowly taking shape. This has been indicated earlier. After independence, with the need for the type of united action required for securing political freedom gone, the question of what freedom meant came more to the fore. The desire to agitate for other objectives had been so long suppressed or held in check to focus all the fighting forces of the country against foreign rule. With the removal of this barrier, there was an upsurge of the partially suppressed regional national feeling as against Indian unity feeling. The century-old Madras Presidency fell apart, and Andhra Desha was formed. There was readjustment of the Tamil areas also in relation to the Malayali-speaking States. The old Central Provinces, renamed Madhya Pradesh, was broken up, and the Maratha-speaking areas went to Bombay. It had been intended to separate Gujarat from the State of Bombay, but the difficulty was about Bombay city. The tremendous pressure exerted by wealthy Gujarati businessmen to retain this within Gujarat was met by the enormous forces of the Sanjukta Maharashtra group to take it away. The result was a deadlock, and a debacle of the Congress in elections in Maharashtra. These facts illustrate the powerful impetus generated in the language-culture groups to secure for themselves distinct political entities.

In the sphere of the much simpler folk, our tribals, there has been similar opposition to the attempt to obliterate their languages and culture. Although anthropologists and educationists have emphasised the need of imparting primary education to tribals through the medium of their own language and utilising the content of their culture for the earlier lessons, and the President as well as the Prime Minister of India have reaffirmed these principles as directives, there has been almost complete abandonment of these directions in practice. At least as late as a few years ago, in Chhotanagpore Hindi was used as the medium in tribal schools; this was also the language of instruction of Korkus of Melghat in Berar. The content of teaching had no relation to their culture. In Koraput, the Bondo Porojas and others were being taught through the medium of Oriya and with content unrelated to their culture. In Assam, except in Khasi Hills, Assamese was the usual medium of instruction; in Bengal, the Santals learnt through Bengali. The excuse offered in Orissa was that Oriya was almost the mother tongue

of those tribals, although it was known that Oriya was not spoken at home by them. In Assam, it was alleged that it was difficult for the Assamese teacher to learn the tribal language; as if little tribal children had less difficulty in following lessons in Assamese. In Bengal, it was stated that teaching through Santali would lead to group isolation. In Bihar, Hindi being *Rastrabhasa*, no excuse was offered. But the elections to Legislature in Chhotanagpore tribal areas resulted in a sweeping victory of the Jharkhand party as against the Congress. In Assam, the discontent among tribals is too well known to need comment. The fissiparous tendency here has been maximum as the Nagas are well-organised and there has been foreign encouragement to a good extent. Elsewhere matters have not come to a head because of lack of organisation among tribals in some places, such as the south-western part of Orissa, or due to receipt of certain economic amenities, as in Bengal.

III

So far those forces have had no repercussions on University Education in the State of West Bengal due to the fact that there is no group isolation in the University stage of education either in affiliated, constituent or professional colleges or in the Post-Graduate departments of our University. But as stated in the introduction, the forces to promote Indian unity do not essentially come from the University education. They arise from other sources. The content of education in the University certainly does not and should not promote disruption or weakening of this feeling. The present writer pointed out elsewhere (in his Presidential Address in December 1957, to the West Bengal College and University Teachers' Conference), that a study of the characteristics of the educational systems in simpler (what are termed primitive) societies, and also in the more advanced cultures indicates certain fundamental principles underlying education which is but another name for training for life. Progress in culture is shown to be correlated to wider co-operation of social groups at all levels of culture. This conclusion is of importance in our complex society as much as elsewhere. In fact its importance is greater now that our country is in the initial stages of vast socio-economic changes following our political liberation. In its application to education, the principle enunciated means that education should impart a bias in the mind and activities of youth towards co-operation for a common welfare, on a local, national and international level. It is not necessary to point out that in the international sphere the foreign policy of our country does promote healthy co-operation and seeks to secure it for others. Emphasis may naturally be laid on this aspect, in the teaching of political and social science in our Universities. At the Indian level, however, mere teaching, will not be useful, as facts speak much more forcefully than theories and preachings. If a young man finds that in the matter of employment, the language-culture area or to put it bluntly, the narrower nationality counts for more than other qualifications; if in seeking admission to professional colleges, the same considerations apply, he will realise that India is not one in these vital matters which concern his training for life and employment thereafter. Since such discrimination extends not merely in the employment of educated youth, but of unskilled labour, as a matter of policy on the part of employees, the Indian ntiaonal unity feeling is bound to be weakened as against the national feeling based on common speech and culture. It is not evident what University education can do in this respect, except by stressing that for the real welfare of the Indian people all the citizens irrespective of States have to co-operate in the common interest. The decrease of the individual or group gain and prestige motive which impels such discrimination can, however, be secured not so much through work in colleges, as in the economic fields and by organising public opinion. It is only when the actual gain in industry and commerce is spent mainly for national welfare, when the businessmen as well as Government executives really work for such an end, in co-operation with the workers at all levels, that the discrimination practised between men of one state and another can die down. At prseent, the different nations in our multinational state are engaged in keen

rivalry, on the lines of commercial cut-throat competition, at the expense of Indian unity and Indian welfare. This group competition, inside states, is now well on the way to spread on lines of caste, mainly due to organised political attempts to consolidate votes on caste basis. The consciousness of caste has been present from old times, and there have been caste *panchayats* to lay down the law for their own caste-men in local areas. But this phenomenon of wider integration for political purposes is a new emergence. Prof. Ghurye and Prof. Srinivasan have in their writings given ample examples of how political organisations, not excluding the Congress have used this anti-national-unity force. Similar examples can be given from our State as well but are not noted as superfluous. The problem has become acute where one caste is of landowners and other castes are of labourers. In this sphere education may render some useful service. But as primary education is not compulsory and universal, and post-primary education has not come anywhere near the 80 per cent level envisaged in the decade-old scheme approved by the Central Ministry, effective work in rural areas, which are affected more by casteism, cannot be done by merely reporting these events and evaluating their present and future consequences by teachers in their college classes. This centrifugal force can only be countered by economic organisation that will cut across caste boundaries. Inter-caste co-operation has been observed where common economic interests obviously require it. This was noted again and again in the course of the relief work and Rehabilitation Survey (after the Famine of 1943) carried out by the present writer.

As stated in the introduction, one of the objectives of this seminar, being to ascertain what role University education can play in the matter of Indian Unity and how group isolation can be broken down, it requires a study in the first instance of the basic factors that promote or disrupt Indian unity. This is what has been attempted to do in this note, rather than concentrate on University education alone, as it appears to be more fruitful by helping to clear the ground for more detailed discussion. Reference has of necessity been made to political trends and movements. But in an objective discussion of factors affecting national unity this is essential.

One special type of work, the Universities can do. It is to encourage study of other Indian languages. Those less-developed can at first enrich their content by translation of recognised masterpieces from the more-developed languages. Emphasis laid on University education through regional languages will be helpful in development of such languages through translation of standard texts and some work of reference. Technical terms should, however, in the interest of research, be as far as possible those internationally recognised. The isolation feared to be the result of such adoption of regional languages in Universities may largely be minimised by adoption of some common script for the whole of India. The people of England, France or Germany are not isolated from each other because their Universities teach through their respective national languages. Our students when they go to countries which are not English-speaking, certainly are able to study in the Universities teaching through other media. It is, therefore, not logical to have such apprehensions about isolation in India resulting from use of local national languages in Universities.*

* Based on a talk given at the U.G.C Seminar on the subject at New Delhi in April 1958.



BY P. R. DUBHASHI, M.A., I.A.S.

II

The Planning machinery was symbolic of yet another new feature of Administration—Administration in Democracy emerged as a coalition between the official and the non-official elements; *i.e.*, Members of Parliament, Members of Legislative Assemblies and Village Panchayats, Members of Co-operative Societies, Members of Academic Institutions, who re-inforced the ranks of Administrators at all levels.

Enormous expansion in the scope of State activity, brought about an enormous expansion of Administrative machinery. New Ministries and Departments were born and old Ministries and Departments had considerable proliferations. At the Centre, to the traditional Ministries of Home Affairs, with its new wing of States Ministry, Defence, Finance, Commerce and Industry, Railway and Transport, Food and Agriculture were added the Ministries for Education, National Resources and Scientific Research, Communications, Health, Law and Minority Affairs, Works, Housing and Supply, Labour Production, Rehabilitation, Information and Broadcasting and External Affairs. With the formation of the new Central Cabinet on April 17, 1957, after the second General Elections, the various Ministries of the Government of India were reorganised. Two existing Ministries were abolished—the Ministry of Production and the Ministry of National Resources and Scientific Research. A new Ministry of Steel, Mines and Fuel was set up reflecting the vital importance of steel in national economy. Ministry of Community Development was yet another distinct and significant addition. The sphere of Ministry of Education was enlarged to cover Scientific Research. The Ministries of Communication and Transport were combined into one and so also were the Ministries of Food and Agriculture. The Ministry of Labour was significantly redesignated as the Ministry of Labour and Employment. The work relating to Oil and Petroleum products was transferred from Ministry of Works, Housing and Supply to the new Ministry of Steel, Mines and Fuel.

As in the Centre, so in the States, was there an expansion of the Ministries. Specific Ministries for Planning and Development came into existence and other nation-building departments like Agriculture, Industries, Co-operation, Local Self-Government, Education, Health, Medical, Prohibition and Backward Classes, assumed pride of place with other erstwhile Ministries of Revenue and Home.

With the expansion of the scope of State activity and increase in the number of Ministries and expansion of old Ministries both at the Centre and the States, came *pari-passu* the expansion of the All India Services. Mention has already been made of the void in Administrative Services created by partition. To that was added the problem of replacing the Indian Civil Service and Indian Police Service with new All-India Services to administer the expanded State-activities. This was a constitutional requirement, because Article 312 of the Constitution recognised the Indian Administrative Service and the Indian Police Service as All India Services. Parliament was empowered to regulate by law the recruitment and the conditions of services of persons appointed to these services. Accordingly, the All India Service Act was passed by Parliament in October 1951, and subsequently Rules and Regulations under the Act were also framed. These services were extended to integrated States also. Thus was laid the foundation of the most important part of the administrative structure. The principle of recruitment by open competitive examination was continued in respect of these services. The Constitution of India provided for the establishment of a Union Public Service Commission charged with the function of recruiting candidates to the All India and Central Services. Combined competitive examination was arranged to be held every year by the Union Public Service Commission for recruitment to the All India and Central Services, *viz.*, the Indian Administrative Service, the Indian Foreign Service, Indian Police Service, Indian Audit and Account Service, Military Accounts Service, Indian Railway Accounts Service, Indian Revenue Service, Income-tax

Service, Indian Postal Service; and several others. For each of these Services, training courses were evolved. The system of taining the Indian Civil Service probationers for a period of one to two years was replaced after transfer of power by a permanent arrangement for training the Indian Administrative Service probationers at the Indian Administrative Service Training School set up in 1947 in Delhi. The curriculum prescribed for the school included Criminal Law, Elements of Civil Law and Indian Languages, the Theory and Practice of Public Administration with reference to the changing constitutional structure, history with special reference to social, cultural and administrative developments in the country and the Basic Principles of Economics in relation to current economic problems.

The principle of recruitment by open competitive examination was, however, sacrificed in order to meet the growing requirements. During the course of the Second Five-Year Plan, in addition to the recruitment of 225 persons in the Junior scale by open competition, 386 officers are to be nominated from amongst persons of previous experience. This must, however, be considered as a retrograde step; because the replacement of open competition by nomination is bound to bring down the standard of recruitment.

The participation of the Public Administration in Industrial Development was rare prior to Independence; but participation of Public Administration in Rural Development had a fairly long tradition even during the British regime. But then the rural development had only a second place, pride of place being given to the maintenance of law and order and revenue collection. The advent of freedom altered the priorities and erstwhile Law and Order Administration blossomed into a Welfare Administration. The most remarkable development in the rural development administration was undoubtedly the National Extension Service and Community Development Administration, which was born on 2nd October, 1952. Community Development was conceived as a method and National Extension Service the agency through which it was intended to create a new pattern of society in the country-side, organising itself into Co-operative Societies covering various phases of rural life. A richer and fuller social life was to be built up for the villages. The National Extension Service created a new drive in the Development Administration. It gave a new message not only to the people, but also to the Administration. It took administration out of the ruts into which it had fallen and turned the administrative machine into a live force. Amongst the administrators it created a new spirit. Administration assumed a new oulook. On the organisational side, the great achievement of the National Extension Service was that it took the Development Administration right to the village. It put the village definitely on the administrative map. The aim of the National Extension Service was to extend supplies, services, finance and technical know-how to the very door of the ryot. It created a hierarchy of co-ordinations—the Village Level Worker at the village level, the Block Development Officer at the Block level, the Collector or the Deputy Commissioner at the District level and the Development Commissioner at the State level. It achieved at the Block or Tahsil level the integration of all Development Departments. The Taluk officials of the Departments of Agriculture, Animal Husbandry, Co-operation and Industry became the Extension Officers of the Block. It prevented the parallel approach of the several Development Departments to the villagers—the sort of an organisational pluralism which led to the confusion. It created an integrated Development Administration at the Block level. At the District and at State and Central levels it created a degree of co-ordination unattained before. It also brought about delegation and decentralisation of powers, unequalled before. It thus removed the greatest bottle-neck to quick progress, *viz.*, the concentration of powers at the top. By provision of non-lapsable funds for a period of three years, the National Extension Service enabled Planning in Development which was not possible before. It avoided all difficulties arising out of late sanction and communication of grants, sometimes at the fag-end of the year and hurried execution of projects by year end.

But its administrative achievements created some administrative difficulties also. It brought into existence a new unit of adminis-

tration—the Block. Its fixed coverage was 100 villages and 66,000 population. But the inconsistencies between the three tests of area, population and number of villages created Units which varied from each other in area and population and number of villages. And it created at the same level two Units—the Block and the Tahsil. Which of the two is basic? This problem was sought to be settled by the device of delimitation of Blocks to cover the Taluk or Tahsil area. As a result of this development, there is little doubt that the new administrative Unit smaller than the Taluk which was sought to be evolved in some States, *e.g.*, the Anehals in Orissa and Bihar and the Janapads in Madhya Pradesh will have to fall in line with the Units called Blocks which have come to stay not in one particular State but all over India.

Another administrative difficulty arose out of the initial claims of the National Extension Service that it was born to create a revolution in the country-side. In the initial years, it developed on lines independent of its own and isolated from other great Development Departments. It did not take, however, much time to realise that isolated from other Departments it could not hope to register any achievements in the field of Development. Quick administrative changes were effected and there is no doubt that today all Development Departments have found in National Extension Service a most potent instrument of carrying their Development activities to every village. The phenomenal increase in the distribution of short-term credit, seeds and fertilisers are but indications of the potency of this new administrative instrument.

Yet another administrative achievement of this movement is the concrete shape and place it has given to the principle of people's participation in the rural development administration. People's participation was called forth both in thought and action. The doctrine of "felt needs" became decisive in determination of priorities. The participation of the people in cash, kind and labour in all development projects became a rule. In Block Advisory Committee deliberations the voice of the people's representatives gave the benefit of their intimate local knowledge to the expert decision of the administrators. This very achievement, however, has given birth to a difficulty. The doctrine of administration impartiality and freedom from day to day interferences has come into conflict with another doctrine that administration should be responsive to the public opinion. A harmonious and healthy reconciliation of these two principles would require an appreciation on the part of the popular representatives of the role of Administrator in Democracy and on the part of the Administrator of the role of Democracy in Administration.

Integration of the activities of the rural local self-government institutions with the Development programme of Government was another significant achievement of National Extension Service. Article 40 of the Constitution definitely laid down that "the State shall take steps to organise Village Panchayats to function as units of self government." That was also the avowed objective of the Five-Year Plans and the National Extension Service. Several of the National Extension Schemes were channelised through the Village Panchayats. But there the achievements must be considered to have ended. In spite of all pronouncements and new legislation in actual fact, it must be said that the rural local self-government institutions continued to remain during the first ten years of independence in the same unsatisfactory State as before. Their functioning was not such as to ensure confidence in *Gram-raj*. The Panchayats would not meet regularly. They would not prepare their budgets in time. They would be factious and party ridden. They would not raise their financial resources. They would not collect their dues. They were a far cry from the ideal of *Gram-raj*. If the Village Panchayats were in a state of anaemic existence, the Taluk and District Local Boards were in a state of animated suspension. The elected Boards in most of the States were wound up and their administration given to the Collectors as Special Officers.

The rejuvenation of rural local self-government institution is certainly one of the greatest administrative problems today. There are of course several reasons for this unsatisfactory state of affairs. Politically, these institutions have suffered from neglect from the major political parties who concentrated their

attention on National Government. Socio-logically, the trend towards urbanisation took away from the villages, all advanced elements leaving the Village Institutions to be managed by lesser elements. Constitutionally, these were kept isolated from one another and from the higher organisations at the State level. Financially, they were left with meagre resources which would not permit any inspiring development programme. Administratively, they were left without proper audit, supervision and guidance being the concern of the Revenue Officers, who could devote only a small fraction of their energies to the supervision of local self-government institutions. Only a concerted *effort* on behalf of the politicians, sociologists, Constitutional experts, economists and Administrators would help to give the local self-government institutions their rightful place in national life.

The National Extension Service programme is comprehensive both in content and coverage. At the end of the First Five-Year Plan it covered 1|5th of the country-side. At the end of the Second Five-Year Plan it would cover the entire country-side. Such a gigantic programme obviously created the problem of recruitment and training of the enormous Development personnel. Thus it requires 5,000 Block Development Officers, 5,000 Agricultural Extension officers; 5,000 Animal Husbandry Extension officers; 5,000 Industrial Extension officers; 5,000 Co-operation Extension officers; 5,000 Male Social Education Organisers; 5,000 Female Social Education Organisers; 5,000 Progress Assistants; 50,000 Village Level workers; 3,250 Gram Sevikas; 1,760 Medical Officers; 1,760 Compounders; 1,760 Sanitary Inspectors, 1,760 Lady Health Visitors; 6,000 Midwives and 5,000 Overseers. For training this army of Development Workers, 55 Extension Training Centres, 77 Basic Training Centres and 24 integrated Course Training Centres have been started for the Village Level Workers, 27 Centres for the Gram Sevikas, 17 for Group Level Workers; 8 for Social Education Organisors; 3 for Block Development Officers, 3 for Health Personnel, 8 for Co-operation Extension Officers and 8 for Industries Extension Officers.

The administrative achievements of the National Extension Scheme in the field of rural development have been stated at length above. They led to the establishment of the reformed District Administration envisaged in the Plan. National Extension Service principles of integration and co-ordination, delegation and decentralisation, area planning and popular association powerfully influenced and advised other Development Departments. Through camps, seminars and literature National Extension Scheme gave stimulus to thinking and action of administrators in the field of rural reconstruction.

The Revenue Administration continued to do its valuable work in the country-side. Above the Tahsil level, there was a combination of Development and Revenue functions. But even within the fold of Revenue Administration, several activities of a welfare nature went ahead with an accelerated pace. Growing pressure on land was reflected in grants of even submarginal Government lands in large number. Revenue Administration was called upon to handle a large number of Acquisition cases arising out of the necessity to get lands for irrigation projects, factories, new offices, housing schemes, etc. But these were only the traditional activities of the Revenue Administration.

It was in the erstwhile Zamindari areas that special problems of Revenue Adminisration arose. The Zamindars were persons who were directly responsible for payment of land revenue. Hence, in villages in the Zamindari tract Village Officers did not function. As a result, the abolition of Zamindari created a void in Revenue Administration at the village level and had to be filled in by the appointment of stipendiary Village Officials.

The burden of the Revenue Administration considerably increased in the wake of Land Reform Legislation. The Tenancy Acts created for Revenue Administration considerable judicial work for fiixing fair rent and tenure as between the tenant and the landlord. The abolition of the intermediaries raised compensation claims on their behalf and had to be settled by the Revenue Administration. The consolidation of land-holding legislation put on Revenue Administration responsibilities which called for tact and patience. The egali-

tarian Agricultural Income-tax legislation called for detailed knowledge of productivity and income from lands. But even with this increased work load, Revenue Offices continued to be old-fashioned and in several States, Committees were appointed and enquiries held for modernising the Revenue Offices. The ultimate goal of land reform in India has been the promotion of Co-operative Farming. The Second Five-Year Plan envisages the establishment of 100 such Co-operative Farms in India. In several places Revenue Officers were required to guide the management of these Farms.

The welfare activities carried on by the Revenue Administration in its own realm are themselves so varied and important and involve such vital contacts with the villagers that it is idle to expect that at any time in future the Revenue and Development Administration could be put into seperate water-tight compartments or even kept distinctly apart. Notwithstanding the coercive methods associated with Revenue Administration and extension methods associated with Development Administration, intimate association between Revenue and Development Administrations is bound to be the condition for the success of the Welfare State.

The problem of Development Administration in the industrial field was altogether different. The problem in the field of rural development was to give a new shape to an old administration already in the field. The problem in the field of industrial development was to create a new Administration altogether. Beyond exercise of certain regulatory powers, the State had never participated actively in industrial development. The doctrine of Socialistic Pattern of Society embodied in the Constitution required an active participation of State in industrial field not only by way of Regulation, Direction and Control, but also by actual ownership of industrial concerns. "In order to realise the objective of Socialistic Pattern of Society it is essential to accelerate the rate of economic growth and to speed up industrialisation and in particular to develop heavy industries and machine-making industries to expand the Public Sector and to build up a large and growing Co-operative Sector. These provide the economic foundation for increasing opportunities for gainful employment. Equally it is urgent to reduce disparities in income and wealth, to prevent private monopolies and the concentration of economic power in different fields in the hands of small number of individuals. Accordingly, the State will progressively assume a predominant and direct responsibility for setting up new industrial undertakings, for developing transport facilities and for State trading." These principles were embodied in the Industrial Policy Resolution of 1948. In 1956, another Industrial Policy Resolution, to some extent modifying the previous resolution, was adopted. The latter classified industries into three categories. In the first category were included industries the future development of which will be the exclusive State responsibility. These included among others, arms and ammunition, atomic energy, iron and steel, heavy plant and machinery, coal and lignite, mining and minerals, air-craft, air transport, railway transport, ship-building, telephones and telephone cables, telegraph and wireless apparatus, generation and distribution of electricity. The second category consisted of industries, which will be progressively State-owned and in which the State takes the initiative in establishing new industries but in which private effort will be expected to supplement Government effort. Machine tools, aluminium, fertilisers, road transport, etc., were included in this category. The third category included all the remaining industries and their future development was left to the initiative and enterprise of the Private Sector.

Several State enterprises in pursuance of this policy sprang up. From the administrative view-point the form of organisation became an important issue. The choice was between a Departmental Organisation, a Corporation or a Joint Stock Company. In the case of older concerns, the Departmental management continued as in the case of Post and Telegraph Departments, Railways, Ordnance Factories, Government Presses and Mints. The Corporation form was adopted in cases like the Industrial Finance Corporation, Indian Airlines Corporation, etc.

The Joint Stock Companies form was

adopted as in Sindri Fertiliser Ltd., the Hindusthan Machine Tool Ltd., the Hindusthan Shipyard Ltd., the Bharat Electronics Ltd., the Indian Telephone Industries Ltd., etc. The Corporation form was adopted in respect of River Valley Corporations also. The theoretical discussions regarding the comparative efficiency of these forms are many but experience will determine the choice regarding organisation of Public enterprise.

The direct praticipation of State was not only in Industry, but also in Transport, Trade, Banking and Insurance. Several States nationalised Road Transport. State Trading Corporation came into existence. Nationalised Life Insurance Corporation took over the insurance business. The Imperial Bank also was nationalised. All this added an enormous number of technical personnel to the ranks of overnment service.

The formation of specialised services merged as an important problem of administration. It was, therefore, decided to establish an Industrial Management Service for staffing State enterprises, personnel for general management, finance and accounts, sales purchases stores, transportation, personnel management and welfare. Town Administration, etc., courses were also initiated in Business Administration. An Administrative Staff College was established at Hyderabad and its first set of courses have already begun. Besides, personnel of various types like Engineers, Craftsmen and personnel for Agriculture and Cottage Industry were trained.

The Companies Act of 1956, with its 654 Clauses and 12 Schedules was an outstanding development in State regulation of private enterprise. It incorporated measures calculated to dissipate concentration of economic power, reduce irregularities of income and wealth, and democratise Company Management. The Administration of this Act would have to administer "not a set of static provisions but rather a dynamic policy towards the Private Sector."

There cannot be said to have taken place any outstanding Administrative Development in the Co-operative Sector. But the report of the Direction Committee of the Reserve Bank called for massive State participation in the Co-operative Sector and there is no doubt that Co-operative Administration will assume growing importance in the future set-up.

Notable changes took place in Judicial Administration. Article 50 of the Constitution required the State to take steps to separate Judiciary from the Executive in public services of the State. State Governments passed legislation to give effect to this long-agitated judicial reform. At the same time to adjudicate Administrative Law Administrative Tribunals were also set up.

But the most significant reform in the administration of justice was the amendment of Criminal Procedure Code to make justice cheap and expeditious. Quickening of judicial administration would continue for several years to come the main desideratum of social policy.

Yet another important development in this field was the formation of Central Legal Service for creating a team of Specialists in drafting legislation.

This then is the brief survey of some important administrative developments in the last decade. Socialistic Pattern invariably carries with it as an essential adjunct the "administrative elephantisis." The importance of administration and administrators is bound to grow notwithstanding the technical and scientific advances. There is however no doubt that with a developed, diversified administration the era of a generalist Administrator, the know-all, do-all Administrator has come to a close and that of the Specialist Administrator has begun. One can well foresee the reorganisation of All India Services on specialised lines.

There is certainly a historic opportunity for social service to the administrator with the advent of Socialist Democracy in the country. The future requires not only a competent but also an inspired administrative service. It would be a pity indeed if democracy brings misguided elements at the helm of affairs and pushes administration out of its legitimate position in Democracy, only to serve their short sighted aspirations.

PLANNING FOR PROGRESS

By J. N. MAHALANOBIS, M.A., B.L.

It is now more or less accepted that one of the major functions of a modern state is to ensure full-employment within the country by controlling, promoting or regulating the entire economic life of the community, and any measure which seeks to promote the above objective is justified on grounds of economic welfare. Classical economists, however, did not envisage any state control of the economic activity except in times of national crisis or war, as they believed that a policy of non-interference was the golden rule which Governments should follow to promote economic growth and development but these ideas had long been discarded as obsolete and unsuitable to meet the demands of a modern welfare State. As a logical sequence, economic Planning is now largely accepted as a technique of promoting quick growth. But Planning for rapid growth in mature economies of the West is entirely different from the Planning for quick industrialisation of the backward economies. In mature economies, even now, private enterprise is accepted as the pattern of society; State enterprises are only restricted to some very essential or strategic industries which are few, and the entire field of business or industrial activity is left to the private trade. In some cases, the State regulates the flow of income distribution among various social groups by enacting suitable wage laws, by taxation and other statutory measures. In the post-war years, almost all Governments regulate the inflow or outflow of foreign funds with a view to maintain an equilibrium in the balance of payment account. This is inevitable now in view of the break-down of the international gold standard. Now that almost all currencies have ceased to have any fixed gold parity, so far the internal note issue is concerned, there is no impediment to expand national currencies up to any amount irrespective of currency reserve, provided adequate measures can be enforced through banking and monetary technique to protest disequilibrium in balance of payment. Economic Planning however, does not mean such partial control, but means a total control of the entire economic life of the community to attain a definite objective within a given period. The Western model of controlled or regulated economy is quite suitable for mature economies, where Private Sector is developed, the level of employment is high, savings adequate and the technological progress in different industries sufficiently advanced. In such a state of economic advancement, Governments do not consider it necessary to enter in trade or industries to promote quick development. There is no necessity also of such State participation as these economies have already attained a high-level of growth. In such economies, the problem is to secure a reasonable parity among prices, production and income distribution and to curb any inflationary or deflationary pressure which may lead to undesirable consequences. The Government can even go to the extent of regulating flow of investment in different sectors according to certain determined priorities, but this again is done mostly by indirect methods and not by any statutory regulations.

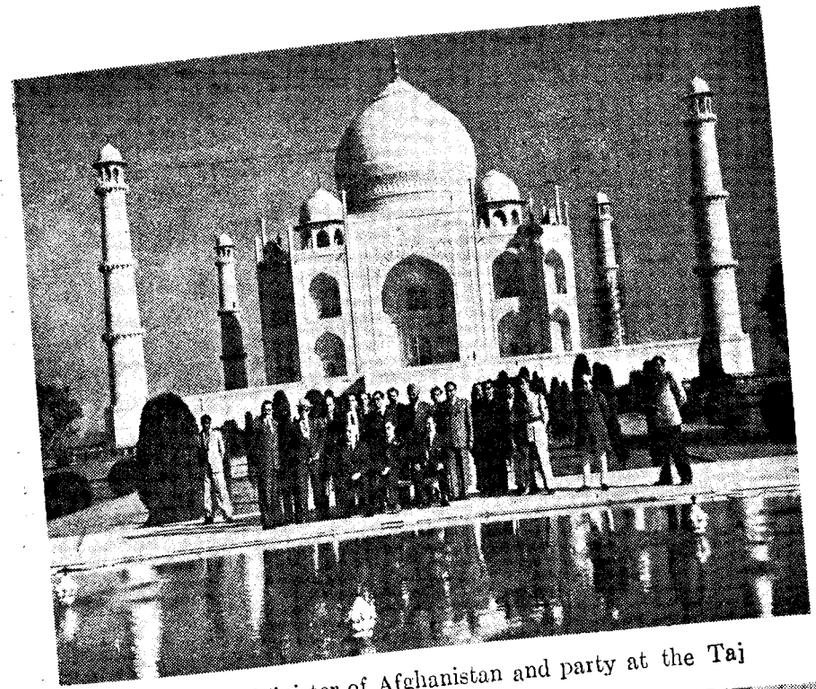
Such a policy of economic regulation and control cannot be regarded as economic Planning in the strict sense, and neither does it seem suitable for backward economies which have to strive hard within a short period to promote economic growth. In backward economies, not only the level of industrialisation is low, but savings and technical know-how are inadequate to take up a quick programme of development. There are many industries which require to be established in a country purely from long-term economic consideration and not for profit. The function of such investment is social gain and not private profit. There is no dispute now that in backward economies, State should take a dominant role in investment by rapidly extending Public Sector and in fact,

the Public Sector should be more important than the Private Sector—but the real problem arises not in regard to such allocation of economic field between Private and Public Sector, but it arises in regard to the implementation of the economic Plan. As stated earlier economic Planning means full control of the economic life of the community, *i.e.*, production, consumption and distribution must be fully under the control of the State. The State should not only define what should be produced, but prescribe what should be consumed and what amount should be set apart for future investment. Under such a scheme of Planning, the choice of individual to consume or spend is very much limited. But this is often considered against the basic principles of democracy and may not be acceptable to the people except in times of national crisis. The great experiment of economic Planning has been done only in a few countries of the world. Russia is the first country which after Communist Revolution accepted economic Planning as a national policy to promote quick progress. She has already passed several Plan periods and achieved remarkable progress in industrialising the country, and the growth of her heavy industries is extra-ordinary. But in Russia the political system is entirely different—the economic life of the community is fully under the control of the State. During the initial Plan periods, the production of consumer goods suffered, the prices soared high, but the Russian consumers had no choice but to submit to hardship and privations, besides essential goods were strictly rationed and the prices regulated by the State among different income groups. In Russia, Government not only controls production but controls the retail distribution of almost all commodities. In such a scheme of national Planning the state can determine the level of production and consumption by statutory orders and regulations and there is not much scope for economic imbalance.

Planning in a democracy poses an entirely different set of problems especially in underdeveloped countries which do not produce enough to pay for the cost of rapid economic growth. The current surplus is inadequate to keep the stock of capital intact to maintain the existing level of production not to speak of building new capital stock to accelerate economic growth. Yet some of these economies have adopted the technique of economic Planning as a national policy to promote quick deveolpment. The acute unemployment and under-employment, the low level of living and the rapid growth of population make it imperative for these countries to quickly promote the level of economic activity. This is a big task. Economic Planning in a democracy is a great experiment, which has hardly any analogy in the economic history of the world except in times of national crisis. Only in U.S.A. the late President Roosevelt attempted it in a limited scale during the last great depression and within a short period he achieved remarkable success. The classical economists did not devote themselves to the peculiar economic problems of the under-developed countries and no wonder, therefore, that in their writings one will search in vain to find any model to adopt; even in modern economists like the late Prof. Keynes, who devoted a good deal of his writings on the problems of economic development of the mature economies and prescribed some definite measures of economic growth one will not find any analysis of the problem of underdeveloped countries. Prof. Keynes never bothered about savings or foreign exchange in the economy. He assumed that these things would be readily available to promote economic growth, but it is exactly these two things which are in short supply in most of the backward economies. The major problem for a Planner in the under-developed country is to step up the level of savings within the country as the current level of savings is hardly adequate to meet the cost of an economic Plan. Such savings can be increased either by taxation or loans, but loans may be available if the community has required volume of savable surplus and on the other hand direct taxation may not cover a very large category of persons, whose income level is too low to permit such taxation and tax imposts on essential commodities may lead to strong resistance and may be difficult to achieve. It is not possible to cut down the level of consumption of essential goods nor is it possible to curtail its production and force up the prices. By ration-

ing and control it is admitted that there is some scope for restricted consumption but the level of consumption is already low. Where millions live in thousands of villages with hardly any administrative machinery to administer such a national scheme of rationing and control, one is likely to be faced with a stupendous task. The mal-distribution and bottle-necks which may periodically arise in the distribution of essential commodities may create a great deal of social unrest and no Democratic Government can take such a grave risk of creating popular disaffection. As a last resort deficit financing is recommended to supplement the national savings to meet the cost of development, but deficit financing has its limitations and can only be applied in moderate doses. It is difficult to lay down the permissible limit of deficit financing to meet the development expenditure as conditions are likely to vary from country to country requiring factual study of the prevailing economic factors. That is, the approach to the problem should be empirical and no definite formula can be laid down in this respect. We are often carried away by the abstract economic theories, based on the highly industrialised countries of the West, not realising that all these do not apply to the under-developed countries where problems are entirely different from mature economies. In mature economies, a small monetary incentive is likely to boost up the production to a sufficiently high level to absorb the extra purchasing power but in under-developed countries there are peculiar rigidities in the economy and any extra supply of money may only help to create an inflationary spiral, as production does not always depend on monetary incentives. A good deal of the excess money supply may go to the hoarders who may apply the funds for hoarding and other anti-social activities. It is commonly overlooked that the major regulator of the prices in almost all backward countries is the volume of agricultural production—or to be more precise, volume of food production. The volume of production depend not so much on price factors or monetary incentive but on the vagaries of monsoon. For example, in India during the last two years of the first Plan period, weather was very favourable leading to an exceptionally good production of food. The position was so favourable that for a time the Government had to enter the market as a buyer to regulate prices. As a result of the favourable food position, the price level in almost all sectors of the economy remained more or less stable. The theory is sought to be advocated that deficit financing of Rs. 400 crores in the first Plan period was a safe figure as it did not create any spiral of high prices. This line of thinking is not scientific. There is always a time lag between cause and effect and this is especially true of economic measures which work in a complex human society. The period that had elapsed was too short to judge the net effect of the volume of deficit financing made in the first plan period. In all probability the economy is now feeling the full impact of the additional created money put into circulation during the first plan period. The conclusion seems inevitable that in under-developed countries the technique of deficit financing can only be applied with great caution. Any tendency to overstep this limit is fraught with great danger as our economic knowledge is yet imperfect and inadequate to fully enunciate the basic principles of such financing.

Apart from the problem of securing finance by artificial means, it seems one of the major problems in under-developed countries is to obtain an increasing volume of savings. In a planned economy the basic assumption is that with the increase in the volume of production the community would be able to set apart a larger volume of savings to meet the cost of a progressive scheme of development, as the objective of economic Plan is to continuusly increase the volume of investment by increasing the national income. This poses a peculiar problem in backward countries. In these economies the level of consumption is so low that any extra income and additional employment would sharply increase the propensity of consumption, and additional production to be available by planned measures may be wholly consumed by the community without leaving a surplus for investment. Any attempt to step up the volume of investment may be difficult to achieve as the community may increase the level of consumption and the savings may not



The Prime Minister of Afghanistan and party at the Taj



The Prime Minister, Sri Jawaharlal Nehru in conversation with Limer Ali Sardar Mohammad Daud, Prime Minister of Afghanistan, in New Delhi



A member of the party of NEFA students who arrived in the capital in connection with the Republic Day celebrations presenting a scarf to the Prime Minister



The Earl of Home and the Countess of Home arrived in New Delhi on a three-day visit. Sri V. K. Krishna Menon and Shrimati Lakshmi Menon are also seen in the photo

record an increase at all. Prof. Nurkse, in his book *Capital Formation in Under-developed Countries* says that in under-developed countries there is some scope of capital formation by diverting excess population from agriculture to capital projects, such as construction of roads or irrigation projects. Such a transfer of population would not lead to a decrease in the volume of food production; at the same time, the transfer of the surplus population engaged in agricultural operation will not create an additional demand for food. Thus, according to him, in backward countries where majority of the population is engaged in agricultural operation, there is large potential source of capital formation without straining the demand for food; on the other hand, it is probable, that such a transfer of population may help more efficient management of farms and lead to an increase of food production. This assumption of Prof. Nurkse is probably correct, *i.e.*, transfer of some population will not affect the efficiency of agricultural farms in backward economies as the number of people engaged in agricultural production is generally far in excess of the optimum number of people required. But the other assumption of Prof. Nurkse, *i.e.*, the demand for food will not increase as the people drawn away from agriculture to capital works, who would have also consumed the same volume of food if they would have remained in agriculture, is not entirely correct. At least, to us, this seems to be a bold assumption. On the contrary, there is reason to believe that with the increase in the money income of the people as a result of gainful employment, demand for food and also other essential commodities will sharply increase. For, the existing level of consumption of a vast section of the population engaged in agricultural production is so low that any increase in their money income will at once react on the demand for food. As stated earlier, one of the major drawbacks of the economic planning in democracies where consumption is not restricted by rationing and control, is that with the growth of money income of the people, the volume of consumption will also sharply increase and such increased consumption may be more than the increase of production achieved by the Economic Planning. If the volume of such consumption exceeds the volume of additional production, the net capital formation in society may suffer and the economic conditions may remain more or less stagnant and even fall as the volume of future investment in the economy is determined by the current volume of savings.

Even without deficit financing the price level of essential consumption goods is likely to increase rather quickly in a developing economy due to acceleration of economic activity. It is a common phenomenon that during the period of rising level of business activity, the velocity of money increases rapidly and causes a sharp rise in prices, even though the total volume of money supply may remain constant. A part of the rise may also be caused by increased creation of bank credit, a very natural sequence in a rising trend of business expansion. There is nothing wrong if the price rises, provided such rise is accompanied by proportionate increase in the money income of all categories of wage-earners in society—or at least if the prices of essential articles are kept within a limit to avoid hardship of the people, but such is hardly the case in an uncontrolled economy. Economic Planning will mean an inevitable expansion of activity in all sectors of the industries, but not all may be engaged in production of consumption goods whereas a very large part of the money income of the people, especially in backward countries, is likely to be spent on consumption goods leading to a sharp rise in prices. It is true that in a developing economy, some price rise is inevitable and has to be tolerated but such rise of prices must be kept within reasonable limit and cannot be allowed to go up to undetermined levels. The conclusion seems inescapable that even in a democracy, control and rationing of essential commodities must be undertaken if quick progress is sought to be achieved by economic planning. Rationing and control in a backward country is a big problem and may be extremely difficult to execute but we cannot let loose the forces of inflation in the economy for the sake of quick economic progress and create an intolerable condition of a continuously rising level of prices which may ultimately lead to great social and economic imbalance.

UNEMPLOYMENT—THE THIRD IMPENDING CRISIS

By Prof. Dr. V. D. NAGAR, M.A., Ph.D.

The conspicuous problems of Foreign Exchange and Food Shortage have, for the last two and a half years, relegated the problem of unemployment in the background. An irony awaits us at the end of the Second Plan, when instead of "more employment opportunities" our planners will have to face the common sight of jobless millions looking woebegone and dragging their feet on empty stomachs. The need for solving the problem will tend to be felt more intensely than before, when this stealthily-creeping problem assumes enormous proportion and the problem becomes a matter of public discontent rather than public grievance. The growtth of population at the rate of 1.125 per cent per annum, the consequent growth of potential work force at 1½ to 2 million per year and the provision of additional employment to about 2.5 million people so far as against the revised target of 6.5 million (brought down from 8 million) for the Plan-period have revealed the growing disequilibrium between the rate of growth of new activities and the rate of growth of work-force.

Besides this, we have to make arrangements of alternative employment in advance for the "Plan-workers" who will be retrenched after most of our projects, specially multipurpose projects and medium irrigation works, are completed.

The number of jobless people who have registered themselves with the country's 200 employment exchanges shows no signs of abatement. The employment exchange figures are by no means exhaustive because they do not reflect rural unemployment and give complete correct picture of even urban unemployment. In the existing circumstances, however, they merely serve to show the trends in urban unemployment. The number of the unemployed people in the first week of July was 1,010,573. The following table gives figures of the unemployed in some of the major states:

Andhra	71,170
Assam	20,404
Bihar	55,464
Kerala	68,985
Madras	94,025
Madhya Pradesh	32,650
Mysore	35,794
Punjab	45,025
Rajasthan	26,304

An analysis of registration made in different states during the past few months shows that the number of job-seekers is steadily mounting. During the month of June, 1958 the employment exchanges registered nearly, 195,000 people and secured 18,945 placements. On the one hand the number of the registered jobless people is increasing while on the other, the number of vacancies notified to the Employment Exchanges is declining every month. Such is the sorry tale of unemployment and consequent misery.

The reasons for this discouraging present state of affairs are: (1) Disproportionate employment to expenditure. (2) Negligence towards labour-intensive methods and over-emphasis on Capital-intensive methods. (3) Failure of State Governments to utilize the large sums provided for in the plan for reducing educated unemployment and Non-utilization of equipment supplied to states under the T.C.A. and I.L.O. aid programmes. (4) Big shift in the relative proportion of emphasis between major and minor irrigation works with the result that the progress was accompanied by set-back. (5) Lack of co-operation from private sector. (6) Ineffective small savings drive.

Disproportionate Employment to Expenditure

The Planning Commission, it seems, has considered that during the First Plan, the investment expenditure of about Rs. 3,000 crores led to an increase in additional employment by about 4 million people and therefore, the investment of Rs. 6,100 crores during the Second Plan should provide additional employment to 8 million people excluding agriculture and 10 million people including agriculture. In other words, the volume of employment would increase proportionately to investment expenditure. But these hopes have proved dupes because of the following reasons:

Firstly, substantive proportion of the investment outlay on the core of the Plan is Capital-intensive in that it involved import of plants, machinery and equipment during the first two and a half years. Secondly, the reduced degree of emphasis on the agricultural output in the beinning of the Second Plan and the annual imports of about 2 million tons of food-grains at the cost of about Rs. 100 crores revealed a substantial amount of leakage in regard to addition to employment capacity. On the other hand the expansion of labour-intensive cottage and small-scale industries resulted in higher consumption of food-grains not on account of choice but on account of necessity and thus led to reduction of the marketable surplus in the non-agricultural sector. Thirdly, the imports of component parts, instead of machinery which manufactures them, did not create as much employment as the erection of factories manufacturing component-parts would have done.

Negligence Towards Labour Intensive Methods

During two and a half years of the Second Plan raw materials could not be imported due to restrictions on imports. The existing industries and the new ones could not enlarge their scale of production. In some cases even the existing plants had to be closed due to lack of raw materials and the new machinery had to remain idle. The import policy did not take into account the shortage of raw materials and its effects on employment.

It is true that smaller industries are, after five years' experience of Community Projects, now being established in the Development Blocks, but the progress in this direction has been very slow. The expansion of cottage and small-scale industries has followed the traditional old lines. The step-motherly treatment given to the indigenous charkha after the trial of Ambar-Charkha has caused unemployment among the established spinning centres where the old men and women cannot give the required attention to the Ambar-Charkha.

Then, we have failed to realise and make use of enormous employment-potential resources of our forests and the contrast of what might be and what is should direct our planning towards utilisation of these immense resources. Adequate attention has not been given to the systematic development and marketing of forest industries, like essential oils, dyeing and tanning, gums and resins, lac, beewax and honey, rubber, turpentine and medicinal herbs. The proper development of these inustries could have reduced the pressure on soil and provided employment to the landless labourers.

Non-Utilization of the Large Funds and Equipment

The Planning Commission and Union Labour Ministry are greatly concerned over the failure by and large of the State Governments to utilize the large sums provided in the Plan for reducing unemployment among the educated classes. The study group's recommendation of the establishment of work-cum-production centres, transport and co-operative societies industrial co-operative and small-scale industries have been treated as mere 'academic' suggestions. For instance, at the Transport Commission's conference held in Mussoorie last year the representatives of most states had agreed that the establishment of transport-co-operatives would provide for a useful outlet for the educated unemployed, but so far the funds allotted

have not been utilized. Other Schemes have also made little or no progress.

The story of the sad state of affairs does not come to an end here only. In spite of the assurances given, major part of the equipment supplied to India under the T.C.A. and I.L.O. aid programmes still remains unutilized. This is attributed to the shortage of power-supply. However, such machinery should have been shifted to other training centrers for prompt use. The importance of prompt utilization of such machinery lies in that they involve much-needed foreign exchange. Moreover, non-utilization of these aids for indefinite periods, will adversely affect our efforts to obtain further assistance and consequently the employment opportunities.

Reduced Emphasis on Minor Irrigation Work

The Planning Commission hoped that the substantial programmes of irrigation would diminish under-employment in the rural areas. But the so-called progress reports from the States in respect of irrigated areas in 1956-57 are painfully disappointing. The targets of 6.3 and 2.2 million acres of land during 1957-58 to be brought under irrigation on account of multi-purpose large and medium irrigation projects and minor irrigation works respectively have not been reached. The progress in the minor irrigation work has left behind the trail of set-back. New means of irrigation have been developed but old-wells and tanks are falling into disuse. New wells are being dug up but tanks are lying in a state of disrepair. For instance, in Rajasthan and Madhya Pradesh no less than 15,000 and 10,000 tanks respectively are lying in disrepair because of the paucity of funds.

We should not forget that minor irrigation works yield quicker results, bring more land under irrigation than the same expenditure on major projects, provide employment to a large number of people and need no experts and very little or no foreign equipment. It is gratifying, however, to note that the Planning Commission has increased the outlay of Rs. 63 crores for minor irrigation works to Rs. 83.5 crores.

Lack of Co-operation from Private Sector

The Private employers prefer to go their own way and recruit men directly to fill vacancies. Frantic appeals for active co-operation made by employment exchange authorities have fallen on deaf ears. In the absence of organised labour market, the skilled and qualified jobless men remain at the waiting lists of employment exchanges while the private employers wait in vain to get the type of man they want and consequently the jobs remain vacant and unfortunate unemployed people suffer. Moreover, the private employers are not very clear in their mind about the nature of the job and the duties that they want to be performed. They sometimes expect the would-be employee to do 'subsidiary' duties also like—giving a little tuition to the employer's little son, typing a little of private correspondence and serving as P.A. to the employer. Besides this, the employment of domestic servants presents special problem of its own. The house-holder wants guarantees of good-conduct and honesty for future which the employment exchange, for obvious reasons, can not give.

Ineffective Small Savings Drive

Employment depends upon the volume of savings and the rate of investment. During the period of the First Plan, the average collections per year were about Rs. 47 crores. The Commissions' targets of Rs. 100 crores per year from small savings assume double performance on this account. But this target has not been achieved in any year. During 1957-58 the total collections had been only about Rs. 38 crores. The failure on this front was due to (1) steady increase of 7 per cent in the price-level every year and (2) lack of confidence in small savers in the yield from their contributions. The targets, therefore, could not be realised and if the inflationary tendencies persist they may never reach the target of Rs. 100 crores per year. In fact in an economy accustomed to low standards of living marginal increments in income usually tend to be utilised for consumption rather than saving in the absence

of attractive and effective measures with the result that the marketable surplus of agricultural products is reduced.

Suggestions

It is highly dangerous either to deny the existence of the problem or adopt the complacent attitude towards it. The following are the measures which if accepted and implemented may save us from the impending crisis:

1. Instead of importing component parts we should import machinery which can manufacture these parts and provide employment to larger number of persons.

2. Restrictions imposed on the import of raw materials should be relaxed. Every industry must try to export at lest such quantities of its production as would pay for raw-materials.

3. The traditional and general approach as regards the development of cottage and small-scale industries should be replaced by vigorus drive and technical methods in the Community Development projects and N.E.S. Blocks. The targets of production, employment and marketing should be fixed for every cottage industry. The existing class of intermediaries in village industries should be replaced by Co-operatives or State Trading Corporations in every state so that the state or workers may reap the profit of prevailing higher prices and more people may follow these occupations.

4. The employment potentiality of the forests and forest-industries should be utilized through the agency of labour co-operatives.

5. Creation of Land-Army to reclaim waste land, drain marsh lands, dig canals, wells, compost pits, etc., and construct funds and fences provides an answer to the problem of food shortage besides providing employment to millions of landless labourers.

6. The manpower officers in the States should take up the matter of the establishment of transport co-operatives and other schemes with the departments concerned and prompt action should be taken in this direction to reduce unemployment among the educated classes.

7. Co-ordination councils in every state and central co-ordination council at the centre should be formed to make available jobs to the labourers of dams and other projects who are being or will be retrenched in the near future.

8. Pending the passage of the much-heard Bill by the Parliament, the States should devise effective ways and means to compel the private employers to notify the vacancies to the employment exchanges and make use of their services. Even Ordinances may be issued.

9. Labour Co-operatives should be formed and preferred to the contractors so far as the construction activities are concerned. The Governments of U.P. and Kerala have made beginning in this direction with successful results.

10. "Save one anna per day" campaign should be started all over India. Mobile postal facilities should be provided to make on the field collection during harvest time. Besides this, the 12-year savings certificates should be replaced by or supplemented by the three to five years certificates at attractive rate of interest and the 10-years Treasury Savings deposits should be allowed to be sold by commission agents at eight annas per cent commission. Moreover the 'Must' percentage should be introduced among the earners earning above Rs. 200 per month. Lastly, to begin with nationalisation of banking for which the time is ripe now, the Government of India should nationalise the Savings Accounts of the Commercial Banks.

We should not forget that the central problem before us is that of obtaining jobs for the existing unemployed and new entrants. Our minds should not be coloured by the pattern of organisational set-up as well as the frame-work of policies followed by other advanced countries. What is really required is an over-all change in our perspective in order to understand the gravity of the problem and affect required changes without any delay.

By Prof. Dr. TARAKNATH DAS,
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I

The term "The Middle-East" needs a definition. When the Ottoman Empire was ruling over the Balkans then parts of South-Eastern Europe as well as a part of Western Asia under the Ottoman rule were designated by the British as the Near East while a part of South-West Asia between the west of India, bordering the Persian Gulf towards Egypt was arbitrarily called as the Middle-East. Now-a-days the region which is really a part of the South-West Asia is called at times the Near-East and the Middle-East indiscriminately. In my talk I shall try to discuss certain important problems of the South-West Asia which affected world politics and specially Germany.

At the very outset it should be kept in mind that the geo-political significance of an area is more or less constant. Thus the so-called Middle-East, from the very ancient days, due to its geographical position connecting or adjoining the three continents of Asia, Europe and Africa has played an important part in world affairs. It may not be out of place to point out that long before the rise of Greece and Rome as factors in world civilization or becoming dominant political powers, the peoples residing within the vast area of the Nile Valley and the Indus Valley, *i.e.*, the Babylonians, Sumerians, Egyptians, Persians and Indians, played the dominant role in world affairs. We cannot go into the details of the history of this era, but it may be said that whenever any nation dominated over the Middle East in the true sense of the word, it controlled the area adjoining the Persian Gulf and also the Eastern Mediterranean. During the days of Xerxes and Daraus Hestaspis, the Persians controlled not only the whole of South-West Asia, but ruled over a part of the western part of India (the Punjab) and also the eastern part of the Mediterranean, including some of the Greek islands.

Civil-War-imfested petty States of Greece (and in comparison with the Persian Empire of those days, Greek city States were mere villages) were united by Philip of Macedon; and it was under Alexander the Great, the Greeks challenged the Persian might and conquered Persia and marched towards India. When one analyses Alexander's victorious march and later developments, it becomes clear that the regions of Eastern Mediterranean including Egypt form the western flank of the Middle East, and India is the eastern flank and Persia and adjoining lands form the heart. The nation that controls over the Middle East must have dominant position within the whole area. This can be substantiated by histories of Byzantine Empire, Arab Empire, the Ottoman Empire and the Western Imperial Powers interested in controlling the region at different times.

II

During the period of European expansion in Asia specially in India, the Middle East became of special importance; and its control became an object of rivalry among three great Powers of Europe—France, Britain and Russia —Anglo-French rivalry in the eighteenth and early nineteenth century was world-wide. During the Napoleonic war, control of the Near East and the Middle East loomed large in Napoleon's programme of breaking British power which was sustained by the wealth of India. Thus Napoleon tried to get control over Egypt and also Syria. But to prevent Napoleon from controlling the "left flank" of the Middle East, Britain fought Napoleon and supported Turkey and Persia against France and Russia. Thus from the beginning of the nineteenth century the British foreign policies regarding the expanding Western powers took the form of controlling the routes to India through the Middle East.

After the elimination of France as rival of Britain after the Congress of Vienna, Anglo-Russian rivalry was centred on the issues of the Middle East . . . Russia was trying to control Turkey and through this, the whole of the Middle East, while Britain was determined to check any such developments. Thus we find that Britain was involved in the Crimean War, and Britain was supported by France and Italy, and also France to prevent Russia from making Turkey her dependency. The most interesting feature of the Treaty of Paris, which was concluded in 1856 to end the Crimean war, was that Russia had to agree to British demands that she would not keep any navy in the Black Sea.



The Lord Mayor, Dr. Brauer of the Free State of Hamburg welcoming Prof. Taraknath Das before a large audience in the Town Hall of Hamburg

This provision was imperative, because Russia with a great navy at the Black Sea could have easily controlled the North-Eastern part of the Ottoman Empire in Asia penetrating into the Middle East.

In 1854 or 1856, there was no united Germany and Bismarck was seeking Russian support in case of an Austro-Prussian conflict and he did not participate in the Crimean War which led to Russo-Prussian friendship, the foundation-stone of Bismarck's foreign policies of the future, and which helped Prussia in winning her wars against Austria (1866) and France (1871). Although Germany was in no way involved in the Middle East directly, Germany's destiny was tied with the policies of Russia centred in the expansion in the Middle East.

After the Crimean War, the question of the Suez Canal, one of the key points of the Middle East, became a great issue. It is not generally emphasised that Lord Palmerston was opposed to the construction of the Suez Canal to be controlled by Egypt and France, lest such an enterprise might be a menace to the British control of the Middle Eastern routes to India. After the Franco-Prussian War, German policy of Bismarck was to bring about isolation of France in world politics and thus aiding Britain against the French ambitions in Egypt and at the same time Bismarck was willing to encourage Russian expansion in Asia and thus in the Middle East. After the Russo-Turkish War of 1876 and the conclusion of the Treaty of San Stefano of 1878 by which Turkey was virtually made a dependency of Russia, Great Britain took the leadership to undo this treaty, and this was done at the Congress of Berlin of 1878 when Bismarck sided with Britain interested in checking Russia and encouraged Britain to take control over Egypt which resulted in greater Anglo-French tension as well as Anglo-Russian rivalry, and thus strengthening Germany's diplomatic position in world politics. Thus it may be safely asserted that Germany, even in Bismarck's days, used the Middle Eastern situation—Anglo-French rivalry in Egypt and Anglo-Russian rivalry in Turkey—to her advantage.

In bringing about German unity, and further strengthening the position of the German Empire in world politics, Bismarck astutely utilised the situation in the Middle East, but carefully kept Germany out of entering into the Middle East. But after the fall of Bismarck and the adoption of new policies of German expansion into the Middle East by Kaiser Wilhelm, German position and policies in the Near East became a factor in the destruction of the German Empire as a result of the World War I.

*A speech delivered before a Conference of the *Nah-und Mittelost-Verein* at Hamburg Town Hall, on Friday the 5th of December 1952. The text of this speech reached us late for topical publication, but in view of the importance of the subject we publish it in memory of Taraknath Das. Ed.—M.R.

III

According to the *Memoirs* of Sir Edward Grey, we find such charges that Germans "black-mailed England" and secured the concession for building the Berlin-Baghdad Railway. During the days of Anglo-French control of Egyptian debts and Anglo-French rivalry in Africa, during the latter part of the nineteenth century, Britain needed German support and support of the Triple Alliance (Germany-Austria-Italy) against the Franco-Russian Alliance. Sir Edward Grey held that as a price of German support in Africa, the German Government induced the British Government to use its influence to prevent the British companies in competing with the Germans regarding the concession for the Berlin-Baghdad Railway.

The German entry into the Middle Eastern political field with the idea of securing economic, political and military control over Turkey shattered any possibility of Germany continuing to secure the support of Britain and Russia in world politics. Thus after the Russo-Japanese War although Kaiser Wilhelm thought and discussed with Count Witte about forming a combination of Germany-Russia-France, it did not materialise due to one of the reasons that Russia was opposed to the German policy of strengthening Turkey by building railroads in Asia.

Germany secured concession for building the Berlin-Baghdad Railway, but the British were opposed to have its terminal to any point at the Persian Gulf, lest this may later endanger the British control of the Persian Gulf, while Russians demanded that Germany must not build any extension of Berlin-Baghdad Railway in North-Eastern Asiatic Turkey towards Russian frontiers. Germany was anxious to please the Anglo-Russian Powers and concessions to their demands; but the Triple Entente of Anglo-French-Russian combination was formed, through the Anglo-French understanding at the expense of Egypt and Morocco, while the Anglo-Russian understanding was made at the expense of Persia (Iran) in 1909 and 1910, by which Persia was divided into a British zone of interest in the Persian Gulf region and Russian zone of interest at the North, *i.e.*, at the Caspian Sea region.

It is not necessary and not possible within the time at my disposal to discuss how the World War I came, but it cannot be denied that the German efforts to penetrate into the Middle East through the Berlin-Baghdad Railway and Anglo-Russian opposition to it was one of the causes of the tragedy. It should be noted that Germany after the war lost all her interests in the Berlin-Baghdad Railway.

IV

After the World War I Germany was prostrate, but as a great people they succeeded to recover economically and politically, on the one hand by securing Anglo-American aid and on the other by collaboration with Soviet Russia which began with the Rappalo Agreement. One of the most outstanding features of the consequences of the World War I was the dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire and the creation of the Arab States under the Mandate system and the laying of the foundation of the establishment of a "Jewish Homeland in Palestine" in accordance with the Balfour Declaration.

Here it should be recorded, that the defeat of the Ottoman Empire in the Middle East was primarily brought about by the use of Indian man-power and economic aid. In fact, since the days of the Napoleonic War, to be specific the battle of Aboukir, the use of Indian power has been the prime factor in maintaining the British supremacy in the Middle East. Of course, this supremacy, on the other hand, was imperative to maintain the British domination in India.

After the World War I, the main currents of the foreign policies of the Great Powers—France, England and Russia—changed to suit their respective interests. There was Anglo-French rivalry, because the British were interested in eliminating France from Syria by supporting the Arab States, specially Emir Feisal, the British wanted to use the Arabs in the Middle East against Turkey and France. This led to the Franco-Turkish Alliance. Anglo-Russian Alliance of 1909-1910 was denounced by Soviet-Russia and it adopted a policy of supporting the Asian nationalism by giving up the policy of aggrandisement in Asia (the Middle East, Afghanistan and China) which was the policy of the Tsarist Russia and to form non-aggression pacts with Turkey, Persia, Afghanistan.

The dissolution of the Anglo-French-Russian combination in the Middle East and the rise of the rivalry among these powers and also the Italian opposition to British policies in the Middle East gave the Germans an opportunity to make another effort to establish closer relations—economic and political—in the Middle Eastern countries especially in Persia, Turkey, and also in Iraq and Egypt. At the beginning Germany worked for economic foot-holds in the Middle East and were successful, but with the advent of Hitler regime, the programme of political expansion in the Middle East was adopted. The very moment it became evident to Turkey that there might develop a Russo-German co-operation in the Middle East, wise Turkish statesmen adopted the policy of Anglo-French-Turkish co-operation while maintaining neutral attitude towards Germany and Russia. Turkey learnt her lessons from the defeat of World War I, and she did not wish to take chances of being involved in a war among European powers which might endanger her very existence.

V

For a student of history, it is immensely interesting to note the parallels between the Napoleonic war and the Hitlerian war and also the fall of Napoleon and the destruction of Hitler and Hitlerian Germany. For our purpose, we may note that like Napoleon Hitler tried to control Africa and spread German influence in Egypt but like Napoleon, through doggedness and resourcefulness of the British who secured Americad aid, Hitler had to retire from Africa as did Napoleon. Like Napoleon Hitler tried to get control over Syria, Iraq and Persia through local revolutions, but he also failed there. Hitler's adventure against Russiia was one of the causes of his downfall and this can be well compared with what happened to Napoleon. Stalin acted as Alexander I who after the Battle of Friedland and the conclusion of the Treaty of Tilsit (1807) co-operated with Napoleon, but when Napoleon and Alexander disagreed on the issues of the dismemberment of Constantinople and the Ottoman Empire, they parted company. We all know now from the perusal of the documents concerning Soviet-Russian and Nazi-German relations that Hitler decided to attack Soviet-Russia because the latter was not only insistent upon the controlling of the Balkans but Constantinople and the Straits and thus Asiatic Turkey as well. Here then I may emphasise the fact if the issues of the Berlin-Baghdad Railway was one the causes of the World War I and the destruction of Germany, one may point out that the Russo-German disagreement and rivalry on the issues of the Near-East and the Middle-East was one of the causes of Hitler's attack on Russia and final destruction.



Prof. Taraknath Das addressing the ference on the Middle-East and the N East in the Town Hall of Hambur Dec. 5, 1952

It may be worthwhile to mention after the German army penetrated into heart of Russia, the Anglo-American p did everything to save Russia by giving

lease aid", so that Leningrad and specially Stalingrad would not fall, because the fall of Stalingrad might have led to German control of the oils of the Caucasus and eventually a German march into Persia leading to the control of the Anglo-Iranian Oil and German entry into the Persian Gulf (in the same way as the Japanese appeared in Malaya and captured Singapore). Thus the Anglo-Russian Powers took control over Persia and secured American aid to build railroads in Persia so that American aid to Russia to defend Stalingrad may be more safely delivered through the Southern routes, *i.e.*, through Persia. One may say that the control of the Middle-East by Hitler's enemies was one of the causes of his defeat and the destruction of Germany.

VI

Today new forces are operating in the Middle-East and one of the most potent one is the rise of nationalism. From Iran to Egypt and further to the Atlantic, we have various problems and conflicts which are influencing the world politics as a whole.

At the very outset, it should be clearly understood that the rivalry between Soviet-Russia and the Western Powers which is evident all over the world is also operating in the Middle-East. Thus behind the Anglo-Iranian dispute on oil issue, there is the fear on the part of the British that loss of British control over Persian oil would hurt them not only economically and politically, but it might lead to Russian control of oil and Persia. One may compare the British opposition to German influence in the Middle-East before, during the World War I and World War II, with the British opposition against the expansion of Russia in the Middle-East. Today Russia has taken the place of Germany in rivalry of Powers in the Middle-East.

Britain created the Arab League to use the Arabs to her advantage; but today the Arab League Powers are opposed to Britain on many grounds and one of these is that the Anglo-American Powers have been aiding Israel. The Arab League Powers often threaten that they would make a common cause with Soviet-Russia. They also are playing with Germany as Pan-Islamists of Abdul Hamid's days tried to use Germany against both Russia and Britain. Thus there is a new and renewed popularity of Germany in the Arab lands and this also serves the cause of German economic expansion in these countries.

In Egypt there are two problems which have created Anglo-Egyptian hostility in world politics. They are the issues of the Suez Canal and Sudan. Just as during the World War I and World War II, allied powers did not want to give up the control of Egypt and the Canal so that they will not allow Egypt to control the Canal, unless they be absolutely certain that the Canal would not fall in Russian hands. From my point of view Egyptians should cooperate with the Western Powers on the defense of the Suez Canal, with definite understanding that when the lease of the Suez Canal would expire in a few years, the Canal should not only be reverted to her, but there would be no foreign forces at the Canal unless Egypt wanted to have them on her own initiative. But the question of Sudan is altogether different. Britain wants to create a State of Sudan which might be used against Egypt as a strangle-hold. It is the same policy of Britain which she pursued in partitioning India and creating a Pakistan to keep India weak. Sudan must be associated with Egypt as its part or as a part of the Egypto-Sudan Federal Republic.

I may here mention that Anglo-Iranian difficulties on Iranian oil question can only be solved by Britain accepting Iran's legitimate demands for the control of the resources of the country while paying a reasonable compensation for the improvements made by the British Corporation. Without going into details, I suggest to solve this issue by following the path pursued in solving American-Mexican difficulties when Mexico nationalised oil resources of the land which hurt American oil interests.

Regarding the conflict between the Arab League and Israel, I feel that this issue will be solved through negotiation in near-future and Germany must not be involved in it in a political way.

It will be very unwise for Germany today, whose very recovery and survival depends upon the co-operation with America and Western Powers, to be involved *politically* in the issues of the Middle-Eastern problems. Due to rivalry between Soviet-Russia and the West in the Middle-East and due to opposition of the Arab States against the Anglo-American powers specially Britain, Germany has special opportunity in furthering her interests in the Middle-East. But some short-sighted Germans are engaged in activities which might be regarded as supporting the anti-Western forces in Arab lands and Iran politically and militarily. As a friend of Germany I warn that if such a policy is pursued, it would certainly react adversely against true interests of Germany in world politics, bringing about her isolation and possibly affecting her future security which is dependent upon the co-operation with the West.

[Those who are interested in Indo-German cultural co-operation may communicate with Dr. Franz Thierfelder, President, India Institute, Munchen-Pullach Habenschadenstrasse 71, West Germany].

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MUSIC OF THE PAST

By AMAL SARKAR, M.A., LL.B.

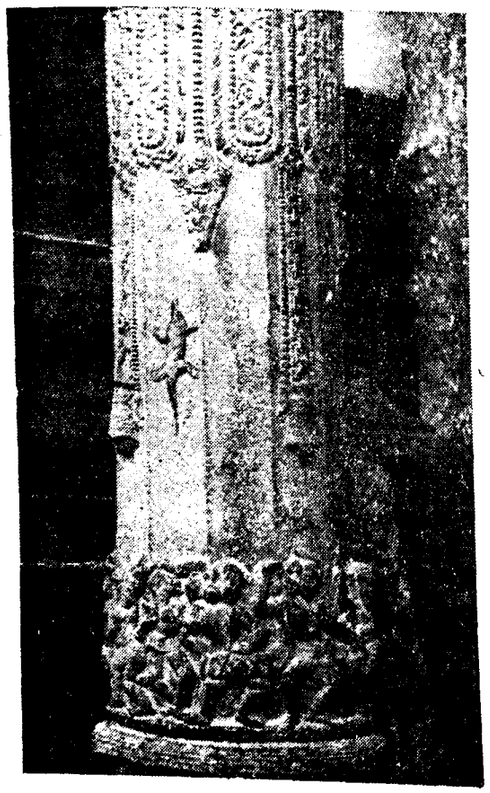
THERE is hardly a tribe in the world which can be said to be indifferent to music. Musical expression is, however, an early phenomenon in the history of life. The history of its origin is still shrouded in mystery. It is probable, and many scholars agree with the view, that music is born of sound, the principal medium by which most of the higher animals both express and excite emotion. According to some the idea of expression through music germinated in the song of a bird: "The bird sent out the merry note and men learnt the art of singing." Darwin's conclusion was that the musical notes and rhythm were acquired by the male or female progenitors of mankind for the sake of charming the opposite sex. But the most probable theory connects the origin of music with man's 'innate love of rhythm, rhythmic action and rhythmic speech.' The Pygmy of the African land is innately musical; the Australian Maori sings war-songs to work himself up to fury in the battle-field; the Turkish shepherd fills the air with sweet music while his shaggy dog watches over the flock; the African labourer sings as he strikes picks into a road, or pulls a cable or tills the soil; and the Rishi Narada of India wanders about on earth and in heaven singing and playing on his *vina* and teaching music to men.

In by-gone ages the musical instruments like whistles and flutes of primitive men were made of human or animal bones; these flutes were pierced with holes at regular intervals or consisted of two bones, which, when joined, could make modulated tunes. Wood, metal, glass, pottery, slabs of sonorous stone, etc., were employed to make 'wind' instruments; the 'string' instruments were usually made of hair of animals, of silk, the runners of creeping plants, the fibrous roots of certain trees, of cane, catgut, etc. At Aquineum, an old settlement of the Romans near Budapest, the discovery was made of the oldest organ in the world, having 52 pipes. The oldest harp in the world made of gold, tortoise-shell and lapis lazuli was found in 1934 in Ur, the capital of the ancient Sumerian Empire.

The earliest legends of Ceylon tell of one Ravana who invented the first stringed instrument 5000 years ago. It is described as a stick, to one end of which was attached a small cylinder of sycamore wood, across which ran two strings fastened to both ends of the stick.

The Jewish Shophar or Shofar must be one of the oldest wind instruments. It is usually made of a carved ram's horn, and is used in synagogues on certain occasions to this day. With its help King Saul announced his victory

over the Philistines. Jubal is referred to in Genesis IV, 21 as "the father of all such as handle the harp and organ."

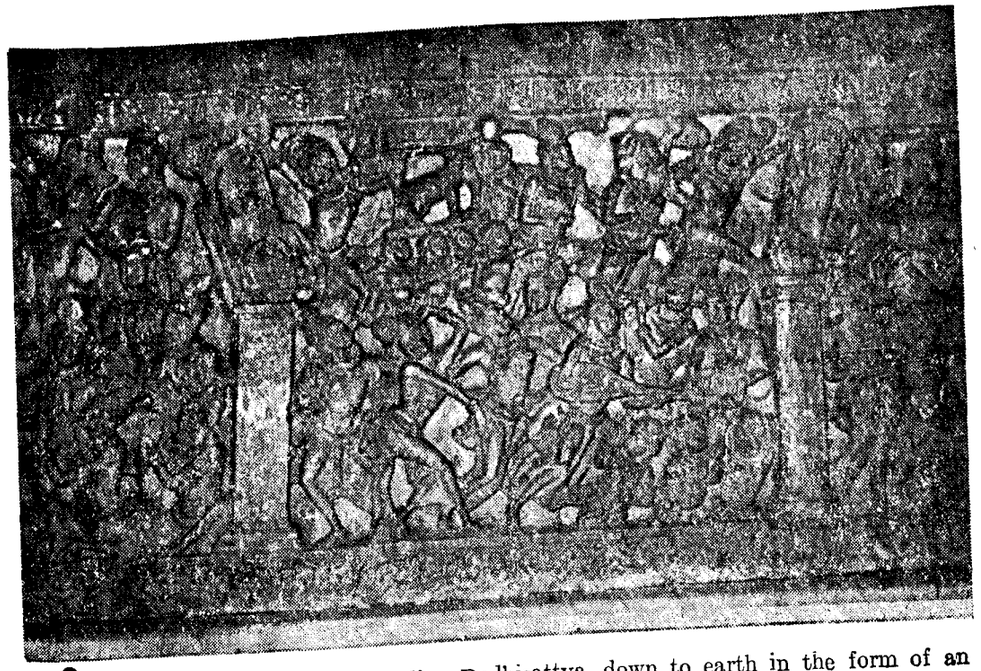


Dancers and Musicians in procession (Mediaeval Period, Pabna, Bengal)

It is said that the Chinese possessed a very high idea of the importance and power of music. The discovery of music in China is attributed to the Emperor Fu Hsi (2852 B.C.) who is said to have invented the lute. About 200 years later Huang Ti, the Yellow Emperor, declared music to be 'the key to good government' and commanded one Ling-lun in 2700 B.C. to work out the principles of music. This the philosopher did by listening to the voices of nature as he sat in solitude on the bank of the River Hoang Ho. Hymns had already begun to be composed by these Emperors but it was about 2250 B.C. that one great Shun composed a piece called 'Ta Shao' which, when heard by Confucius 1000 years later exercised so much influence on the mind of the famous saint of Asia that for three months he lost all tastes of his food. A musical party went direct from India to China in A.D. 581, when Kao-tsu was the ruling Emperor. The Korean music is also very ancient, and music made its mark in Kuchi, a place in Central Asia. Kuchi was strongly influenced by Indian music; it is believed that a Brahmanical family called Ts'ao (Jha) from India, who were here hereditary musicians, had visited Kuchi and carried the Indian mode along with them. Love is a very popular theme in old music in Korea as we find in the popular song 'Arirang' (the name of a mountain pass). The Koreans are musically inclined by nature. "Four Koreans and a bottle of wine will provide music for an entire night."

According to the Ko-ji-Ki tradition of Japan, the offended sun-goddess hid herself in a cave and the world became dark; the goddess Uzume-Amen-no-mikoto (the respectable Uzume in heaven) dressed in a strange fashion, and playing on the cords of six bows, danced to the tune of her singing, so that the gods burst into laughter and the floor of heaven shook. Thereupon, the sun-goddess in wonder opened the door of her cave just a bit, and again there was light in the world. The old indigenous music in Japan is called Outa (*sangit*) which was used at all grave and serious meetings of the court. Sometime in January, the great harvest festival known as Dai Josai takes place in which the old songs Kumemai (homophonous music) and azumamai (beginning of the year) are sung. Japanese music is also deeply influenced by Korea; and during the reigns of Kimmei (A.D. 500) and of Shiko (A.D. 612) the Chinese music Kuregaku (Kure means South and Kara means North while the area of Korea is known 'gaku') was brought to Japan through Korea. According to traditions two principal types of music called Bodhi-sattva and Bhairo were taken from China to Japan by an Indian Brahmana named Bodhi in the T'ang period. In fact Jimmu was the first historical Emperor of Japan who was said to have sung songs of his own composition for the consolation and cheer of his soldiers in the battle-field.

The ancient Indian, *i.e.*, Hindu music was



Heavenly musicians and gods sending Bodhisattva down to earth in the form of an elephant (2nd century A.D., Amaravati, Madras)

based primarily on religion. Various accounts of the origin and beginning of Indian music are related in fanciful legends of gods and goddesses, and such music has never any individual composer. Bharata Rishi is said to have taught the art of music to the heavenly dancers—the Apsaras, who danced before Siva, the Lord of Dance (Nataraja). The Gandharvas were the singers and the Gandharva Veda deals with the art of music. The oldest detailed information about Indian musical theory was to be found in Chapter 25 of the treatise Natya Sastra (the science of dancing), composed by the sage Bharata (4th cent. A.D.), the earliest Hindu writer on music. The musical theory of Bharata had a close affinity and commonness with that of Aristoxenus (350-320 B.C.), and this parallelism between Greek and Indian ideas about music has led some scholars to think that "the Greek and Hindu systems were elaborated on slightly divergent lines from a common source." But prior to the period of the sage Bharata we can trace out ample references of music in the early indigenous literature. The Vedas mention of different kinds of instruments like dundubhi (an ordinary drum); adambara (another kind of drum); bhumi-dundubhi (an earth drum made by digging a hole in the ground and covering it with hide); vanaspati (wooden drum); aghati (a cymbal used to accompany dancing); kanda-vina (a kind of lute); karkari (another lute); vana (a lute of 100 strings); vina (the present instrument of that name in India); tunva (a wooden flute); nadi (a reed flute); bakura (exact shape is not known). By the time of Yajurveda several kinds of professional musicians appear to have arisen, for "lute players, drummers, flute-players and conch-blowers are mentioned in the list of callings." The Rig and Samvedic hymns are the earliest examples we have of words set to music. The wife was asked to sing a song in the Simantonnayana ceremony and in the marriage ceremony the bridgeroom used to sing a *gatha* after the treading on the stone by the bride. Panini was perhaps the earliest to refer to music in about the last quarter of the 4th cen. B.C.

In C. 300 B.C., the Pali Pitaka referred to two disciples of Buddha (C. 480 B.C.) attending a dramatic performance which of course was musical. The Buddhist champion in musical art was the Thera 'Dwarf' Bhaddiya, who, according to tradition, was a former Buddha and born as a 'variegated Cuckoo' (Kokila); Sariputta, the favourite disciple of the Buddha had a voice of 'Salika' and the Buddha's voice was compared to the celestially sweet vocal organ with its eight characteristics. In the Rk pratisakhya, a composition of 5th cent. B.C., we can find the earliest reference to musical theory which mentions 'three voice registers and the seven notes of the gamut'. In the epic period (C. 400 B.C.—200 A.D.), the art of music was considerably developed. Ravana is made to say that 'he will play upon the lute of his terrific bow with the sticks of his arrows.' Instruments like bheri, pataha, ghata, panava and dundima, mudduka (brass trumpet) are mentioned in the *Ramayana* while the *Mahabharata* speaks of the seven svaras and of the Gandhara Grama, the ancient third mode. From Kalidasa's works in the 5th century A.D., we know that 'the temple and the stage were the great schools of music.' The Natya Sastra of Bharata contains a detailed exposition of the svaras, srutis, gramas, murchhanas, jatis. Another great musical authority in India was Sarangadeva (13th century A.D.) living at the court of the Yadava King of Devagiri. Haridas Swami was another great musician during the reign of Akbar the great Moghul, one of whose disciples was Tansen 'like whom there has been no singer for a thousand years.' Music had a very high place in the empirical court of the Muslim Emperors. We are told that during the reign of Shah-jahan (1628-66) two musicians, Jagannatha and Dirang Khan, received from the emperor their weight in silver, which amounted to about Rs. 4,500. There were regular institutions of music where students could acquire knowledge in music. Naik was the highest degree conferred on the musician who was a past master in the science. Beyjoo and Gopal were Naiks. Gandharp was the degree given to the efficient performers of Marg and of Deysi. Tansen was a Gandharp.

Another very interesting feature of Indian music is the idea of personifying the forces of Nature in music. These impersonations are known as the Ragas and Raginis, the bricks of the ancient mansion of Indian music, which were believed to be born from a strange bird called "Musikar" or Dipak Lat. Raga means tunes of the bird Dipak Lat which inhabits the regions of the Caucasus mountain. It has its beak with seven openings sending out seven notes and at different seasons of the year it combines those notes in harmony and produce Ragas. There are six Ragas (male tunes in Indian music) and each Raga has got its five or six Raginis (female tunes). In China there is a very good similarity of these 'male' and 'female' tunes of India in the playing of the Lus, invented by the Emperor Hwang ti (c. 2697 B.C.). The Lus is a series of 12 bamboo tubes, each tube representing a semi-tone. These tubes have each a name and they are supposed to be connected with the dualistic system of Chinese philosophy, "half of them being classified under the Yang (male principle) and the rest under the Yin (female principle). The different Chinese months and hours were also assigned to these tunes." From another source we learn that it was Krishna who once perfectly intoxicated by his own music on the flute commenced to sing. His 16,000 gopis (milk-maids) followed him, each producing a Raga (tune). These 16,000 tunes were reduced to 6 Ragas and 30 or 36 Raginis. In fact, the Ragas and the Raginis are the 'whole' of the Indian music. The mysticism in Indian music is also revealed through them. The Ragas are supposed to be possessed of supernatural powers. They are benefactors of humanity curing various bodily ailments. They can charm the elements of nature and can invoke fire and water; in short they can perform miracles. Thus the playing of Asavari tune can enchant the serpents, and hearing the Todi tune the wild deer ventures within the sacred precints in meek submission and adoration. Mirza Mohammad Bulbul played the Nai in the garden and the nightingales began to hover around him. Bilas Khan, the eldest son of Tansen, sang the Ragini Todi with such pathos and feeling that the coffin of his father actually moved. Tansen himself once sang the Dipak Rag in the presence of Emperor Akbar and the fire was ignited and the place was in flame. This incident proved fatal to the tune and although the incident happened centuries ago, none dares sing Dipak in India.

The goddess Istar was the Chief Patron of Babylonian music. Ea was another God of music who as singer (Naru) bore the name of Dunga. The bas-reliefs in Babylonia show that the Babylonians used the musical instruments like Sum-ala (drum), Sum-lilis (Kambanrine) and cymbals. In the British Museum is a piece of Babylonian music written on clay tablets dating from 1800 B.C. This Museum also possesses a document of baked clay giving details of the eight campaigns of Sennacherib, King of Assyria, from 705 to 681 B.C.; following the sage of Jerusalem, the record adds that Hezekiah made submission and 'paid tribute with treasure together with his daughter and the women of his palace and male and female musicians.' Plato ascribed a noble character to the sacred music of the Egyptians. The vocal and instrumental music was usually admitted in the worship of the gods, except in the temple of Osiris, where neither singers nor players on the flute or the lyre were allowed to perform. There is a mention in the Old Empire of Egypt one Ra'henem who was 'the Superintendent of singing.' In the New Empire there was one Neferroupet who was a singer to Pharaoh. Erman states, "We scarcely meet with one lady under the New Empire who was not connected with a temple." The chief duty of these women was to play sistrum before the gods and the goddesses.

The earliest type of music in the Hebrew land was perhaps the shepherd's calling of the sheep on his pipe. The Bible says that music is the filling channel whereby the voice of man conveys to God his gratitude and devotion. The Jewish women welcomed the conqueror and the long-lost son with music and dancing. "The use of music at funerals among the Hebrews became so firmly established that according to Maimonides, 'the poorest husband was expected to provide at least two flute-players and one mourning woman for the funeral of his wife'." The oldest piece of Greek music which has come down to us is the beginning of a melody to Pindar's first Pythian Ode. The oldest Greek musician was perhaps Terpander of Lesbos, the originator of Citharodic music, who lived in the 6th or 7th century B.C. In Greece, the stability of the diatonic scale was introduced as early as the 8th century B.C. It was Pythagorus who discovered the mathematical porportions of intervals in music. The Arabs' music was born in rhythm and not in melody and thus in the Arabian music there was no fanciful system of tone-beats. Abu Sulaiman most succinctly remarked that 'singing does not put into the heart what is not already in it, but merely stimulates to action what is already in the soul.' The rule is laid down that 'a faithful Muslim must not listen to any music at all if he finds that it stirs up in him thoughts contrary to moral precepts of the Quran.' Thus music has always been the food of love, grace and devotion.



INDO-VIETNAMESE LINKS

By Z. H. KAZMI

SITUATED in the strife-torn South-East Asia, the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, is one of the four independent States—Laos, Cambodia, North Vietnam and South Vietnam—which once constituted France's fabulous Indo-Chinese Empire. With a population of about fifteen million and an area of 60,900 square miles, the country is composed of the rice-rich Tong-king region (bordering China) and the coastal territories of Annam, north of the 17th parallel.



Amid scenes of great pomp end pageantry, a funeral procession passes through a street of Bankok

The drama of the occupation of Vietnam by the French is more or less the same that was enacted in India by the British. In the fateful year of 1787, a dynastic feud in the old Annamese Kingdom, comprising the dominions of Tonkin, Annam and Cochin-China—now known as Vietnam—, provided an opportunity to France for intervention in the internal affairs of the country, and by the year 1887, the whole of the Indo-Chinese peninsula became a part of the French Empire.

With the defeat of France in World War II, Indo-China came under the influence of Japan. In March, 1945, the Japanese restored the independence of the Indo-Chinese States of Cambodia, Laos and Vietnam. Bao Dai who was the King of Annam under the French tutelage was reinstalled as the Emperor of Vietnam. After the surrender of Japan, the National Resistance Party, commonly known as Viet Minh (meaning "Association of the People"), led by Dr. Ho Chi Minh, proclaimed the independence of the country on September 2, 1945 in the name of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. Bao Dai abdicated and Dr. Ho Chi Minh was elected the President of the Republic.

The French, however, refused to recognize the new Republic and reoccupied the Southern Vietnam with the help of the British forces but failed to dislodge the Viet Minh from the North. To end the stalemate a treaty was signed between the two in Hanoi on March 6, 1946 by which the sovereignty of Vietnam was acknowledged. Yet unable to resist the temptation to keep the raw material-rich Vietnam under their control, the French imperialists suddenly ignited the flames of an aggressive war on December 12, 1946 by capturing Hanoi. The Vietnamese patriots rallied to the call of their beloved leader, Dr. Ho Chi Minh, to defend their newly-won freedom. A prolonged and sanguinary war ensued.

With the recognition of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam by the People's Republic of China and Soviet Russia in 1950, the fighting in Indo-China did not remain a local affair, Henceforth, it acquired great international significance. On the one hand the weary French, heavily aided by the Western powers, intensified their efforts to strangulate the young Republic, while on the other hand the undaunted Vietnamese patriots, helped by China continued to wage the war of independence with greater



vigour. Amid increasing severity of fighting and mounting international tension, Viet Minh forces scored a dramatic victory in the memorable battle of Dienbienphu. It turned the tide of war in favour of the Nationalists and cast a gloom in the French circles. Now there was talk of peace.

A nine-nations' conference including U.S.A., U.S.S.R., and the People's Republic of China was convened at Geneva and the Cease-fire agreement was signed on July 21, 1954. According to the agreement, the independence of all the Indo-Chinese States was recognized and the Viet Minh and the French forces were withdrawn north and south respectively of the 17th parallel in Vietnam. The North Zone was placed under the administration of Dr. Ho Chi Minh's Government and the South under the regime of pro-French Emperor Bao Dai. The provision was also made for a free and fair referendum for the unification of both the zones under one Government. The Geneva Conference unanimously elected India as the Chairman of the International Supervisory Commission of Laos, Cambodia and Vietnam.

Thus after decades of trials and tribulations, sufferings and sacrifices, the people of Vietnam, under the dynamic leadership of Dr. Ho Chi Minh, wrested complete independence fdom the adamant French Government.

Born on May 19, 1890 in a middle-class family, Dr. Ho Chi Minh, the liberator of Indo-China, is a patriot *par excellence*. Nguyen-ai-Quoc meaning "Nguyen the Patriot" is his true name to which he has fully lived up. Ho Chi Minh (in Vietnamese—"Intelligent") is his pseudonym in the Party. He is now universally known by this name. He was also called "Gandhi of Indo-China" in France.

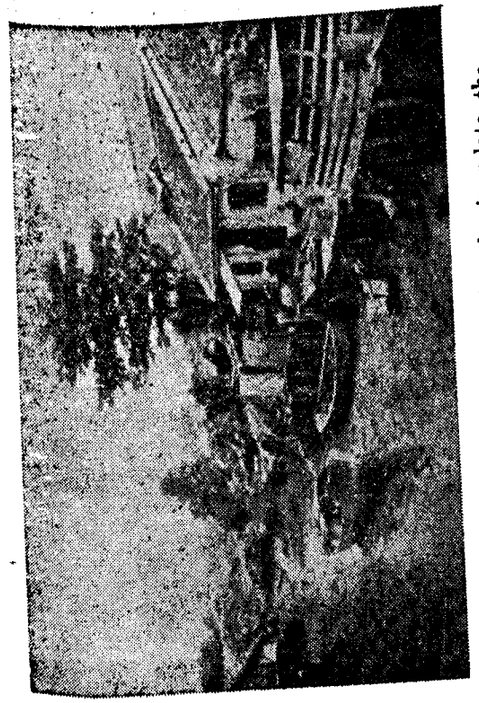
Shocked and distressed at the great misery and poverty to which his people were driven by the French Colonialists, Ho Chi Minh turned a revolutionary at the tender age of eighteen. He imbibed nationalist tendencies in the Indo-Chinese youth and exhorted them to struggle for the emancipation of their motherland. To achieve his goal, he, several times, sponsored non-violent movements which the French always tried to crush by force. Later, he organised the guerilla bands to fight the Japanese fascists during World War II and the French imperialists thereafter, and forced them to quit his country.

A man of iron-will, Dr. Ho Chi Minh led his people to freedom against heavy odds. The resourcefulness, courage and farsightendness shown by him during the war of independence can hardly be surpassed. Despite his apparently weak physique and advancing age, he works most of the day and much of the night to build the completely shattered economy of his war-torn country and make his long exploited people prosperous.

Under the Constitution adopted on Novembed 8, 1946 by the National Constituent Assembly, the legislative powers in the Democratic Republic of Vietnam are vested in a Parliament elected every three years by universal adult franchise. The Parliament elects the President and the Vice-President. The executive powers are exercised by the Council of Ministers appointed by the President.

North Vietnam is predominantly an agricultural country. Rice is the chief crop and staple diet of the people. The Red River basin in Tonkin is the richest rice-bowl in the world. Maize, oilseeds, coffee, rubber, cotton and sugarcane are also produced. Rich deposits of coal, tin, zinc and iron, etc., found in the upper Tonkin are helping in the industrial development of the country. Dense forests in the mountainous regions abound in woods of great commercial values such as iron-woods, ebony and sandal-wood. Its palm-fringed coastline and a chain of rivers provide fishing industry. Although the river transport still constitutes the most important means of communication in Vietnam, its towns are also linked up with roads or railways.

Situated on the bank of Red River, Hanoi, the fastly expanding capital of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, is divided into the Old and New Quarters. In the Old Quarters the goldsmiths and the potters, the ivory-carvers and the silk-merchants, the medicine-mixers and the lacquer-makers, etc., give the names of their professions to the narrow streets along which their forefathers had set up their shops while the New Quarters have broad roads and avenues flanked by European-style



Heavy rains in Vietnam occasionally inundate the village lanes necessitating the plying of boats



Happy Full-Moon Festival



Vietnam's popular Hat Dance



[illegible] of Alan-cuc tribe in their colourful costume

buildings and decent shops, comfortable hotels and neat and clean restaurants, business mansions and industrial concerns. The picturesque features of the capital are its numerous lakes and well-laid parks, its Great Pagoda with a colossal bronze statue of Lord Buddha and an enormous citadel built a century ago by the French and the Museum containing the relics of Hindu, Malay, Chinese Civilizations unearthed in this land of rich racial heritage. Hard-working and skilful, the artisans of Hanoi are famous for carving, inlaying of mother-of-pearl on ebony, lacquer and other ornamental handicrafts.

Haiphong is the country's commercial centre and main seaport. It has a fine harbour with ship-building yards and extensive repair-shops. Cotton and paper mills, soap and cement factories, tanneries and canneries employ bulk of the population of this thriving city.



President Ho Chi Minh and Prime Minister Nehru

Though in Vietnam, the Chinese influences have won a dominant place, Indo-China as a whole and as its very name suggests, is a mosaic of Indo-Chinese cultures. Almost three-fourths of the Vietnamese are the descendants of the Thais who had their organised Kingdoms in Southern China. They were forced to migrate southward in the 13th Century under the persistent pressure and sweep of Kublai Khan's armies. Man-tiu, Man-Coc and some other tribes of ancient origin constitute the rest of the population.

A short or long coat, *pyjama* or *dhoti* with an umbrella-like hat or turban form men's common outfit throughout Vietnam. In the plains the women generally wear long jumpers and *pyjamas* (closely resembling those worn by the women of Punjab) with conic-palm-hats but in the hilly regions the costumes of the women vary from place to place. A woman of Man-tien tribe oils her hair and wears a high, elaborate head-dress, well-polished jewellery and fashionable skirt-flare whereas a Man-Coc beauty prefers embroidered trousers, bright red pompons on her blouse and a multi-coloured turban. A sailor collar, short skirt and wide hat (which is built up of layer after layer of braid until it stands out, pancake flat, around the head) constitute the costume of a Meo girl. But all three have a fancy for silver neck rings.

Thrifty and industrious, a Vietnamese woman is a real partner in her husband's life. She works not only at home but also toils in the paddy-fields and does other outdoor work to supplement her husband's income.

Marriage in Vietnam is solemnized in a simple and unostentatious way. When there is a union of hearts, the boy accompanied by his parents repairs to the girl's house with some gifts. If the parents of the prospective bride also agree to the proposal, the marriage ceremony is performed by the Buddhist monks on some auspicious day. Yet in contrast with this simplicity—observed in matrimonial matters—the funeral ceremony in the country is a very expensive affair because the Vietnamese show great honour to the dead. Elaborate preparations are made on the cremation day. The funeral rites start with a grand feast. Then the funeral procession sets out amid scenes of great pomp and pageantry. The dead body is carried in a well-decorated and gaily-coloured catafalque with music playing all the way. The special mourners in snow-white costume and priests in colourful robes walk at the head of the procession. The relatives and the friends of the dead remain behind the catafalque.

Vietnam's long and eventful history has greatly influenced the development of her literature. After the break up of the State of Auhac which was founded in the year 275 B.C. in what is now Northern Vietnam, the country passed into the hands of the Chinese feudal lords. Their tyranny and oppression frequently roused the peasants to take up arms against them. And as the Vietnamese literature is deeply rooted in the folklore, songs, legends and poems which are essentially of peasant origin, it reflects the sufferings of the people and their anguish, anger and hope. Besides, it also portrays the life, customs and thoughts of the masses.

Until the beginning of this century when the Vietnamese writers devised a national alphabet known as 'Nom', the Vietnamese language was written in Chinese character. During the 18th and 19th Centuries the Vietnamese literary language began to take a definite shape and it was during this period that country's great classical works appeared. The classical literature rapidly developed with the introduction of Nom.

Nguyen Du, Phan Boichan, Phan Chu Triuh, Han Thuyen, (Mrs.) Doan Thi Diem, (Mrs.) Ho Zuan Huong are among the outstanding poets, poetesses and litterateurs of Vietnam.

Indo-Vietnamese links date from the beginning of the Christian era. By the end of the second century B.C., the Indian migrants had established their colonies in Southern Thailand, Cambodia and Cochin-China. Gradually their culture flowed into other parts of the South-East Asia including North Vietnam. To-day Indian influence may be seen in the Vietnamese religion and philosophy, arts and architecture.

With the advent of the Western powers in Asia, the cultural intercourse between India and the South-East Asian countries came to an abrupt end. Yet it is significant that all through her struggle for independence, India has been mindful of the interests of her suffering neighbours. As soon as India stepped into the realm of freedom, she redoubled her efforts to co-operate and stand by her Asian neighbours. These were in greater evidence during Vietnam's struggle for emancipation from the foreign domination.

President Ho Chi Minh's recent visit to India has strengthened the age-old relations subsisting between the two countries and brought them closer for their cultural growth, economic progress and political stability.

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LINCOLN'S JOURNEY TO GREATNESS

By PHILIP VAN DOREN STERN,
Author of *The Life and Writings of Abraham Lincoln*

During the 56 years of his life Abraham Lincoln never travelled farther west than Council Bluffs, Iowa; he visited New England twice, and twice went down the Mississippi River to New Orleans by flatboat. Except for a year and a half in Washington as Congressman, he spent most of the time before he became President in three states: Kentucky, where he was born; Indiana, where he grew up; and Illinois, where he settled in 1830. The area associated with him in those States is so compact that it can easily be covered in one day by automobile. Modern highways now go all the way, but in Lincoln's time there were few roads and even those were bad.

The route Lincoln travelled to greatness begins near Hodgenville, Kentucky, where he was born. There his father had bought a farm of nearly 350 acres of hilly, semi-wild land. On it was an unfailing spring in a small limestone cave. On the hill above this, Thomas Lincoln built the simple one-room cabin in which his son was born. A huge oak tree, used even then as a boundary marker, grew nearby. The young child must have noticed its massive bulk towering against the sky. It still flourishes, the only living thing in all that wilderness area associated with the infant Lincoln.

Today the U.S. Department of the Interior has established a national park on the Lin-

coln birth-place farm. Well-tended lawns replace rough fields, and an imposing granite memorial stands on the hill where Thomas Lincoln's cabin once stood. A broad flight of stone stairs leads up to the memorial which houses a little cabin made of squared logs. Despite tradition attaching to it, this is not the building, in which the future President came into the world. The cabin, slightly smaller than the original, measures 13 by 17 feet.



Abraham Lincoln
(1809-1865)

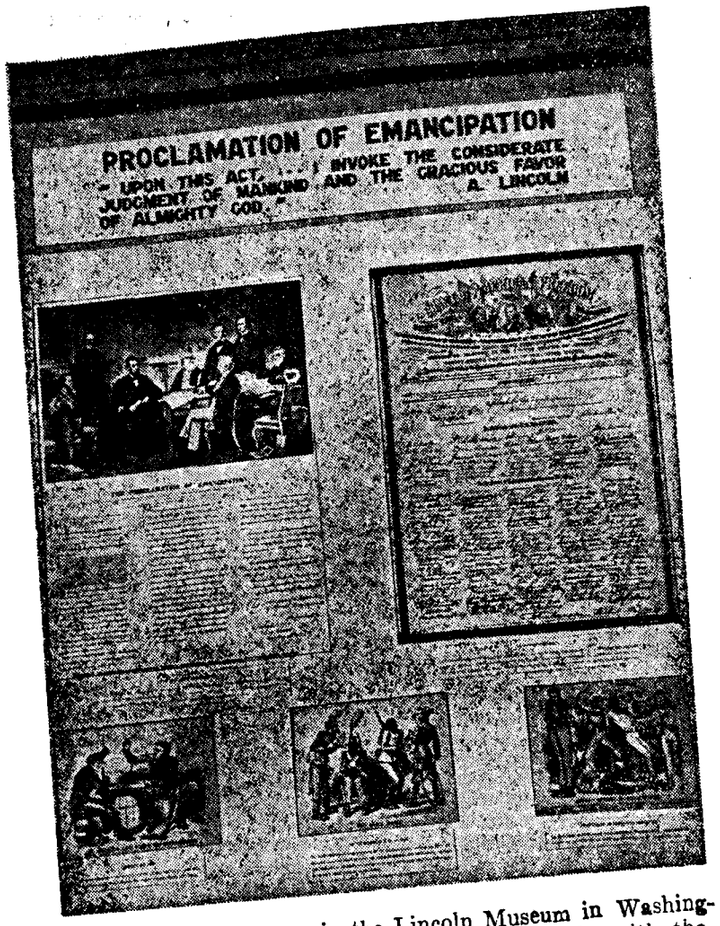
When the child was two years old, his father built a similar cabin on a farm about 10 miles away. Here, on the banks of a small mountain stream called Knob Creek, little Abraham spent his early boyhood. Here he and his sister walked two miles to a one-room log school-house in which the pupils recited their lessons out loud. No trace of home or school remains, but the cabin of one of his boyhood friends and school mates, Austin Gollaher has been placed on the site of the second Lincoln dwelling place. Nearby is a pool where this friend once saved the young Lincoln from drowning.

When their son was seven years old the Lincolns moved to Indiana. There they settled in the midst of a great forest where they first lived in a "half-faced camp." This was a roughly built, three-sided shelter with the open face kept heated by a huge wood-fire which had to be kept going day and night. Then Thomas Lincoln constructed a sturdy log cabin. His son, helping him and growing up in the forest, became an expert axeman. Because of his skill, he later became famous as "the Rail-Splitter Candidate."

The Lincoln cabin had a fireplace made of rough stones. This, and the four ground sills, which formed the foundation of the cabin, have been reproduced in enduring bronze on the original site. Most of this part of Indiana has long ago been cleared, so that open farm fields replace the once-endless stretches of virgin forest. But the acres which Thomas Lincoln owned have been allowed to remain as woodland. The cabin site is in a lonely, tree-shadowed spot; on a slope above it is the grave of Lincoln's mother who died in 1818 and was buried in the silent forest. Near the public road is a park with a large white stone memorial building decorated with bas-reliefs portraying the life of the Lincoln family as it migrated westward.

In 1828, Lincoln saw his first large city when he helped to take a flatboat down the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers to New Orleans. He and his friends drifted leisurely downstream, passing pleasant river towns that were later to become cities. When he arrived in New Orleans, Lincoln witnessed a spectacle that has now vanished from the world. As many as 1,500 flatboats could be seen in the harbour there. River steamers came and went, and ocean-going ships departed daily for Liverpool or Havre. And in this city of nearly 50,000 people, where more of the inhabitants spoke French than English, and half the population was black, slaves were sold in the public market.

Today New Orleans preserves some of the quaint, old-world charm it had when Lincoln visited it more than a century ago. Stucco buildings with iron-lattiecd balconies line the narrow streets of the French quarter. But the rest of the modern city is very much like any other American community of its size. Most of the shipping is gone from the port. Passenger steamers on the Mississippi are hardly ever seen, and only cargo ships and heavy freight barges lie alongside the once-bustling wharves.



One of the exhibit cases in the Lincoln Museum in Washington contains various documents connected with the Emancipation Proclamation

Soon after Lincoln returned to his family, they decided to move to Illinois. They went by wagon across the level prairies where there then were no roads. They settled on a farm near Decatur, where they survived a bitter winter in which the snow piled up in drifts 15 feet high. When spring came, Lincoln left to take another flatboat to New Orleans. On the way down the Sangamon River, the boat had to be taken over a mill dam that had just been built at a recently-established town named New Salem. That was Lincoln's first glimpse of the pioneer village in Illinois in which he was to spend the next six years, for he settled there after returning from this second trip to New Orleans.

New Salem was located on a tree-covered ridge overlooking the river. Here a saw and grist mill had been built; log cabins, which served as houses, stores, and workshops stood on the crest of the ridge to make a tiny community that was almost entirely self-sustained. The village people practised the essential handicraft arts and trades which they and their ancestors had developed over many centuries in similar small towns farther east in America and in Europe.

In 1837 Lincoln moved to nearby Springfield, which had just been made the Illinois State capital. Most of the other towns-people left New Salem about the same time. The village soon decayed, and in 10 years the once-thriving community reverted to overgrown wilderness. The place remained deserted until 1918 when the state acquired it. The actual work of restoring the village to the condition it was in Lincoln's time began in 1932. Today the town that played an important part in Abraham Lincoln's career is so perfect a *replica* of the original village that hundreds of thousands of visitors who come there each year can see just how the young Lincoln and his neighbors lived.

The mill on the river-bank has been rebuilt; so has a wool-carding factory in the center of the town. Even the complicated circular trademill by which a slowly moving ox-supplied motive power to operate the carding machine has been reconstructed. So have the general stores in which the future President once worked. The cooper shop is the only building that stood there in Lincoln's time, but all the other structures have been reproduced so accurately that New Salem today looks just as it did 150 years ago.

Springfield, Lincoln's next home, was hardly more than a village in 1837. Work was started on the new State House then, and teams of 10 or 12 oxen began dragging great blocks of cut stone to the central square that was to be the focus of Lincoln's career for the next 23 years. During those years he saw the prairie village grow into a thriving state capital. New streets were laid out on which new houses were built, and the horse-drawn stage coach was soon replaced by rail-roads, while telegraph lines were built to tie once widely separated communities together.

Lincoln married Mary Todd in 1842; two years later they moved into a substantial frame house which still stands near the center of Springfield. This well-preserved home, furnished in the style of the period, shows how the family lived. The spacious, comfortable, but unpretentious house was well suited to their needs. Lincoln could walk in there today and feel that everything is just as it was when he left this pleasant house to journey to Washington as President-elect nearly one hundred years ago.

On a rainy morning in February, 1861 he went from this house to the Great Western station to get on the train that was to take him east. There he made his farewell speech to his friends and neighbors. He was never to see Springfield again.

The small brick rail-road station still stands on a side street. It is no longer used for passengers, but a bronze tablet in front of it reproduces the text of the words Lincoln spoke that morning. Around it the small town he knew has grown into a modern city of 100,000 people. The square where Lincoln had several successive law offices has been changed completely by high buildings erected there since, but the old State House—except for an added storey—remains much as he knew it. In that building he made some of the speeches which, in turn, made him President.

Some of the court houses of the old Eighth Judicial Circuit still stand in the small towns around Springfield. In them one can see the actual trial rooms in which Lincoln pleaded for his clients. In them he and his colleagues were helping to shape American jurisprudence while the law of the new nation slowly evolved.

In Washington only a few of the landmarks associated with Lincoln remain, for the semi-provincial little city that was the capital of the United States during his administration has undergone vast changes in recent years. But these landmarks are important ones. The White House, where the Lincoln family lived, underwent extensive renovations in 1948-52, when the sagging interior of the historic old building had to be completely reconstructed inside the original sandstone walls. But the Lincoln bed-room on the second floor, with its extra-large bed used by the very tall President, has been furnished in the style of his day.

And the Capitol of the United States, where Lincoln served as Congressman and as President, is almost exactly as it was in his time. Its vast dome was completed during his administration, and the finishing touches on the exterior of the Senate and House wings were being made at the time of his death. In front of this world-famous building, Lincoln was twice inaugurated, and to it he often came to sign bills or address Congress. And in the rotunda under the great dome, his body lay in State in April 1865, after he had been assassinated in Ford's Theatre. The theatre itself has been made into a museum, showing Lincoln's career from his birth-place to the Presidency. Across the street is the little red-brick boarding-house where the mortally wounded man died. To this unimpressive looking house the dying man was brought, and here the leaders of the nation gathered in a narrow hall-bedroom on that fatal night.

The dead President's body was taken by train to Springfield for burial. From Chicago the train steamed south-ward through the country Lincoln had known so well. All along the way, day and night, vast throngs lined the tracks to see the heavily-draped funeral car pass. The tolling bell of the engine could be heard far across the prairie, and its long plume of black smoke drifted out over the plowed land where tender green corn shoots were springing from the dark, rich soil. When the train arrived in Springfield, the streets were crowded with people who had known Lincoln all their lives.

They buried him on top of a ridge north of the town. There, under the tall shaft of a sculptured monument, his body still lies. And every year hundreds of thousands of people go out of their way to visit the grave of this man who rose from humble circumstances to become America's best-loved President.

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SOME ASPECTS OF LAUGHTER

By Dr. SUDHIR NANDI

The comic stands between life and art. It does not partake wholly of either's nature. Its appeal is always to the intelligence. Our emotions are shut up in a dark corner of our heart when we prefer to laugh. If we feel one with him at whose cost we laugh, our laughter is immediately dried up. To be more precise, 'insensibility' in the spectator is one of the major factors which determines a comic situation. We cannot laugh at a person for whom we have some sort of a sympathetic feeling. Indifference on the part of the spectator provides the right sort of atmosphere that a comic situation demands. There should be a temporary anesthesia of the heart. We must look upon life as a disinterested spectator. Our interests must not be involved in any way with the object of laughter. For example, if my brother in his unnecessary haste stumbles down against a stone, I shall run to help him for I have every sympathy with him; rather I am interested in him deeply. This deep fellow-feeling does not allow me to stand aside and laugh, while a man on the street can easily enjoy the situation.

Another condition of laughter is a group, a social life. Laughter has its meaning only in reference to a society. Man is not an isolated being. He "sucks at the breast of universal Ethos." That is why Bergson emphasises the need for a social life in his famous book, *Essay on Laughter*. We can hardly appreciate the comic if we feel ourselves isolated from others like Alexander Selkirk in the lonely island. To quote Bergson: "Our laughter is always the laughter of a group." Moreover laughter is a social corrective. It has for its mission the purgation of the society and the individual of their rigidness, of their mechanical behaviours and responses. So if we do not insist on a social life for the comic situation to thrive, we miss the true implication of what laughter is for. Comic art has some interest in life. That is where it stands apart from genuine art. True art, according to Kant, is disinterested and comic art has for its function snubbing, if not correction. It is a form of social ragging. In this connection, let us point out another point of difference between genuine art and comic art. Art aims at what is individual whereas in comic art it is in the work itself that the generality lies. Comic art aims at

placing types before us; sometimes it creates new types. Thus, the immortal Falstaff of Shakespeare is a type and it does not stand for any unique individual. On the other hand, true art deals directly with unique individuality. The fleeting vision of the artist stands eternally on the canvas as an object of enjoyment. The creative mind of the artist carves the 'thing of beauty' out of his fleeting moments of experience and it stands as a source of 'joy for ever.' The 'Sistine Madonna of Raphael' or the 'Round Madonna' of Botticelli does not represent any class. They are unique individuals and through them we have a moment's glance at reality. The individual is transformed and transmuted as a symbol of the Real in the eye of a true appreciator. The creator and the appreciator are on the same plane of aesthetic experience. That is why Benedetto Croce makes no difference between them. To have a real appreciation of Tagore, one must be as great a genius as Tagore is.

Automatism or mechanism in human behaviour is another important factor which contributes largely towards developing a comic situation. Inelasticity or lack of adaptability in human behaviour causes irritation among the spectators. Society as a whole abhors such mechanical rigidity. He who withdraws into himself commits himself to a position which gives rise to a sense of the comical. If we are out of keeping with society, society recalls us back with a good thrashing and that social censure is 'laughter'. Inelasticity of behaviour on the part of a man who stumbles on an obstruction makes us laugh. Here the comic is accidental. Society likes that her individual members should get rid of this rigidity of body, mind and character, which makes such accidents possible. What she demands of her members is the 'greatest possible degree of elasticity and sociability'. This rigidity either of the body or of the mind or of the character is the comic and laughter is its corrective.

Due to this lack of elasticity, imitation gives rise to laughter. It is always mechanical. Human gestures and movements, even human attitudes evoke laughter in so far as they are mechanical, *i.e.*, they resemble a machine in their behaviours. Whenever we encrust something mechanical on something living, we have the same comic situation. To imitate means to tread a beaten track. Here we have no freedom. What we do in imitation is to follow a routine rigidly laid down beforehand. To imitate anyone is to display the element of automatism he has allowed to creep into his person. And as this is the very essence of the ludicrous it is no wonder that imitation gives rise to laughter.

Apart from the consideration of comic elements in human character, even if we try to find out the comic element in actions and situations, our analysis will take us to the same old 'mechanical arrangement' which is the father of many a comic situation. 'Repetition,' 'Inversion' and 'Reciprocal interference of series' are the accepted methods of light comedy. All these three aim at the mechanisation of life. Repetition means lack of Freedom. It smacks of a vicious circle wherein we have the same result in similar mechanical arrangements. From every-day life, idiosyncrasies can be taken as illustrations in point. Let us also point out in this connection that each of the characters in Moliere's plays represents a certain Force applied in a certain direction. And it is because these forces, constant in direction, necessarily combine together in the same way that the same situation is reproduced. When we reverse the situation and invert the roles, we have 'Inversion' and it gives us a comic scene. For example, we may imagine a prisoner at the bar lecturing to a trying magistrate on the principles of Ethics. Reciprocal interference of series means that a situation belongs simultaneously to two independent series of events and is capable of double interpretation at the same time. In this connection, let us also point out that the characteristic of a mechanical combination is reversible. When we spend a lot of our energy without any appreciable result and find to our cost that we even now stand there wherefrom we started, the whole situation turns out to be comic. Kant in his last critique points out that laughter is the result of an expectation which of a sudden ends in nothing. This lack of proportion is not the direct cause of laughter. 'A particular mechanical arrangement' in the words of Bergson is its root-cause. In the wake of Kant and Bergson, Herbert Spencer also defines the comic thus: "Laughter is the indication of an effort which suddenly encounters a void."

THE TRIBALS—A PROBLEM

By P. C. ROY CHAUDHURY

The total tribal population of Bihar including a portion of Manbhum which has now integrated to West Bengal is about 40 lakhs. The Hos mainly concentrated in Singhbhum count 350,000; the Mundas in Ranchi, Hazaribagh and in other districts of Chhotanagpur count about 520,000; the Santhals of Santhal Parganas and the contiguous districts are about 1,534,000; the Oraons mainly in Chhotanagpur and in other districts of Bihar count about 638,000. The Oraons and Mundas are found distributed practically all over the State. A large number of these tribals have emigrated to the Tea Estates in Assam and in the South. The Juangs and Godabas of Orissa count 34,315 and 17,032 respectively.

There are three main tribal zones in India—North-Eastern, Central and Southern. The North-Eastern Zone consists of Sub-Himalayan region and the mountain ranges of North India. The Central Zone consists of the plateau and mountain belts between the Indo-Gangetic basin to the north of the river Krishna. The tribals of the Hos, the Mundas, the Santhals and the Oraons of Chhotanagpur and the Juangs and Godabas of Orissa are in this Central Zone. The Southern Zone consists of the Peninsular India south of the river Krishna. Munda, Ho and Santhal languages belong to the Austro-Asiatic linguistic family. Oraon language belongs to the Dravidian family. The economic status of the Hos, Mundas, Santhals and Oraons may briefly be described as settled agriculturists, weavers, poultry keepers, etc. The economic status of the Juangs and the Godabas is still in a primitive stage of hunting, shifting or Jhum cultivation. They have not yet fully been converted to the status of settled agriculturists. The four tribals in Bihar are in more sustained contact with the rural urban groups. The Juangs and Godabas are still in isolation and belong to the food gathering and hunting stage or at best to *Jhum* cultivation, rope making and lumbering.

The Juangs are mostly in Keonjhar and Dhenkanal which were Native States before and are now converted into districts.

The social and economic life of these tribals is almost of one pattern. There is a village headman, a watchman and a spiritual head for the animists. All of them fill up important roles and the chief duty of the priest is the healing first, the tracing of the witches next and the sacrifices last. The witches are detested but dreaded and much of the Adibasi life is associated with the appeasing of the witches or *Bongas*. Their earthly belongings consist of a patch of land, some poultry, a few pigs and horned cattle. The furniture is of the most primitive kind. Food consists of rice, a little vegetable and of course there is the nectar of rice-beer which is a part and parcel of their life. As a rule they are very poor. They believe in a supreme God and for the sub-lunar world there are the witches, male and female. The border line is very hazy. Religious beliefs are closely associated with sacrifices and dance.

The tribals have a lesson for ourselves who take pride in being more civilised. They are less individualistic and much more community-minded than ourselves. They sing, dance, grieve and fight together. One man's problem is the community's worry. They place the women-folk at a much higher pedestal than ourselves. They do not call the women-folk as *devis* but the women have a better position socially and economically.

A tribal woman has her legal rights and conventions. The Hos and the cognate tribes of Munda stock pay a heavy bride price. The Oraons, however, do not pay bride price although Oraon women do not enjoy a lesser status. These tribals take a practical view of marriage and do not hold it to be sacrament or indissoluble in life. Divorce and mutual separation are freely allowed.

For a long time the British Administrator did not understand the tribals. The ignorance led to mis-representation and mis-represent

tion brought forth bitter political fruits. The tribals had revolted at various places in India from time to time. Chhotanagpur, Santhal Parganas and portions of Orissa were particularly involved in tribal insurrections. There was very little of understanding of the psychology behind the tribal raids with bows and arrows. Later the military capacity, energy and fidelity of the tribals were realised and the Britishers tried to tap these resources through humane administrators like Cleveland in Santhal Parganas or Wilkinson in Singhbhum. They gave the tribals new crops and new ideas. A sizeable percentage of the tribals accepted Christianity. They wanted protection from the *Bhuts*, the *Bongas* whom their fathers had tried to appease with sacrifices, from the Mahajans, Zamindars and touts who saw to the frittering away of their small worldly possession.

An attempt was made to utilise them for emigration for tea and other concerns and for enlistment in the army. Thereby a certain economic status was given and that changed the character of the common tribal man. Despised and exploited, they wanted to raise their status and to be the assimilated individual. The converted tribals unfortunately have some tendency to alienate themselves even to the point of detribalisation and thus a gap was created. This gap has to be bridged if the tribals have to be conglomerated. The tribals of Bihar and Orissa, have an aristocracy of their own. According to tradition proper anointation of a king in India could only be done by the tribals. This trait of fidelity was utilised by the Britishers. It is for this that the tribals know no yielding as long as the national drum beats and the whole party would stand and allow themselves to be shot down.

The changes among the tribals of Bihar and Orissa are not exclusive to them but show a pattern common to all the tribals in India. The first feature is an insidious fading away of the tribe to a caste, substitution of the tribal language or dialects into the predominant regional language. Another feature is the disintegration of the social set-up that was the steel-frame. The *Pahans* and *Mahtos* of the Oraons, the *Mankis* and *Mundas* of the Hos, the *Sardars* of the Santhals, the group heads of the Juangs and Godabas have lost their previous status. The traditional institutions like *Dhumkurias* are disintegrated. Tribal laws have been substituted normally by the ordinary Penal Codes. In spite of the many decades that have passed by, the Santhals or the Hos have not been able to understand why they should be deprived from hunting or from doing *Bitlaha* against a man who has outraged his community. The customs and practices may be savage or odious to others but certainly not to their ideas. Even the bacchanalian orgies associated with various rituals have their explanations and the disintegration of the tribal culture is a big problem.

The contribution of the tribal labour has been immense to the building up of India. Many of the railways would not have been built but for them. The tea industry is entirely built up with Adibasi labour from Chhotanagpur and Chhattisgarh. The coal mining population is almost entirely Adibasi. The industries of Chhotanagpur, the jute mills in Calcutta and even urban labour in Calcutta and agricultural labour in rural Bengal depend very much on tribal sources.

Partially due to frustration but more due to a growing self-consciousness, that is only natural because of the impact of education and modernism, there is a revivalism among the Adibasis, a resuscitation of the tribal prestige and a fanning of an incipient nationalism among them. The sensitiveness should be canalised to build a better family of the Indians. The tribal life at the present moment is at a cross-road and there was never a greater need for wiser control with an eye to the future. The little discontent from time to time could be an asset, if properly handled. The labour unrest in tribal India has not upset technical development or impeded production in factories and mines, as it has done elsewhere where industries are put into gear by non-tribal labour. The tribals could play a very great role in the development of India as a whole. An accent to this problem was given by Thakkar Bapa. A forward policy of economic uplift has been taken up for the primitive tribes and if necessary, there is protective legislation against exploitation.

MUSIC

By Prof. PARESH NATH MUKHERJEE, M.A., *Member, Asiatic Society.*

The history of Indian Music has interested all the artists at all periods in many climes. This history is not a mere narration of dry facts, there is a touch of life in it. It is not wrong to say that music is the voice of the soul, and the history of music has its abiding interest and enduring quality. We shall, towards the close of this narration, see that a comparison of Indian music with European music is very helpful for a proper understanding of both.

Music is fundamentally a matter of heart, emotion, and rhythm. Mr. James Brunton says: "Music hath charms to soothe the savage breast." Carlyle observes that "Music is the Prophet's art" and that "Music is the universal language of mankind." Shelley draws attention to its enduring quality in his famous lines: "Music, when soft voices die, vibrates in the memory." Thus, it has a prophetic quality, an emotional and rhythmical appeal. It has a language peculiarly its own. It gives sweetness and charm to life.

The history of Indian Music goes back to immemorial antiquity. Handed down from the *Rishis*, Indian music has ever since maintained its high and glorious tradition. Prof. Keith is of opinion that Rig-Vedic music too "had advanced beyond the primitive state." Siva was the original dancer unfolding his cosmic dance, and Brahma was the *Adi-Kavi*, the first musician and poet, unfolding his divine music before mankind. In the Rig-Veda wind-instruments such as 'Vina', string-instruments and drums such as 'Dundhavi' were highly developed. Music, according to the *Vedas*, had many functions, *viz.*, to terrify the foe, celebrate social functions, organise battles adoration of Nature, worship and recreation. M. Henri Martin, a celebrated and well-informed art critic and an admirer of Oriental Art in his *L'art Indien et L'art Chinois* describing a dancing figure of Siva remarks, *Cette figure s'explique de la facson suivante: avec le tambour qu'il tient de la main droite, Civa reveille la nature inerte qu'il detruira per le feu*"[1]. It means, "This figure is explained in the following manner: with the Tambur that He holds in his right hand Siva rouses to life inert nature that He shall destroy with the Fire." Thus, rousing 'inert nature' to life was according to Mr. Henri Martin another function of Indian music. Music influenced every walk of life. Its importance was enormous. In the Rig-Veda we read of seven women singing in praise of Som when squeezing the juice of the plant with their fingers. The Samans were divine songs set to music. The Gathas were songs in verse. Riju Gatha meant singing correctly. Gathin was the singer. Aitareya Brahmana distinguishes between Re and Gatha as divine and human (secular) music respectively. Danastutis were sung in praise of kings and nobles on receiving gifts from them.

In the epics we read of the Hall of Music which suggests its great popularity. Megasthenes says that "all the Indians were free and not one of them was a slave." It is certain that this freedom was the keynote of this development. From now on two different traditions, the Northern and the Southern, began to develop.

During the reign of Vikramaditya theatres were well-organised. Dramas became a regular feature. Samudragupta claims to be 'Kaviraja' in his Allahabad Pillar Inscription. The great variety of musical instruments in the sculptures of this period, such as flutes, conchshells, harps, 'vinas', 'mridangas'; 'dundhavis' and so on prove the great popularity and widespread character of music.

Jayadeva's *Gita-Govinda* (twelfth century) is a classic example of immortal music. *Rajatarangini* (1182?) tells us that there were 16,000 Ragas, of which only 36 were well-known at that time. Vidyapati has been put in the fourteenth century by Raja Sir S. M. Tagore in his *Universal History of Music*. Capt. Willards in his *A Treatise on the Music of Hindusthan* writes that the Muslim invasions completely destroyed music. But this view is difficult to accept, for although Hindu music undoubtedly suffered, Muslim music flourished and made valuable contributions to the development of Indian music. Amir Khusrau during the reign of Alauddin Khilji invented 'Zilaph', 'Sazgiri', and 'Sarparda' Ragas. Pandit Sarangdev's *Sangit Ratnakara* in the thirteenth century is worthy of note. Another noteworthy

1. *L'art Indien et L'art Chinois* by Henri Martin, p. 27.

work was Pandit Ram Amatya's *Svar-Mela-Kala-Nidhi* composed in 1610 A.D.

In Akbar's days Dhrupad style was started by Raja Man Singh in Gwalior. Raja Vikramajit was the patron of Bakshu Nayak. Tansen is only too well-known to need mention. Islam Shah of Gujarat was the patron of Ramdas and Mahapatar. In the court of Raja Man of Gwallior there gathered together the following artists: Jurjoo, Bhagwan, Dhondee, and Daloo. *Raga-Darpan* (The Mirror of Ragas) compiled by orders of Raja Man of Gwallior is a science of music. *Ain-i-Akbari* gives the names of 36 principal court musicians of which not more than five were Hindus. Haridas Swami, the musician and saint of Brindavan was the Guru of Tansen (Tanna Mishra). At this period, Mira Bai, the queen-consort of Udaipur, sacrificed everything for Divine Love which she expressed through music mainly. Tulsidas flourished at this time. During this period, Pandit Pundarika Karnataki, the court poet of Faruqis of Khandesh composed four treatises on music: *Sad-raga Chandrodaya, Raga Mala, Raga-Manjari,* and *Nartana Nirnaya*. Burhan Khan was his patron.

In Jahangir's time Jehangirdad, Chatarkhan, Parwizdad, Khurramdad, Makhu and Hamzan were the famous musicians. Tulsidas died during his reign. *Sangit Darpan* by Pandit Damodar, the son of Lakshmi Dhara, composed in 1625, was a work of great value. It is highly praised by Sir William Wilson in his *The Musical Modes of the Hindus*.

In Shah Jahan's time *Sangit Parijata* was written by Pandit Ahobala, the son of Shirikshana. The principal court musicians were Jagannath (on whom was conferred the title of Kavi-raja), Dirang Khan, and Lal Khan (bearing the title of Guna Samudra). The first two were weighed in silver and given Rs. 4,500|- each.

Aurangzeb, the puritan, stamped out music with all other fine arts. For a century, from 1658 to 1757, with the general and political disintegration of the period music and art declined.

The British rule brought new changes. They never settled in this country like the Muslims, and at first looked at Indian culture with indifference if not with positive hostility. In the nineteenth century Krishnadhan Banerji of Cooch Behar wrote 100 Dhrupad and Kheyals in European notations. He was successful in his experiment. In 1916 the late illustrious musician V. N. Bhatkhande's famous address at the All-India Music Conference at Baroda marks the beginning of a new era. With it began, I think, the revival of music in modern times.

This is very briefly an attempt at a sketch of the history of five thousand years of Indian music. Let us now see what light it throws.

Of the three *margas*—Gyan, Karma and Bhakti—indicated by our philosophy, although our music utilises all these paths it has mainly followed the Bhakti-marga. It is interesting to note that the saints of the Bhakti school were all musicians. Kavir, Tulsidas, Ramdas, and Surdas are all very well-known. Mahaprabhu Chaitanya introduced Kirtan as a mode of *sadhana*.

Mr. K. M. Panikkar points out that the music was degraded in the Muslim Courts by the dancing girls of ill-repute.[2] There is another reason for this decline. No creative art can progress on right lines if it has to cater to the orders of princes. But even then the progress was not unworthy of a great people.

Music in India is considered to be divine. It originates from Brahma, the Adikavi. It nourishes the three-fold Hindu ideals—*Satyam, Sivam, Sundaram*. The musician is the apostle with a divine mission. His life is a life of Tapasya. Truely the Upanisadas have said: *Tapasa prapyate satyam* (Through Tapasya truth has to be attained)[3]. Our most widely used religious book *Gita* is the supreme instance of divine music (*Gita* is derived from *Geeta*, which means music).

Indian art is a synthesis, which is manifest in Indian music. In Indian art all antithesis of subject and object—spirit and matter, light and darkness, unity and diversity, life and death which constitute the rhythmic nature of the universe—are resolved. The synthesis of art is far more real than any political synthesis can ever be. Every individual ego (Jivatman) after completing his cycle (Gati), must lose himself in Paramatman or

2. *A Survey of Indian History*, by Mr K. M. Panikkar, p. 217.

3. *Maitri*

Brahman. In a similar manner every Tal after completing its course must lose itself in the Sur. In each case the direction is towards a higher unity. The musician in Ancient India was not really professional, he was a Yogi. "The mind being in repose becomes the mirror of the Universe".[4] Thus music, like all other branches of Indian art, is rooted in *yoga*, which means 'union', from which proceeds all unity.

But at present with changed circumstances, there is the danger of vulgarisation not only of music but of all arts. The commercial age has its own requirements and standards. This danger is not only true in the case of India but of Europe as well. Thus, even long before modern times, "in adopting Greek music the Romans vulgarised it."[5] This danger is all the greater in the modern commercial age. It is therefore necessary that our artists should be conscious of the lofty origin and mission of our music, and make every conscious effort to check this tendency by all means.

A characteristic and very encouraging feature is that although music is intimately connected with emotion (Bhakti) it is not opposed to reason. At least in European history, the eighteenth century, the age of reason, produced a galaxy of rare musicians. Alessandro Scarlati (1659-1725) was the author of 115 operas, of 700 cantatas, and 200 psalms.[6] He organised mainly the school of Opera at Naples. Handel (1685-1759) was another worthy name. Bach (1685-1750) was another. Jean Philippe Rameau (1683-1764) studied up to the age of 40 years the abstract science of harmony. His *Treatise on Harmony* appeared in 1722 "and created sensation in the musical world".[7] He laid great stress on the rigidity of notations with almost mathematical precision so that Voltaire called him "Our choral Euclid." Gluck (1714-1787) composed music for the Austrian court. Beethoven (1770-1827.) was mainly responsible for the inauguration of the Romantic Age in music. His Heroic Symphony dedicated to the First Consul appeared in 1804. As he received many shocks, particularly towards the close of his life, he became somwhat of a misanthrope. But even then the musician's broadmindedness did not completely depart. "He has no more faith in men, but he has faith in humanity"[8]. So the age of reason was not lacking in music nor in musicians. This is very encouraging.

Recently, in an important conference in October, 1955, in Germany, over 900 musicians from different parts of the world met together. Professor Messerschmidt "dilated upon the pernicious contrast on the one hand of life's positive 'objective powers', such as technique, labour, industry, objectivity, standardisation, and precision of purpose in life, and on the other hand of the cultivation and development of the emotional mental powers regarding music-teaching in the school."[9] Why in schools only? It is true everywhere.

Thus the problems facing us are very difficult ones. But we need not lose heart. It is necessary for us to understand the problems so that we may face them boldly. If the modern commercial age and materialistic world be dull, oppressive and uninspriring, there is all the more necessity of music. The history of Indian music reveals a great tradition and a great unity. It has not only survived in the past five thousand years of our history through many challenges, but has actually grown richer by adaptation to changed circumstances. It surely has the capacity to face the new challenges and requirements of the new age*

4. *The Dance of Shiva* by A. K. Coomaraswamy, Ch. I.

5. *Histoire de la Musique*, by B. Champigneulle, p. 8. *En adoptant la musique des Grecs, les Romains la vulgariserent.*

6. *Histoire de la Musique* by B. Champigneulle, p. 55.

7. *Ibid*, p. 64: *Et fait sensation dans le* [illegible] *musical*

8. *Ibid*, p. 86: *Il n'a plus foi dans les hommes, mais il a foi dans l'humanite.*

9. Speech quoted in *Geist und Tat*, (December 1955, page 364). "Prof. Messerschmidt (Calw) *ging auf den unheilvollen Gegensatz ein, der sich in der lebensbestimmenden 'Objectiven Machten', wie Technik, Arbeit, Industrie, Versachlichung, Normierung, Zweckbestimmtheit des Daseins einerseits und der auf die Pflege und Entwicklung der emotionalen und Gemutskrafte bedachten musischen Erziehung der Schule anderseits auftut.*

*Text of a speech delivered at DAV College, Dehradun Music Association, Professor M. K. Kapoor, Head of the Department of Music, presiding.

TO KEATS

By KALIDAS ROY

The mother gave you the consumption fell,
To penury chill the father threw;
Shelley blest and drew you near,
Gave Hunt his friendship true.
On your slim hand did Fanny lay
Her heart full of love,
Chapman poured the nectar sweet
In Homer's golden cup.

Severn served you in ailing nights,
Lamb with praise sincere,
Your Land of birth did gravely hurt you
With coldness and the sneer.
Came Lockhart up with many a shaft
To dart at you, I hear;
The Review Quarterly attacked bitterly
With deadly sting, O dear!

Greece unlocked her coffer of love,
Offer'd Rome the last bed soft;
A matchless gift of poetic flame
On you bestowed the gods aloft.
With it alas! on you was giv'n
A span of life too short,
Like rainbow beams of autumn cloud
Of fading, fleeting sort!

A vision noble Nature gave you
To Truth and Beauty pursue,
You 'loaded every rift with ore,'
And never stopp'd to woe.
Eternity took you on her golden boat
To Beauty and Joy's own shore,
Where nightingales sing in eternal spring
On th' wings of Poesy poet's soar.

A bard am I of Bengal, friend!
Name and fame have I none,
Yet am I a kin of yours,
O, brother woe-begone,
Your debt I own with a grateful heart,
Prince of our poetic race!
I salute you a hundred times
Master, thro' time and space.

Translated from Bengali by
Umanath Bhattacharya.

VISNUPRIYA, HOLY CONSORT OF LORD GAURANGA*

By Dr. JATINDRA BIMAL CHAUDHURI,

Visnupriya represents the sum-total of all good—past, present and future. She is the Eternal Energy, the Adya Shakti of our *Shastras,* and the Mother of the universe, Visvajanani, who is responsible for the creation, maintenance and destruction of all objects and beings all around.

Kavi Karnapura in his immortal work *Chaitanya-Candrodaya* has rightly remarked that Visnupriya was the embodiment of devotion for the emancipation of all in this Iron age; in other words, it was she who represented the epitome of the sublime teachings of Mahaprabhu himself—and who would rescue the whole world from all chaos and disorder through his beneficial preachings which all beings were bound to follow.

It is due to her that the Gaudiya Vaisnavas have been able to reach their destined goal so beautifully pointed out by Mahaprabhu himself—never-ending love, the eternal ocean of divine nectar from whose banks nobody can return without the heart's desire fulfilled.

Throughout her whole life Visnupriya stood up for her children in weal as well as woe; never allowed any dissensions in her own fold; burnt the incense of her mortal coil for long 94 years knowing no comforts in life, absolutely dedicated to the cause her beloved husband stood for, constantly merged in prayers and uttering the name of Hari, Sri Krishna Chaitanya, and cooking—if at all—for the *prasad* of her devotee-children, never for self. That is why the *Bhakti-ratnakar* has rightly cried out: *'Keo na janaye kena rakhaye jivan*—nobody knows why she keeps her body and soul together'—never caring for a morsel of food or any other object of delight or human comfort.

There are five distinct periods in the life of Sri Visnupriya: (1) Visnupriya with her parents, from birth till her marriage at the age of twelve only; (2) with mother Sachi till Mahaprabhu took to monk life (only 2½ years); (3) in the service of her mother-in-law till the latter's *mahatirodhana*; (4) almost all alone throughout day and night—leading a life of very austere penances, unprecedented in the history of asceticism, particularly after the Mahatirodhana of Lord Gauranga; (5) Visnupriya the builder of Gaudiya Vaisnav Samaj introducing the worship of Lord Gauranga and constructing a place of worship for the Mahaprabhu now known as the Mahaprabhu Mandir in Navadwip; inspiring Srinivasa Prabhu to a divine life for the perpetual well-being of Gaudiya Vaisnav Samaj and imparting instructions to the leading Mothers of the country headed by Sita Devi, Jahnavi Devi, Vasudha Devi and others and so forth. She lived long to see that there were no internal dissensions amongst her children, that the religion so magneficently preached by Lord Sri Gauranga was deeply rooted in the divine soil of human hearts, that all demoniac tendencies were extirpated and divinity bloomed forth luxuriantly all over the world. Here is a universal religion knowing no barriers of caste and creed, time or clime—that is All Grace embracing all and sundry, serving all even without their knowledge. For, in this incarnation, Gaura Mahaprabhu was determined to shower his blessings and mercy upon all without being asked—this time he was the apostle of *Karuna* or Mercy in the truest sense of the term and his holy consort, with her motherly heart even softer paved the way to the real goal for all—Sri Krishna-Prema through *Bhakti* or Devotion *par excellence.*

Visnupriya's life is a sealed *Veda*; even when unsealed, it reads almost archaic. But those few who have drunk deep, or will do so at the fountain-head of her merciful human existence can never and will never forget her even for a moment but constantly pray to her for being so merciful as to make her motherly self intelligible to a larger number of devotees at least for the eternal good of the universe.

Our *sastanga pranams* to Mother Visnupriya today, on her 464th birthday, the Holy Sri Panchami Day when She, the Mother of the universe, will be worshipped throughout the country and overseas as Laksmi or Saraswati or both. As "Priya" or the Beloved of Lord Visnu, she naturally represents both which she virtually is, as the word "Sri" so appropriately and beautifully denotes.

* Gist of the lecture delivered at the *Prachyavani,* on the 464th Birth Anniversary of Sri Visnupriya.

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 acknowleged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

EDITOR, *The Modern Review*

ENGLISH

THE HISTORY OF THE GURJARA-PRATIHARAS: *By Baij Nath Puri. Published by Hind Kitabs Ltd. Bombay, 1957. Pp. 176. Price. Rs. 20.00.*

Because of the long and distinguished part played on the stage of ancient Indian history in the period immediately preceding the great Turkish invasions of the 10th and following centuries by the Imperial Pratiharas of Kanauj, and not less because of the insufficient data available on these points, the problems relating to the rise of the parent stock of the Gurjaras and the vicissitudes of its various ruling houses have formed the subject of endless discussion among scholars for more than half a century past. In this scholarly monograph the author has presented a comprehensive survey of the whole subject based upon an exhaustive and critical study of the original and secondary sources, and he has deserved the gratitude of his readers by reason of the good arrangement of his material as well as the lucid presentation of his arguments and conclusions. It seems reasonable to expect no further advance to our knowledge of the subject until the archaeologists come to our aid by means of the excavation of Kanauj and other ancient sites.

The work consists of two parts. Part I (strangely enough, not mentioned as such anywhere by the author) deals with the origin of the Gurjaras (who were held for long somewhat fantastically to have been a foreign tribe allied to the Hunas) and the political history of their ruling houses (especially of the Imperial Pratiharas of Kanauj) and their system of administration. Part II entitled "Cultural History" deals in successive chapters with the social life as well as the economic and religious condition of the people under the rule of the Imperial Pratiharas. The volume is enriched with three appendices giving a list of Pratihara inscriptions of Kanauj, another list of relevant inscriptions of contemporary and later dynasties, a note on Pratihara coinage and a list of the Pratihara monuments. There is also a select bibliography as well as a good index of names. Another valuable feature consists of two maps, one of Western India at the period of Arab invasions in the 8th century, and the other of the Pratihara empire at the height of its power. Professor T. Burrow, the supervisor of the author's work for his Doctorate thesis at the Oxford University, contributes an appreciative Foreword.

Without detracting from the high merits of this work we may offer a few remarks. In the chapter on the origin of the Gurjaras some reference ought to have been made to the available anthropometric measurements of their present descendants, the Gujars and allied tribes. In the chapter on administration mention should have been made of the significance of the epigraphic references to the clan-chiefs' estates (as illustrating the beginnings of the Rajput type of clan monarchies) as well as to the various fiscal terms (as indicating the terms of royal assignments of land to officials and the current methods of assessment and payment of the land-revenue). These points, it may be stated in passing, have been sought to be treated by the present reviewer in his work *The Agrarian System of Ancient India* (pp. 53-56). The chapter on social life should have contained some notice of the current theories of the origin of the Rajputs. In the chapter on religious condition the history of the various sectarian religions should have been treated in the wider context of the

phical as well as iconographic developments throughout our land.

The book is disfigured by a number of misprints of which the most serious occur in the Select Bibliography, pp. 160-61.

U. N. GHOSHAL

HISTORY OF THE FREEDOM MOVEMENT IN BEHAR (*Three volumes*): *By Dr. K. K. Datta. Published by the Government of Behar, Patna. Pp. ix + 670; 529; 478 respectively. Price Rs. 20.00 each. For the complete set Price Rs. 50/-.*

Each of the three volumes has a few common features, namely Glossary, Bibliography, Index, Appendix and Illustrations. This is an important publication on our freedom movement, and specially as the name indicates, on the freedom movement in Bihar, for which the author deserves our hearty congratulations. Students of modern Indian history, or to be precise, the history of Indian nationalism during the last hundred years, can ill-afford to do without it. Each of the volumes bears stamp of industry, study and research. The author has left no stone unturned to verify his statements with documents referred to in the body and presented largely under various sections in the Appendix.

Volume I, covers the period between 1857 and 1927. It contains eight chapters and twenty-three sections as Appendix besides the valuable foreword by Srijut Rajendra Prasad and thirty-three illustrations, some of which are very rare. The chapters are as follows: (I) Bihar and the Indian Movement of 1857-59; (II) The Wahabi Movement and Bihar; (III) The Birsa Movement in Chhotanagpur; (IV) Early Revolutionary Nationalism and Bihar; (V) Beginning of Modern Political Awakening in Bihar; (VI) Mahatma's Mission in Champaran; (VII) Bihar's role in the Satyagraha of 1919 and in the non-co-operation and Khilapat Movement; (VIII) A critical but constructive phase.

Charles E. Trevellyan wrote in his book on Indian Education as far back as in 1838, that freedom might come to the people of India through two methods, *viz.*, (1) Armed Revolt and (II) Introduction of Parliamentary System of Government in the country through dissemination of Western education. He perhaps could not envisage the possibility of employing both the methods simultaneously, but this has been proved true in our long and varied struggle for winning political freedom. Our methods adopted for this end may be summarised as follows: (i) Constitutional, (ii) *Quasi*-constitutional, and (iii) Revolutionary.

The learned author has started with the Sepoy Revolt of 1857-1859 and has devoted seventy-two pages for this purpose. But it is a matter of regret that he has altogether ignored our endeavours which may be termed constitutional, for the previous thirty years. Bihar constituted a part of the Bengal Presidency from the beginning of the British rule up till the infamous partition of Bengal in 1905. And it was completely separated from Bengal in 1911 and formed into a separate province of Bihar and Orissa. The movements, religious, social and political, started by Raja Rammohun Roy in Calcutta had their repurcussions on all the British territories in India in general and on Bihar, a component part of Bengal, in particular. Rammohun's stay at Ramgarh and Bhagalpur in Bihar is very important in the story of our freedom movement. Desire for religious and social reform gradually gave rise to a desire for political liberty in the minds of the English-educated section of the Indian community and the leaders of thought in Bengal tried their utmost to give shape to it during the years previous to 1857. The British Indian Association of Calcutta had its branches in Bihar and in the U.P. The constitutional methods of political agitation adopted at its centre also percolated through its branches in those provinces. It should be noted here that the great Sir Syed Ahmed Khan was the Secretary of the Aligarh branch of the British Indian Association.

Bihar, or at least a part of Bihar, played an important role in the Sepoy Revolt and the Wahabi Movement. The former took the form of a mass revolt in the Sahabad district under the leadership of Kunwar Singh while the latter was organised by the prominent Muslims of Patna and Calcutta, Patna being the centre of their activities in Eastern India. The author has done justice to these movements by depicting their nature and scope on the basis of contemporary records. He has termed the Wahabi Movement as socio-political. But it should be remembered that the principal object of the Wahabi Movement was sectional or communal rather than national. These may be summed up in the following lines taken from one of their main war-songs:

"Fill the uttermost ends of India with Islam,
so that
no sounds may be heard but 'Allah! Allah!"

The Adibasis' endeavours for political entity have also attracted proper attention of the author and he has given them in the third chapter of this volume. The fourth and fifth chapters should be taken together as our political efforts, particularly in Bihar, have been narrated in them during the thirty years from the foundation of Indian National Congress till Mahatma Gandhi began his Champaran campaign in 1917. As Bihar formed a component part of the Bengal Presidency, all the political movements in Bihar cannot be isolated from those of Bengal. But here the author has perhaps failed to do proper justice. The Indian Association of Calcutta started a country-wide political movement which could not but have its repurcussions in Bihar also. The Civil Service question troubled the minds of the educated Biharis no less than others. Surendra Nath Banerjee went twice at Bankipur, Patna and held meetings with the Biharis for this purpose. The Indian Association had its branches at some of the prominent towns in Bihar. The *Bihar Herald* started in the seventies of the nineteenth century at Patna became an exponent of our popular national cause. Guruprosad Sen, though a Bengali, was the most prominent political leader in Bihar who was held in high esteem and regard by both the Biharis and the Bengalis. Thus the political movement of Bengal and Bihar were closely inter-connected and the history of one is rerally speaking the history of the other. And the story of the freedom movement in Bihar will never be fully told if we ignore this fact.

One thing should be specially noted here. Bhudev Mukherjee, sometime Inspector of Schools of the Bhagalpur Division, advocated strongly the cause of Hindi in Bihar, for which he is still remembered by the Biharis with love and gratitude. It was due mainly to Bhudev's efforts that Hindi with Nagri script was introduced in the courts of Bihar. We do not know why the author has not referred to the movement of "Bihar for the Biharis" started so far back as in 1896. It was a movement for the political integrity of Bihar. Though the sponsors of the movement had a separatist outlook still it did not fail to rouse political consciousness in the minds of the Biharis. During the Swadeshi Movement the New Spirit of self-help and self-reliance penetrated to Bihar. One should expect in such an authoritative volume a fuller treatment of this historic event. The author, however, has done well to refer to the revolutionary movement of Bengal. It found its way into Bihar and secured many recruits amongst the Biharis. *Jugantar* was the organ of the Revolutionary Party of Bengal, and not *Sandhya* (p. 111, Vol. I) of Upadhaya Brahmabandhab, though he was an extremist to the core.

Vol. II covers the period 1928-1941. It contains four chapters, besides twenty-seven items as appendix. The chapters are as follows: I. A New Turn (1928-29); II. The Salt Satyagraha and Civil Disobedience Movement (1930-34); III. The New Constitution of 1935 and the First Congress Ministry (1937-39); IV. World Crisis and Indian Nationalism.

The period covered by this volume witnessed many serious decisions taken by the Congress and movements sponsored by it. The people of Bihar took a prominent part in these matters. The Bihar leaders also played their role faithfully on the Congress platform and outside it. The Press struggled hard and that at a tremendous sacrifice and it would have been apt to say more on their service and sacrifice in this story of the freedom movement. Every calamity serves to weld people together to overcome its dehumanising effects as also to appreciate the necessity of united efforts to overcome them for a dependent country as ours. These would no doubt give rise to national consciousness and solidarity. The Bihar earthquake of 1934, though a calamity of a serious nature, came to us as a blessing in disguise, and the people, irrespective of caste or creed or of different localities, came to help one another in such a way that the devastations and miseries created by it could have been mitigated in a short time. The author has done well to refer to this historic earthquake.

Vol. III tells the story of the following six years (1942-1947) and it is told in three chapters, *viz.*, (I). The Revolution of 1942-43; II. Turn in the Tide; and III. March to Independence. These are substantiated by eleven items in the Appendix. The valiant and glorious part played by Bihar in the August Movement of 1942-43 will be remembered by every lover of freedom for all ages. The subsequent events that followed and brought political independence to our doors are but recent history. The author has done well to place the facts before the readers to draw their own conclusions. These events are mostly of an All-India nature. The author has no other alternative but to present them before the reader, and the efforts of the Biharis could scarcely be singled out. However, credit must be given to the latter for whatever they did for the advancement of our cause of National Freedom.

In spite of some glaring defects and omissions the book should be welcomed as a valuable addition to the literature of our freedom movement. When a comprehensive history of our freedom struggle in India will be written, books like this will no doubt supply enough materials for the purpose.

JOGESH C. BAGAL

GANDHIAN PHILOSOPHY: *A message by Sri Ram Chandra Gupta. Published by Gupta Publishing House, Agra. Pp. 128. Price Rs. 5.*

An unreadable book. It has no substance, no thought, no expression. The author undertook a task he was not equal to. He had better not rushed into print.

The book carries a foreword by Sri Humayun Kabir and an introduction by Sir Patrick Hastings both dated February, 1952. The book itself was published a little over six years after in April, 1958. The author has not accounted for this time lag.

BIRENDRANATH GUHA

RODOGUNE: *By Sri Aurobindo. Pages 162 Size $9\frac{3}{4}''\times6\frac{1}{2}''$; Published by Sri Aurobindo Asram. Pandicherry. 1958. Price Rs. 5.*

This is a five-act play, depicting Syrian and Parthian Royalties and their feuds. Through the current of events the poet has drawn out the niceties of human nature and the dealing of the forces of good and evil in his inimitable style. The forces of evil have been shown to be complex, confusing human minds and generally achieving triumph in this world by its worldly ways. Human soul, divine love unmindful of the world and the complex working of the forces of evil rise above them and conquer even death fulfilling the saying, "Heaven had a purpose in my servitude," as uttered by the heroine Rodogune. The Parthian princess was taken captive by the Syrians. In course of events she was united with the Syrian Prince Antiochus in eternal nuptial. This prince always believed that he was born to be a king, but circumstances stood in his way and he offered himself as a sacrifice to the forces of evil. The princess followed him leaving the land of evil to the region where evil had no hold.

SATI KUMAR CHATTERJI.

THE ROLL OF BROADCASTING IN INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS: *By Derek Holroyde. Institute of Political Science, Ahmedabad. Pages 8. Price .25 nP.*

This is the third Annual Lecture, 1957, of the Institute, by no less a person than the representative of the B.B.C. in Delhi who gives us a short history of B.B.C. and its method of work in an age when the masses are sharing wide interest in international matters and wide subjects.

A. B. DATTA

SANSKRIT

THE YOGACARABHUMI OF ACARYA ASANGA, Part I: *Edited by Vidhushekhara Bhattacharya. University of Calcutta. 1957. Price Rs. 10.*

..The valuable acquisition of photographic copies of important Sanskrit manuscripts from Tibet made by Mahapandita Rahula Sankrityayana is being gradually made available for study by the world of scholars through critical editions of the texts contained therein. Originally the work was taken up by the Bihar Research Society where the photoprints of the manuscripts were deposited. The Kashiprasad Jayaswal Research Institute later on introduced the Tibetan Sanskrit Works Series for the publication of these works and handsome scholarly editions of three works have already appeared in the series. It is gratifying to note that the Calcutta University has also undertaken the task of publication of one of these works, namely, the one under review. Only a small section of the work, *e.g.*, the first six chapters of the first of the five divisions is published here as Part I. The learned editor has compared the Sanskrit text as available in the manuscript with the Tibetan version as found in the Narthang edition. The results of the comparison are recorded in the footnotes. In the light of this comparison and other considerations the readings of the manuscript have occasionally been corrected while in some cases emendations have been suggested. We admire the hard and painstaking work put in here by the veteran scholar in his old age. The scholarly world will wish god-speed to the edition and be eagerly waiting for the succeeding parts expected to be produced and finished in the same fashion. We hope when the work is completed we saall have a comprehensive introduction giving among other things a detailed summary of the contents of the book.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

BENGALI

MIRA: *By Brajanandan Sinha. Authors' Corner, 193, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta-6. Price Re. 1-8.*

Mirabai is a household name in India today. Her songs are inimitable in sweetness and spiritual ecstasy. But her life's story is not yet fully known. The author has given here a short biographical account and carefully compiled and translated her songs into Bengali.

D. N. MOOKERJEA

HINDI

BHARATIYA ARYABHASHA AND HINDI: *By Sunitikumar Chatterji. Rajakamal Prakashan, New Delhi. 1954. Pp. 251, Price Rs. 6.*

In 1940, at the invitation of the Gujarat Vidya Sabha, of Ahmedabad, the learned Doctor delivered a series of eight lectures on the subject of the development of *Aryabhasha* in India and of the growth of Hindi in New India. These have been raised and enlarged since in the light of the achievements of our independence. And the present publication is the first Hindi version of the lectures, the originals being in English. As such, the Hindi scholars will welcome it and it is expected, further, that the readers of the book will be able to approach the triangular problem of Hindi, Hindustani and Urdu in the spirit in which the author has approached it, nay, solved it, scientifically, historically and constructively.

G. M.

GUJARATI

BAPUJINO VATO (Stories about Bapuji): *Edited by Mukulbhai Kalarthi. Gujarat Vidyapith, Ahmedabad-14. August, 1958. Price 14 nP.*

Forty-two very short anecdotes have been told in Gujarati for young and old. The range is very wide—to suit all readers. Simple in style, the anecdotes will be remembered to recall the theories. One anecdote will illustrate India's poverty when we are told that in Champaran area, one woman was directed at Gandhiji's directive at cleaning the *saris*. She had only one, that which she was putting on!

This is to be recommended in adult education centres, and also in schools—apart from general readers.

P. R. SEN

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Indian Periodicals

Remembering Kalidasa

Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra writes in *The Aryan Path*:

The *Kalidasa-Smriti-Samaroha,* Kalidasa Remembrance Festival, has been celebrated at Ujjain this year on a more lavish and grander scale, so much so that even the President of India and many other notable personalities took part in it and vied with each other in paying tributes of praise to the great poet. This display of special exuberance marks another level of the cultural renaissance that is sweeping over the country today.

Kalidasa is famous as Kavikulaguru (Teacher of Poets), and rightly so. Modern scholars fashionably refer to him as the Shakespeare of India. It would perhaps be more appropriate to call Shakespeare the Kalidasa of England. It may be remembered that Kalidasa is senior to Shakespeare by 1,200 years, if not by 1,700 years as some Indologists would have it. It is indeed tantalizing not to be able to know the exact age of Kalidasa. True to ancient Indian tradition, Kalidasa has been too modest to leave behind biographical details about himself. But what matter? He now belongs to eternity and has his home in the heart of every true lover of poetry.

Kalidasa lives amongst us by seven of his currently known immortal works in Sanskrit: two lyric poems, two long poems and three plays: *Meghaduta, Ritusamhara; Raghuvamsa, Kumarasambhava; Vikramorvasi, Malavikagnimitra* and *Sakuntala*. It is this last that primarily attracted the attention of European savants and elicited high praise from poets of Goethe's eminence. The study of Sanskrit in Western countries thereby received fresh impetus, and the foundation was laid of what was then considered a new branch of science: Indo-Germanic Philology, or a comparative study of Indo-European languages, now better known as Indo-European Linguistics.

Kalidasa's works embody all that is fine, noble and sublime in India's culture. In other words, Kalidasa is an epitome of Indan culture. He was a model and a shining example to his contemporaries as well as to the generations of poets to come, and he continues as such to this day. He has been a source of inspiration, not only to poets and playwrights but also to artists and sculptors. Echoes of his ideas have reverberated in later poetic compositions, while his pen-pictures are made visible in the frescoes of Ajanta and Bagh on the one hand and in the multitude of sculptures throughout the country, belonging to the Gupta period, the Golden Age in the history of India, on the other.

There are many facets of Kalidasa's personality as a great poet and dramatist. He is distinguished by his peculiarly delightful style, simple and lucid and yet lofty and dignified, of describing things, always with apt, original and striking similitudes. In fact, his similes constitute the most outstanding trait of his poetic compositions. In this connection, the verdict of old rhetoricians is worth quoting:

upama Kalidasasya Bharaver=artha-gauravam
Naishadhe pada-lalityam Maghe santi trayo gunah

"Kalidasa has similitude; Bharavi has depth of meaning; the *Naishadha kavya* has the melodiousness of words; and Magha possesses all the three excellences."

Obviously this utterance emanated from an admirer of the laborious poet Magha, but it accidentally points out the true characteristic of Kalidasa's work. In the course of time, Kalidasa's fame gave rise to many a pseudo-Kalidasa. So many later Sanskrit poets assumed the name Kalidasa that it became quite difficult to distinguish the real from the unreal. It became conventional then to refer to the real one as *Dipasikha* Kalidasa, or Torch-flame Kalidasa. This distinguishing appellation owes its origin to the clever use of the *dipasikha* simile in a verse in the description of Indumati's *svayamvara* in the *Raghuvamsa*. Kalidasa has significantly compared Indumati there with a *dipa-sikha*, "the flame of a torch." The verse reads:

samcharini dipa-sikha=eva ratrau yam yam
vyatiyaya patimvara sa
narendra-marg-atta iva prapede vivarna-
bhavam sa sa bhumipalah
(*Raghuvamsa*, VI, 67)

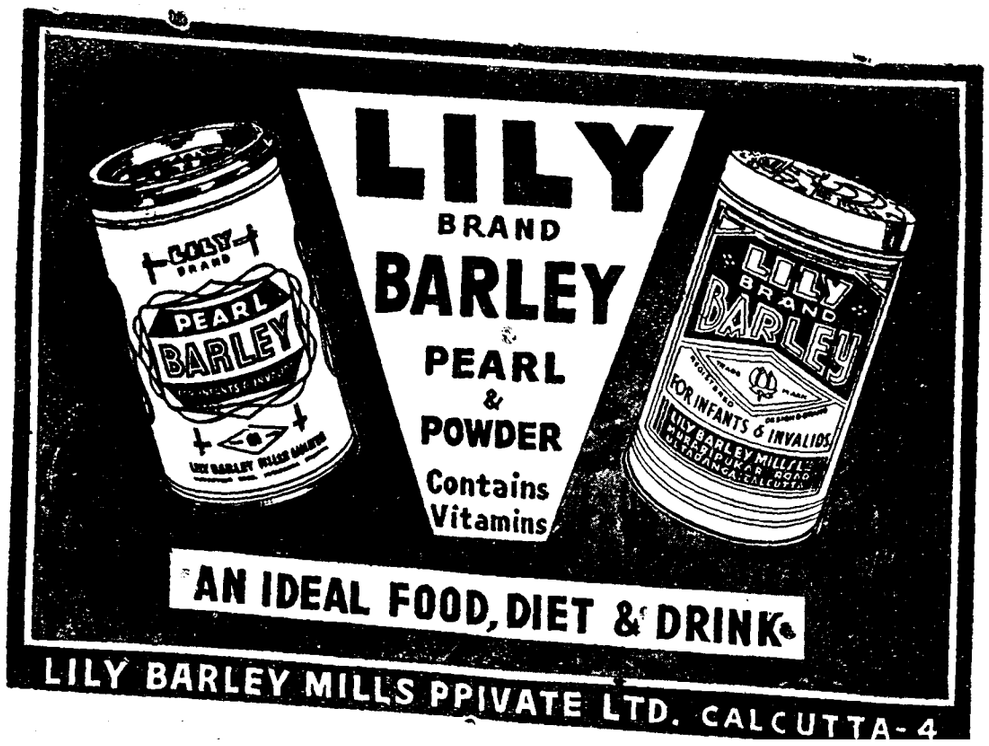
Princess Indumati, with the *jayamala* in her hand, is led forward, step by step, by her lady's maid, Sunanda by name, in front of the eligible princes seated in a row on tastefully decorated seats. Sunanda introddces every prince, one after the other, while Indumati quietly moves on, her silence indicating her rejection of those princes; for ultimately she is to choose Raghu. It is the dejected condition of the rejected princes that the poet describes in the vrese in question. It defies literal translation, but it says in effect:

"As that fair maiden, Indumati, intent upon choosing a prince for her husband, passed by those princes one after the other in silence, the faces of those princes fell—were darkened, so to say, in the gloom of despair. It was like storeyed buildings along the main street, lit at night by the light of a big torch. As the burning torch moved forward to the next building, the one left behind was naturally enveloped in darkness."

Very often the poet is not content with one single simile. He employs a string of similes, which are an added joy and drive home the point at issue more forcefully. Consider, for instance, the description of Himalaya: how he was blessed with the birth of a daughter to him:

prabha-mahatya sikhay=eva dipas=trimar-
gay=eva tridivasya maraah
samskaravaty=eva gira manishi taya sa
putas=cha vibhushits=cha
(*Kumarasambhava*, I, 28)

"As a lamp *is* with a big bright flame, as the path to heaven *is* with the Heavenly Ganges (the Milky Way), and as a wise man *is* with refined speech, so *was* he (Himalaya) purified and beautified with her (Parvati, born to him)."



And how charmingly he describes Parvati's adolescence:

asambhritam mandanam anga-yashter=
anasav-akhyam karanam madasya
kamasya pushpa-vyatiriktam=astram balyat
param s=atha vayah prapede
(*Kumarasambhava*, I, 31)

"Now she attained to the age that immediately succeeds childhood—the age which in itself is an adornment, without ornaments, of the delicate female figure; the age which in itself is an intoxicant, without liquor; the age which in itself is another arrow of Cupid, beyond Cupid's usual (five) arrows of flowers."

Apart from poetic excellences, Kalidāsa's works reveal his vast knowledge of various branches of learning, art and music. In spite of poor means of communication in his days, Kalidasa seems to have travelled extensively throughout the length and breadth of India quite early in life, as is evidenced by his accurate geographical descriptions, especially in the *Meghaduta*. Nothing seems to have escaped his keenly observant eye. Dr. Satya Charan Law of Calcutta, a well-known authority on ornithology, made a special study of birds and bird habits alluded to in Kalidasa's works and has published a book in Bengali entitled *Kalidaser Pakhi*, wherein he demonstrates by appropriate illustrations how accurate and precise Kalidasa's knowledge was with regard to the breeding and migrating habits of various species of birds in India. These are but a few instances of Kalidasa's profound knowledge. Here and there he gives us glimpses of his philosophy and religious propensities as well. To enlarge upon that subject is beyond the scope of this essay. It may, however, be pointed out that his typical invocations mark him out as a devout worshipper of Siva.

Economic Equality in a Welfare State

Sardar K. M. Panikkar observes in *The Indian Review*:

Indian history has many lessons for India today. The ups and downs of a great people who had lost their independence for a century and half and whose story extending over three thousand years shows many changes cannot but help us to strengthen our desire for freedom and warn us of the dangers against which we must always remain prepared.

One of the most remarkable lessons of history not only of India but of all countries is that the strength of a nation lies in the happiness and contentment of its people. Numerous are the instances of countries whose courts were brilliant, whose nobles rich, powerful and living in luxury, where arts flourished and great buildings attested to the taste and love of pomp of rulers, which fell like the walls of Jericho to the sound of the enemies' trumpets.

In fact, it may justly be said that the downfall of state follows from too great a distance between the palace and the hovel, between the luxury of the court and the grinding poverty of the people. The story of the French Queen who asked perhaps in all honesty that 'if the people do not have bread, why they do not eat cakes' may be taken as a classic instance of this separation between the ruler and the ruled and the heavy price which not only the Queen Marie Antoinette but the people of France had to pay, would show how the distance between the palace and the hovel is one of the recurring dangers of all governments.

Indian history itself provides numerous instances which bring to us forcefully this important lesson. The Moghul Empire in the time of Mahommed Shah looked imposing enough from outside. The Emperor had his audiences on the same peacock throne which Shah Jehan the Magnificent had constructed to proclaim his pomp and power. He held his Durbars in the same Audience Hall which had proudly proclaimed that if there was a paradise on earth, it was there. The dignitaries of the Empire had the same magnificent titles and yet when Nadir Shah, the Persian adventurer, turned up at the gates of Delhi, not a hand was raised to defend the capital of India. The great Viceroys, the Wazirs and the Nizam-ul-mulks, summoned to the presence by letters of distress couched in words of command, preferred to remain at a safe distance.

The population of imperial Delhi was handed over to merciless massacre for three days and nights and in the streets of the capital flowed the blood of innocent people. Nadir went back to Persia urmolested carrying with him the cherished treasures of India, the peacock throne, the crown studded with precious gems and riches beyond the dreams of avarice, leaving the occupant of the Moghul throne an object of pity and contempt. There is no parallel in history where the distance between pomp and luxury on the one hand and the

loyalty of the people on the other was so clearly demonstrated.

Two other examples from the later history of India may be mentioned. Siraj-ud-dowlah succeeded to a viceroyalty which lacked nothing in pomp and magnificence. Three of the richest provinces of India were his to govern. And yet at Plassey he was sold and betrayed by his own people to an enemy pitifully inferior in numbers. Western historians are inclined to see in this the superiority of European over Indian forces. And yet viewed in perspective the fact becomes clear that it was his own people who had betrayed him.

The Viceroyal court was magnificent. The number of dancing girls who attended the ceremonial occasions numbered many hunderds. The high officials of the court, Nawabs, Rajas and the newly rich merchants vied with each other in splendour. But the population ground down by poverty, felt no loyalty to the government and felt no interest in the state.

The second example is even more significant. Nawab Mohammed Ali, the Moghul Governor of Arcot, was indeed a strange person. When he visited Madras, as he did fairly often, the East India Company entertained him at banquets with over five hundred dishes and arranged for a suitable number of dancing girls to perform before him. The strange representative of a decaying imperial power had invented new methods of exploiting the people of his provinces.

He alienated large areas to his European creditors leaving the people to the tender mercies of those usurers, while he himself lived in extravagant magnificence. The result was that when at his death the Company took over the territory and reduced his successor to a mere puppet, there was not a finger that was raised in protest. The distance between the palace and the hovel had become so great that no one cared what became of the state.

The lesson is clear. It is only when the state is believed by the people to be looking after their interests that any kind of firm loyalty can exist towards it. This, in fact, is the Hindu tradition also. When we talk of Ramraj, what we mean to convey is a state where the interests of the common man override all other considerations. In his discourses on Rajadharma in *Mahabharata*, Bhishma emphasises the same point, that the ruler should look after the ruled as a pregnant woman takes care of the child in her womb, that is the welfare of the people should be the overriding consideration.

In the circumstances of today this lesson is even of greater importance. In a monarchical form of government, there is a visible centre around which loyalties can grow. These are easily understandable doctrines of obedience, allegiance and loyalty. Also traditionally, prestige, pomp and majesty are invested in the monarch and therefore a certain distance between the palace and the hut is considered normal and, consequently, much would be forgiven in a hereditary monarch who is looked upon as the symbol of national authority.

But the conception of the modern state is totally different. It represents the totality of the people, and the sovereignty even in monarchies, is today accepted as being with the people. Every type of modern state is based on equality. Here distinctions of class and glaring inequalities between groups strike at the root of popular obedience without which no state can exist.

The Indian Constitution specifically lays down these principles; a democracy based on the participation of all adult population, a directive to work for the abolition of inequalities of income, status, etc., and the eradication of social distinctions based on caste, untouchability, etc. Everywhere in the modern world the objective is to abolish wide divergences in wealth, class and status which lead to the very idea of the Ruler and the Ruled.

The modern state does not accept the idea that there is one section of the people who have a right to rule while the others, however well-looked after, have to accept a position of being the ruled. Those in whom authority is vested are no longer monarchs and nobles and can in no way be considered a ruling class. If between those placed in authority and the common people a noticeable gulf develops, then there is undoubtedly danger to the country's freedom, either by revolution or in course of time to its independence. There can be neither palaces nor hovels in India under the new conditions.

The development of civilisation everywhere has been described as the widening of the symbolic circle, that is the circle of social groups. In India, on the other hand, society tended till recent times to fragmentise itself into castes, sub-castes and family groups organised pyramidically, with millions of untouchables as a submerged base. It is this pyramidical and heirarchical character of Hindu society which constituted one greatest national weakness.

Even in the most prosperous periods of our past history, India suffered from this extreme weakness, with a few of the privileged classes living in palaces in the utmost luxury while the common man had to be content with hovels, and the former untouchables, denied even elementary human rights, had to shift as best as they could. What seemed as unbridgeable gulf between the palace and the hovel arose from this fact.

India learnt her lesson from history that she could neither emerge as a modern nation, nor keep her freedom for any length of time if such differences were allowed to persist. In the welfare state which we have adopted as our ideal there is room neither for palaces nor for hovels. The abolition of untouchability, the consolidation of social relationships and the process of levelling up which the nation has now undertaken by its policy of industrialisation, rural transformation and exploitation of natural wealth, are all meant to give practical effect to the doctrine of equality embodied in the Constitution. It is the lesson we have learnt from our past and we can forget it only at our peril.

Statement about ownership and other particulars about newspaper THE MODERN REVIEW to be published in the first issue every year after the last day of February.

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I, the publisher of the Modern Review, hereby declare that the particulars given above are true to the best of my knowledge and belief.

Signature of Publisher—*S/d.* Nibaran Chandra Das

25.2.1959

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Danish Fish Trade

In the **Danish Foreign Office Journal,** November, 1958, Poul F. Jensen, Director of the Industrial Inspectorate, Ministry of Fisheries, writes :

In proportion to the size of the country, Denmark has the most extensive fishing waters in the world. Danish fishing vessels plough the waters of the North Sea and Baltic, the Skagerrak and the Kattegat, and a great number of belts, sounds, and inland waters.

The annual catch totals about 423,000 tons and is worth about 240 million kroner. Nearly half of the amount comes from the North Sea. The largest group is flat fish, of which about 75,000 tons is caught, but the catch of herring, sprats, and mackerel is nearly as great and about 30,000 tons of cod, haddock, and similar fish is caught, besides eel, salmon, other varieties of fish, lobsters, and shrimps.

Fishing off Greenland is a chapter by itself. Here the catch principally consists of cod and halibut, and there is some hunting of seals and whales.

Ground-net fishing exceeds other forms of fishing (trap, trawl, seine, and hook) in volume and value.

The fishing fleet comprises some 22,000 vessels, the largest of which exceed 50 g.r.t., the smallest being under 5 g.r.t. The total value is estimated at about 184 mill. kr. About 12,500 persons fish for a living. Plaice gives the biggest return, and large hauls of this fish are made on the Dogger Bank in the North Sea.

The export value of Danish fish is about 181 mill. kr. per annum.

The desire of fishermen and the trade that these problems should be solved led in 1954 to the passage of a special law controlling the quality of fish and fish products.

The law prohibits the processing of any fish which is in poor condition that is to say, fish that is declared unfit for human consumption or is not absolutely fresh owing to some defect in icing, packing, or other handling. The inspection guarantees that the fish will reach its destination in good condition.

Wet fish is one of the most perishable of all foods. Consequently, the regulations require it to be iced. The installation of freezing plant is a costly procedure, but it pays.

A special committee—the Ministry of Fisheries Quality Committee—assists the Minister to enforce the provisions of the law.

The day-to-day administration of the law is the responsibility of the Fishery Inspection.

The country is divided into 39 inspection districts and there is a fishery inspection station in every important fishing harbour and port of export. The largest station is at Esbjerg, where there are 12 inspectors headed by a chief inspector.

Fishery inspectors are usually recruited among young fishermen with some training in seamanship. Promotion to the higher grades is by special examination.

It should be added that the Ministry's Research Laboratory also provides technical guidance for industry.

This advice is usually given free of charge.

The Research Laboratory also assists the Fishery Inspection in special bacteriological and other research requiring technical equipment.

The 1958 Nobel Peace Prize Winner

World Veteran in its December issue 1958 sketches the life and achievements of Father D. G. Pire as follows :

A Dominican at 18 and a priest at 24, Father Pire was a leading member of the Belgian Resistance. At that time he devoted himself to the suffering and helpless, particularly to starving children at a time when so many people in Western Europe did not have enough to eat. But it was in February 1949 that the young parish priest of the Liege province found his real vocation.

During a conference on the plight of "Displaced Persons" then living in German camps, the Belgian priest met the director of one of the camps. He accepted an invitation to visit some of the camps and realized immediately that the morale of the refugees deserved as much attention as their material well-being.

Father Pire founded the organization "Aid to Displaced Persons" at Huy, a small industrial town in Belgium, on the road from Namur to Liege. His idea was to create communities for the refugees who had no chance; for all those who could not emigrate for reasons of age or bad health —the "hard core" as he called them, without regard to religion or nationality.

Then the idea of "European villages" took form. In 1956, the first of these villages was inaugurated in Aachen, on German territory right near the Belgian border. A few months later, twelve houses of the European village in Bregenz, Austria, provided homes for 24 refugee families from **Austrian** camps.

The "Europe of the Hearts," as Father called it, was on its way. A third village for Hungarian families was inaugurated in Augsburg, Germany, then followed the "Albert Schweitzer Village" near Saarbrucken and the "Fridtjof Nansen Village" north of Brussels. By giving the name of Nansen to this village, the Aid to Displaced Persons honored the memory of the great Norwegian who, after World War I, had been the first "father of refugees."

A sixth European village now in preparation is to carry the name of Anne Frank, the little Jewish girl who was deported during World War II and died heroically in a concentration camp—and whose diary has moved the whole world.

The European villages, also called "Villages of the Last Chance," are anything but ghettoes. They are always near a city of importance. Once rehabilitated, the inhabitants (often former tubercular cases) can work in town and find their place in the community just like any other citizen.

Together with the national authorities of countries where the villages are built, the Council of Europe contributed to the work of Father Pire by offering many facilities. And it was M. Fernand Dehousse, President of the Consultative Assembly of the Council of Europe who forwarded the name of D.G. Pire for this year's Nobel Prize.

The choice of the Nobel Prize Committee was unanimous.

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Agricultural Settlement

News from Israel, February, 1959 gives the following information:

Until the turn of the century more than 2000 years of dispersion had separated the Jewish people from the land, and made them strangers to the plough. The city-bred clerks, merchants and students who established the first agricultural villages in modern Israel were, therefore, confronted with manifold problems. They were hampered not only by a lack of personal experience, but as well by a dearth of agricultural experts. To add to the difficulties, the land, once fruitful, was barren and unyielding after centuries of neglect.

Despite the adversities of inexperience and difficult soil and climate conditions, the settlers succeeded in laying the foundations of agricultural life. Their villages (**moshavot**) were built on the basis of private initiative—each farmer owned his own land and worked it, with the emphasis on cash crops, as opposed to subsistence crops. Petah Tikva, Rishon-le-Zion, Rehovoth, Zichron Ya'acov and other villages laid the foundations for the citrus, wine, and olive-growing cultures in Israel today.

Even before the moshava had fully developed its characteristic forms, a new and significant development in agricultural settlement took place during the first decade of the twentieth century. Among the immigrant arrivals in Palestine at that time were a few groups of young men and women who reacted strongly against the idea of individualistic farming as practised in the moshava. They reasoned, on ideological grounds, that no man should own more land than he and his family could cultivate by their own toil. This would do away with the danger of Jewish farmers becoming mere overseers on land worked by hired help. A truly agricultural population, they felt, must also de-emphasize the importance of cash crops and become self-sustaining in vegetable production, grain and dairy farming. Only this way could new settlers become rooted in the land.

These ideas, coupled with a determination to reclaim the wastelands and restore the ravaged fertility of the Holy Land, gave rise to co-operative agricultural settlement. In 1909 Degania, the first collective settlement (kibbutz) was founded in the Jordan Valley. Unlike previous sporadic attempts, this group held together and developed a unique system of collective villages living. By December, 1957, there were 228 kibbutzim in Israel, with a population of about 80,000.

At the same time, the first attempt was made to form a smallholders co-operative village (moshav) at Merhavia. This particular attempt did not succeed, but it provided a stimulus to the co-operative idea. Subsequently, in 1921, a group of farmers established the village of Nahalal in the Valley of Jezreel. They divided up their land in such way as to give every family an area it could cultivate itself. Each family lived and farmed individually, but with organized co-operation in buying and selling, including the purchase and operation of heavy farming equipment, and an organized system of mutual help. It answered the desire for individualistic living while providing a practical solution to economic problems within a co-operative framework. Of all the rural villages which exist in Israel today, more than 50 per cent are of the moshav type.

World War I was an important testing time for the new settlements. Cut off from their markets in Europe, the villages which had adopted monoculture had a difficult time. The new villages, on the other hand, were vindicated in their beliefs that subsistence crops were indispensable to a self-sustaining agricultural structure. The Palestine community was provided with the essential foodstuffs it needed during the War.

The period between the wars was one of consolidation for the agricultural settlements. During this time, agricultural research was initiated in the acclimatization of plant and livestock and the local production of seeds for vegetables, field crops and trees. Agricultural education assumed new proportions, serving not only to train new forces for agricultural settlement, but also to raise the level of agricultural production. When the British Mandate over Palestine terminated in 1948, there were 256 Jewish agricultural settlements in the country, with a total population of some 105,000 people.

The government of the new State of Israel removed the restrictions on Jewish immigration into the country. Between 1948 and 1951 over 685,000 immigrants entered Israel. A whole range of new problems had arisen. Large-scale agricultural development had to be undertaken to feed the expanded population, to provide employment and for defence. Experience had proven that the most readily defendable territory is territory which is settled.

Clearly, the time was ripe for a new and bold settlement offensive. But whereas a dearth of land and an over-abundance of farmer candidates had always plagued the settlement organization during the Mandatory period, the creation of the State and the influx of refugees from Nazi Europe and the Arab countries turned the tables completely. For the first time there was no lack of available land. There was, however, no over-abundance of desire on the part of the new immigrants to settle on the land. In spite of this reluctance, the statistics attest to a remarkable success on the part of the settlement authorities. Between May 1948 and December 1957, the rural population increased from 110,000 to 322,000; the number of rural villages from 326 to 743, and the cultivated area in these villages from 4 million acres to 9.5 million acres.

The first problem was how to adapt the agricultural plan of the new villages to the psychological requirements of the new settlers. Most of them were wary of agriculture and were convinced that it offered no economic future for them. There was also the associated question of how to ensure employment during the formative period before a man could live off the products of his soil, and this involved planning suitable labour projects in the vicinity of the new villages, such as land reclamation, afforestation, road building, and so on. Above all however, the agricultural planner in Israel was confronted with the problem of how to produce an organic community from the varied and desparate elements of this mass immigration.

Developments in this respcet are best exemplified by the new trends in regional planning. A group of small but cohesive villages is grouped around a common Rural Center, where the schools, the clinic and other regional services are established. The individual villages, however, are composed of inhabitants drawn not only from one country, but, as far as possible, from the same background in that country. This system has been found to remove the tension and conflict from mixing and converts it into a gradual and natural process.

During the past ten years, vast human and material resources have been expended to promote rural settlement. Immigrants were encouraged to consider the form of settlement which best suited their personal capacities and beliefs. The Land Settlement Department of the Jewish Agency, with the aid of the Government, invested more than IL.550 millon ($300 millon) in the new villages, and the established farm community contributed selflessly of its experience and manpower. Farmers from the more-developed regions in the north became teachers and advisors to the new settlers in the country's undeveloped south.

These efforts have brought remarkable results. A capable and firmly-entrenched farm population is rapidly growing up in the new villages and co-operatives. Today, settlements established since the creation of the State account for approximately one-half of the agricultural production of the country. The newcomers, despite their varied origin, their initial fear of farm life and their previous lack of skill, have found their way to integration in the Israel rural scene.

The Use of Mother-tongue in Science Teaching

The following extract is taken from the *Bulletin*, March, 1959, issued by the Embassy of Viet-Nam:

From the early days of French domination up to the August 1945 Revolution, secondary and higher education in Vietnam were entirely given in French. Now in South Vietnam still all higher education is given in French or English. This may lead to believe that although the Vietnamese language is fit for secondary education, it falls short of the exigence of teaching science at the higher educational level.

It may be surprising, therefore, to learn that Vietnamese is the only teaching medium in the DRVN, from the kinder-gartens to the University, and that it satisfies all the needs of science as rich and varied as medicine, agriculture, political economy, physics, mathematics, etc. . . . . .

This, indeed, is the result of a long arduous and patient work. Dozens of years before the August 1945 Revolution, the spreading of scientific ideas had started in various reviews and periodicals, especially in the popular editions of scientific reviews. In support of this movement, various scientific vocabularies were elaborated in the early forties by Hoang-xuan-Han, Dao-Van-Tien, Pham-Khac-Quang, etc. . . ., who recorded the terms already in use, and coined others based on the existing ones equivalent terms in Chinese or other languages. Practice made use of and settled the majority of the terms, which, through the press, reached the school public. Many teachers took an active part in this movement of propagation. Thus on the eve of the revolution we were in possession of a still-imperfect tool, but a quite suitable one for the requirements of that time: a means for the spreading of scientific knowledge to all levels. The Government emerging from the revolution officially proclaimed the exclusive use of the national language in teaching.

It is true that at first technical terms were lacking, conciseness and preciseness sometimes had to be sacrificed owing to numerous difficulties. Many lecturers had to spend an incredible time translating their courses orginally written in French. The students had just as much difficulty in following them. But nothing discouraged teachers and students, and their efforts were soon rewarded.

Quite soon the students became accustomed to the new terms and were proud to study in their mother-tongue.

From the early months of 1946, the Ministry of Education began to publish a monthly pedagogical bulletin as well as editing and gradually publishing all school manuals for the primary and secondary schools in accordance with the new curricula. This task was continued throughout the resistance war, despite the serious difficulties encountered, especially in printing works, but all possible forms of reproduction were recoursed to, from ordinary hectograph copying to lithography, reneotyping and typography.

Since the re-establishment of peace, to support the ten-year general education system, the Ministry of Education has had written and distributed more than four million school manuals for all classes in two years. In higher and technical education, all the courses are reneoed and many printed.

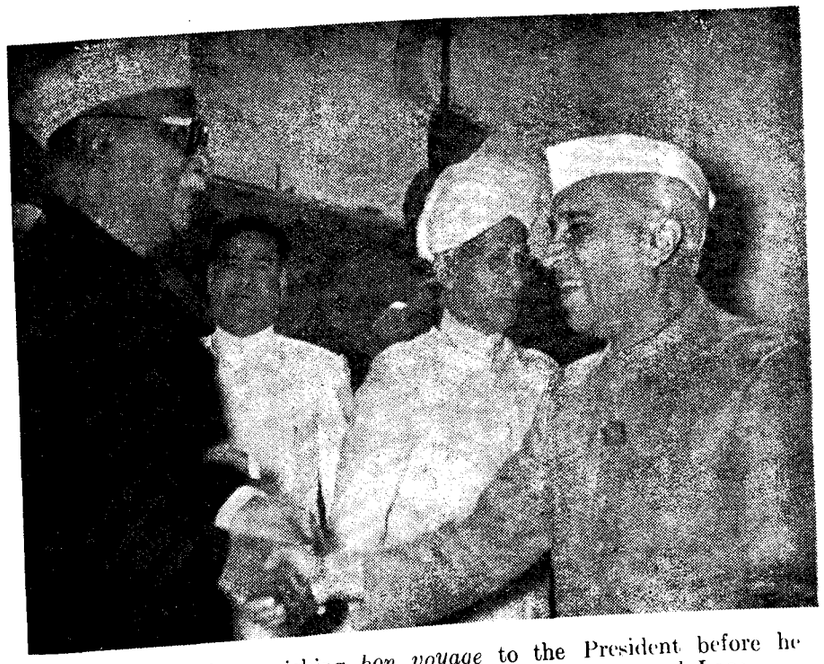
The results are satisfactory but a great deal still remains to be done.

First of all, modern scientific knowledge must be spread more and more widely among the people, so that the whole nation may take an interest and effectively take part in the advancement of science. It is only in this way that science will progress rapidly and contribute efficiently to the people's welfare, and only in this way will the whole nation's efforts in the expression of science and culture through the mother-tongue be justified. The propagation of scientific works has also begun, especially translations of works from the socialist countries.

At the same time, the work of unifying or rather codifying, scientific language has to be thought of.

Finally, the formation of a higher scientific Committee attached to the high organs of the State, decided on at the 8th session of the National Assembly, will certainly give an impulse to research work, and to the co-ordination of all scientific activities, to ensure their full, sound and well-balanced expansion.

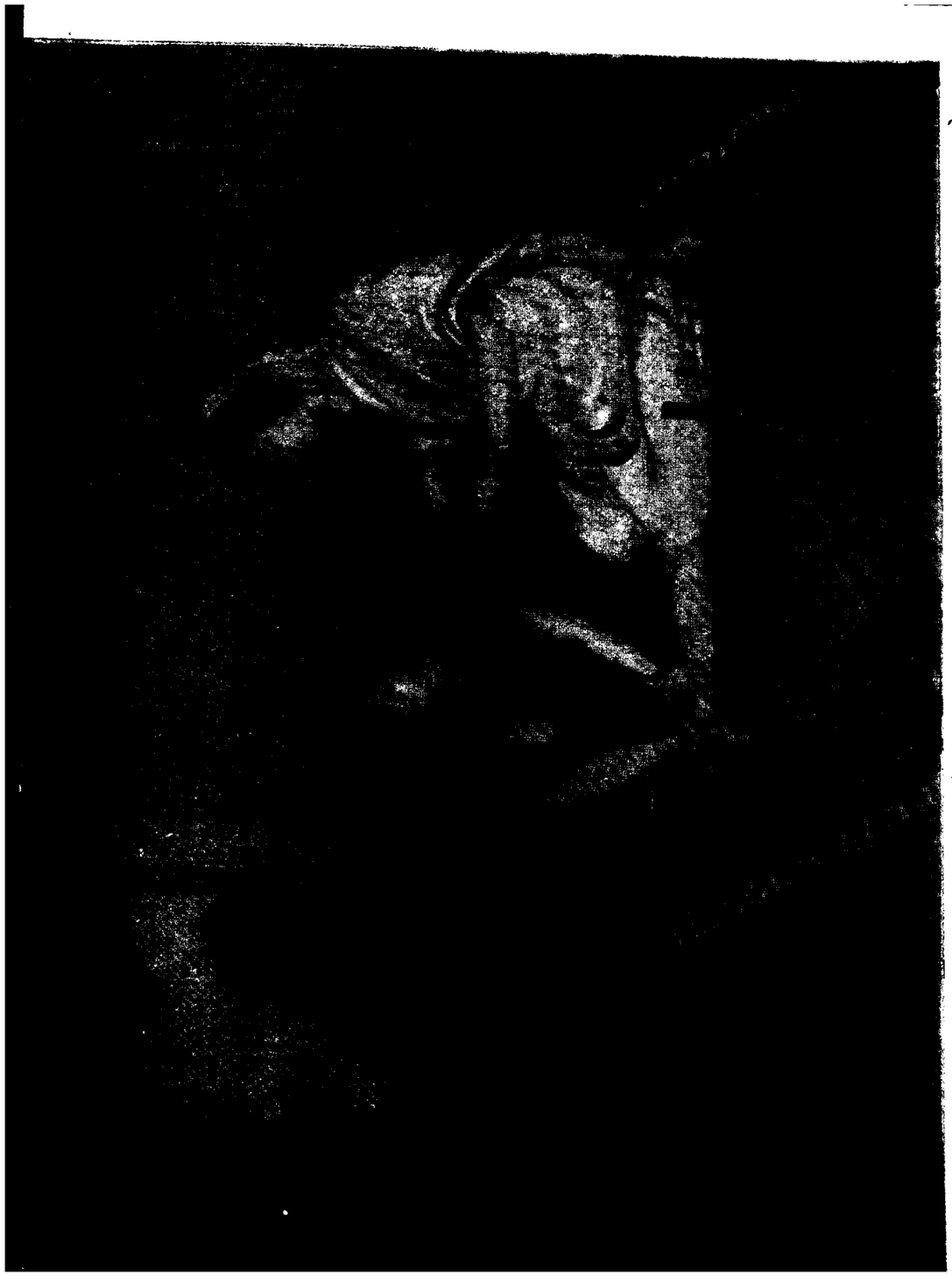
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The Prime Minister wishing *bon voyage* to the President before he left New Delhi on a visit to Cambodia; Vietnam and Laos



Mr. Andreyev and Mr. Mukhitdinov of the Soviet Goodwill Delegation at the Palam Airport with the Vice-President of India, Dr. S. Radhakrishnan



By Chitraniva Chaudhuri

TOILET

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NOTES

The Cold War

Pandit Nehru has told us in mournful tones that the "Cold War" has come to India, with the coming of the Dalai Lama to this country, in search of a political sanctuary. In view of the attitude taken by Peiping that is undoubtedly the case. And a Cold War, where one of the parties is a totalitarian State, has immense ramifications and dangerous possibilities for a peaceful state, as the history of the Central European States, the Arab States of the Near East and Tibet itself has demonstrated beyond all doubt.

In our case the situation is further complicated by the existence of a very well-knit political party, that came to the fore during the last World War, thanks to the patronage of the British Raj, after the publication of the Puckle circular. It has had the aid of International Communism, in the Post-Independence period in more than one way, in the thorough consolidation and strengthening of its party-organisation. And it has demonstrated, beyond all mistake, the measure of its extra-territorial allegiances, by expressing its support for the false propaganda directed against India by Peiping, through the medium of its party newspapers.

Cold War always carries a threat of a shooting War, and in a very loosely-knit and inefficiently-run Government like ours, this threat has disastrous possibilities, particularly when we already have a mendacious and sabre-rattling neighbour, rendered totally reckless of consequences through large-scale military aid from the United States.

If the country and its nationals were well-organised, to meet all emergencies and to face a prolonged period of international tension, it would be another matter altogether. But the reverse is the case, as we have been trying, all along these long years since the dawn of the Cold War era, to evade issues by preaching and protesting Neutrality, Peace at any price and the *Panch-Silas*.

It is one thing for the strong and the staunch to be neutral and quite another for the weak and the vacillating. It is not sufficient that we be potentially strong, for strength means preparedness and vigilance in all directions and the clearly apparent capacity to meet all eventualities. If India has entered the Cold War, then it is most imperative that a thorough and efficient assessment be made of our strengths and weaknesses.

Peace at any price we need not discuss in detail. It is sufficient to point out the price we paid for "Peace" of that variety, by eight centuries of slavery. It might be cogent to point out that there seem to be quite a few of our nationals today who would welcome-in slavery in another name, like those that welcomed the Afghans and Turks and after them the Feringhees.

The mere expounding of noble ideals of peace, or the wailing of jeremiads and protests are not likely to help. What chances are there for the *Panch-Silas* against the impact of the Five Corruptions that are assailing this nation. We refer to Parochialism, Black-marketeering, Official corruption, Disruptive activities and Extra-territorial allegiances.

We consider that it is time to initiate legal measures against all these major threats to our Independence. And time is of the essence.

India, Tibet and China

The granting of asylum by India to the Dalai Lama has given rise to a very delicate and complicated situation and has strained to a certain extent Indo-Chinese relationship. India certainly wants to maintain friendly relations with China, but she has also goodwill for the Tibetans who desire their autonomy. The granting of asylum does not constitute any break from India's avowed object which is that "where freedom is menaced, justice threatened or aggression takes place India cannot be and will not be neutral." The recent events in Tibet indicate that China broke the 17-point agreement entered into between Tibet and China. The Tezpur statement of the Dalai Lama clearly states that there has been violation of the 1951 agreement by China which is now trying to destroy the Tibetan autonomy. In her zeal to integrate Tibet as a part of China, the latter overlooks the historic fact that although in different periods of history with long breaks China exercised her suzeranity over Tibet, Tibet was never an integral part of China.

Now China is refuting the statement of Dalai Lama saying that Tibet is an integral part of China and anybody who will say to the contrary will be nothing but an enemy of China and imperialist. But China's attack on Tibet reveals that the Communistic China's imperialism is in no way better than the capitalistic imperialism of the West.

China never liked India pleading for Tibet. In 1951 she slapped in the face of India when Pandit Nehru pleaded moderation in China's treatment to Tibet. At that time China abused India stating that India was playing into the hands of China's enemies which allegation was farthest from the truth. This time she makes insinuations that the Dalai Lama's statement bears signs of influence by foreign powers, obviously hinting that India might have influenced this statement of Dalai Lama to make charges against Chinese aggression in Tibet. Rightly, the Government of India has refuted this allegation. However, India today is vitally interested in the fate of Tibet as she is also interested in the fate of other downtrodden and colonial countries. Tibet today is the victim of Chinese agression which has violated her autonomy and naturally India's sympathy will go out to Tibet in her days of national calamity. Apart from that, strategic considerations demand that there should be a buffer state between India and China to avert any future clash between these two countries. With Tibet being integrated into China, India's entire northern frontier stands vulnerable. India, therefore cannot ignore happenings in Tibet. While admitting Chinese suzerainty over Tibet, India maintains that Tibetan autonomy is a fact of history and that should be preserved by China. India has affinity both with China and Tibet and she wants peace in Tibet, otherwise her northern frontier will be in conflagration.

The history of Tibeto-Chinese relationship does not show that Tibet was ever a part of China. The Tibetans, though Mongoloid, are not Chinese ethnically. Culturally Tibet has been influenced by India. India has given Tibet its faith, its scriptures, its alphabet and its early art. In the early seventh century, when Buddhism was introduced in Tibet, she was a separate and independent State with a strong military power. During the reign of Kublai Khan, the first Mongol Emperor of China, who was converted to Lamaism, the Chinese suzerainty was established over Tibet by introducing the system of priest-kings and this system still continues. The first Dalai Lama—or incarnation of Buddha—was installed in 1394. After the passing of the thirteenth Dalai Lama in 1933, the present Dalai Lama was installed in 1940. Since the days of Kublai Khan, China claimed suzerainty over Tibet, but there was not the slightest vestige of control over the autonomy of Tibet. Tibet was politically independent of China until 1720. Then the change came when the Manchu Emperor Kang Hsi took advantage of the differences between the Mongols and the Tibetans over the succession to the sixth Dalai Lama and despatched an army to Tibet which established

Chinese rule at Lhasa. But this Chinese control over Tibet was short-lived and soon the Chinese suzerainty faded with the end of the Moghul rule in China.

In 1856, there was a war between Tibet and Nepal and it was concluded by a treaty of peace between the two countries. In this war, China was nowhere in the picture and China was not even a party to the treaty concluded between Tibet and Nepal. By this treaty, Tibet had to pay a tribute of 10,000 annually to Nepal.

During the end of the last century, India had a number of border disputes with Tibet and China was quite unable to secure a settlement. As a result a British expeditionary force under Sir Francis Younghusband was dispatched to Tibet in 1904. A convention was concluded between Tibet and the British Government in India which set out a special relationship between Tibet and India. There was no mention of the Chinese suzerainty over Tibet in the 1904 convention. On the contrary, Article 9 of the convention expressly confers on the British Government certain definite powers concerning matters which fall under the external soveeignty of Tibet. The terms of the Anglo-Tibetan convention of 1904 was accepted by China in a convention concluded with Britain in 1906, under which China accepted the terms of the 1904 Anglo-Tibetan convention which conferred certain specified powers on the British Government in matters relating to Tibet's external sovereignty. By this convention Tibet was placed under the double suzerainty of Britain and China. The 1904 convention recognises the de facto autonomy and limited independence of Tibet as otherwise how could she confer certain rights on the British Government?

In 1911 China invaded Tibet and established a military occupation when the thirteenth Dalai Lama took refuge in India. With the outbreak of the Chinese revolution in 1912, the Tibetans rose against the Chinese military rule and drove away the Chinese. In 1912 the Tibetan independence was complete and Tibet terminated Chinese suzerainty. She declared herself to be an idependent State. Since 1912 Tibet had been asserting her complete independence and in the 1914 convention between British Government, China and Tibet, Tibet participated as a separate and independent State. Under the treaty of 1904, India acquired the rights to maintain trade agents at Gyantse and Yatung with a small formal escort, and a seasonal trade agent in the summer in the area of Gartok in the western Tibet. A military mission was established by India in Lhasa in 1936. Tibet has her own currency system and since 1912 the Chinese representative at Lhasa was not allowed to exercise any control over the internal affairs of Tibet, nor did Tibet pay any tribute to China.

Since 1912 Tibet has not been bound by treaties concluded by China and that shows Tibetan independence. Suzerainty in international law implies that the war of the suzerain is ipso facto war of the vassal state. But during the second world war Tibet continued to be a neutral State, although China was a party to the war. In 1942 China demanded a right of passage through Tibet, but that was refused by Tibet. At last at the advice of Britain, Tibet allowed the passage of only non-military goods through Tibet and she maintained her neutrality during the war.

This historical background clearly indicates that the Chinese suzerainty over Tibet was never effective for any long period and since 1912 it became non-existent. Tibet's position in international law was recognised as a semi-sovereign State. In the name of "peaceful liberation" a Sino-Tibetan treaty was thrust upon Tibet by force in 1951 and intimidation by the People's Government of China which professes itself to be Communist. From whom was Tibet liberated? It was a camouflage for imperialistic conquest of a peaceful people. The Tibetan delegation at the 1951 agreement in Peking were hardly allowed to say anything, the procedure followed being that of communicating to them what was expected of them. Before that China resorted to military operations against Tibet and the 1951 agreement was

forced upon Tibet almost at the point of bayonet. China's plea for military operations against Tibet was that the crossing of the 38th parallel in Korea and the progress of the Allied troops at the border of Manchuria made it imperative for China to invade Tibet as a measure of security for her own existence. This plea is certainly untenable.

The borders of India and Nepal run closely with Tibet for 2,000 miles. In the nature of things India has special interests in Tibet which China has recognised in the past. There is a considerable trade between the Bhutiyas of Almora and the Gharwalis earn their livelihood by their annual migrations to the markets around Gartok. Tibet has long been regarded as India's bastion, a bastion unsurpassed in the world. Hitherto India has posted not a single soldier along that vast northern frontier. The Chinese conquest of Tibet has deprived India of her strategic advantage and India may now be compelled to militarize her frontier with China, involving posting of a large number of soldiers and diverting large resources.

State Trading in Foodgrains

At last the much-awaited scheme on State Trading in Foodgrains was announced by the Central Government on April 2 last in the Lok Sabha. The shortage in food supply has been a major obstacle to the country's progress towards prosperity and unless the food position is eased, industrial progress is bound to suffer. The internal production of foodgrains is not sufficient enough to feed the people of the country and the ever increasing numbers of population always leaves a gap between the food production and the need of the country. With a view to distribute the output throughout the country the need for a Central Organisation has been felt for sometime and at last the Union Government has come out with a scheme for undertaking trade in foodgrains. The scheme, however, is not up to the expectation and this has been subjected to severe criticisms inside and outside the Legislature.

Broadly speaking, the scheme has two parts—the ultimate pattern and the interim scheme. The authorities face difficulties in the way of undertaking full-scale State trading immediately. The absence of an adequate administrative organization, the lack of sufficient storage accommodation and the want of adequate buffer stocks are the main impediments in the matter. The ultimate pattern of State Trading in Foodgrains will consist of a system which will provide for the collection of farm surpluses through service co-operatives at the village level and the channelling of the surpluses through marketing co-operatives and Central Marketing Co-operative Societies for distribution through retailers and through Consumers' Co-operatives. Effective steps will have to be taken for the Development of Consumer Co-operatives. The Union Government have decided that efforts should be directed towards the speedy realization of the ultimate objective and that during the interim period, more and more of the whole-sale trade in foodgrains be taken over by the co-operatives as they are progressively organised and developed.

A Working Group was set-up by the Government of India to work out the details of the scheme of State Trading in Foodgrains. The Working Group has laid down that the primary objective of State trading in foodgrains is to maintain price levels which are fair to the producer and the consumer and to reduce to the minimum the difference between the price received by the farmer and the prices paid by the consumer throughout the season and over an agricultural cycle. The Government have accepted this objective.

The Working Group was constituted under the Chairmanship of the Food Secretary and with representatives of the Ministry of Finance, the Ministry of Food and Agriculture, the Planning Commission and the Reserve Bank and the State Bank of India. It was assigned the task of considering the implications of the National Development Council's decision to socialise the whole-sale trade in foodgrains and to work out the details of a scheme for the implementation of that decision. Apart from the objective of price stabilisation, the other proposals of the Working Group include provisions for an orderly transition toward the assumption by the State of whole-sale trade in foodgrains without suddenly dislocating the existing channels of distribution or imposing excessive burden on the administrative machinery of the Central and State Governments.

The Working Group have also suggested that there should be a steady expansion of purchases by the Government of India with a view to establishing for the State a position of strategic control over the market and the intensification of existing measures, such as the licencing of wholesale traders and imposing certain obligations on them, the system of distribution at the retail stage through fair price shops and statutory price control at the wholesale stage. The scheme prepared by the Working Group also provides for the progressive development of co-operatives so that a comprehensive network of marketing co-operatives, capable of taking over the entire marketable surplus may be built up.

But the socialization of the trading in foodgrains cannot be achieved in the near future. The ultimate objective as set-forth above will take a long time to be realized. Hence the Working Group has recommended an interim scheme to be worked till the establishment of full-scale state trading. The interim scheme is now being followed but not to the desired extent. Under the scheme, the Government have not immediately undertaken the purchase of the entire marketed sulplus, as that would at once cast upon the Government the responsibility for feeding the consumers in the urban and semi-urban areas. The State will progressively acquire larger proportions of such surpluses with a view to controlling the market more and more effectively until full-fledged state trading is established.

In the interim period wholesale traders will be permitted to function as licensed traders who will make purchases on their own behalf but shall pay specified minimum prices to the farmer. While the Government will have the right to acquire the whole or the portion of the stocks from the licensed traders at controlled prices, the traders will be at liberty to sell the remaining stocks to the retailers at prices not exceeding the controlled prices. The wholesale traders will be required to maintain proper accounts of their purchase and sale transactions and of their stocks and submit periodical returns to the State Government.

Certain other decisions have also been taken by the Government of India about the trading in foodgrains. In the initial stages, state trading will be confined only to the two major cereals, namely, rice and wheat. In order to ensure that the producers get the minimum prices, the Government will set up an agency for making direct purchase of foodgrains from the producers who are desirous of selling their surplus produce to the Government. The purchase and sale operations as a whole would be conducted on a no-profit and no-loss basis. Uniform purchase prices will generally be fixed for a whole State or region. There are certain highly deficit areas where the prices are always higher than in the surplus areas. In view of this, the authorities think that it may be necessary to fix different purchase prices in the case of such highly deficit areas. Similarly, controlled prices for wholesale trade may vary from region to region within the State.

In the Lok Sabha this scheme was criticised by all sections of the House. It is practically not State trading in foodgrains inasmuch as procurement of rice and wheat will be done in the interim period through licensed wholesale traders and that is a step far away from the socialisation of trading in foodgrains. The main problem is how to maintain a fair price at which the consumers will be able to get foodgrains from the retailers and the Working Group also recognises that this should be the primary objective of State trading in foodgrains, that is, the maintenance of a fair price. But that aspect of the matter has been sacrificed in the interim period. In other words, the main issue has been put into cold storage for the time being and the problem of price fixation both at the wholesale stage and retail stage calls for immediate action. The cost fixation of agriculutral output is not an easy matter, particularly the retail prices. The retail prices will continue to be speculative notwithstanding the best wishes and efforts of the authorities. And that would mean that the problem remains unsolved in the interim period.

The scheme as has been announced is anything but State trading; that is, in the interim

period. It will practically be private trading as has hitherto been the case. The only new feature is that the Govrenment will try to exercise some control at the wholesale stage, but it is yet to be seen how far this will prove a success. Another problem that will be formidable is the spread between the price to be paid to the farmers by the wholesale traders and the retail price at which the consumers will get the foodgrains. The spread will tend to be high on account of speculative trade to be undertaken by the retailers. The farmers this year are not parting with their output to the expected level in view of the low price that is now being offered to them by the wholesale traders. So long as there prevails an apprehension among the farmers that there will be an upward swing of prices of foodgrains in off season, they will feel reluctant to part with their crops, holding them for better return during the rainy season.

During 1958 India is reported to have a record production of foodgrains, the production of rice alone being 29.7 million tons. But the availability of foodgrains in the market is not adequate and the prices have not come down to any appreciable extent. The State trading scheme is designed to help the wholesale traders under the aegis of the State. That is why some members of the Lok Sabha criticised the Government saying that they sabotaged the scheme of State trading as was envisaged by Food Grains Enquiry Commission. The best way towards price stabilization is to set up a grains bank that will exercise control over prices. For that purpose the State must maintain all surplus stocks in the country. To exercise strategic control over the prices of foodgrains, the stock should be maintained at a minimum level of 5 million tons. But the stock so far procured by the State does not exceed 5 lakh tons. Thus the consumers will continue to be at the mercy of the wholesalers and retailers for some time to come.

The report of the Foodgrains Enquiry Commission was published in the second half of 1957. Since then the authorities practically slept over the matter. Now they have come forward with a scheme which lacks coherence and is not at all effective. The State by this time should have set up a Central Organisation for procuring and storing foodgrains so that these could have been freed from the profiteering and speculative deals of the dealers. But the Government have carefully shunned that path and have adopted a course of least trouble. The Government are reluctant to purchase the entire marketed surplus of foodgrains in selected areas because the acquisition of the entire marketed surplus of such an area will immediately cast on the Government the responsibility for feeding the entire urban population of that area and possibly also of feeding the population of other areas which receive their supplies from such an area. The Government do not favour the setting up of State Corporations for undertaking trading in foodgrains. Instead they will rely on village co-operatives and service co-operatives for such purposes. The basic policy is that village co-operatives and co-operative marketing societies will be developed and there may eventually be an apex marketing society in each State. In this ultimate pattern there seems to be no place for Corporations in the States.

The co-operatives themselves are not well developed and it is of doubtful proposition to impose faith and responsibility on such organisations which are shaky and lack experience and organisational efficiency. India cannot hope to be self-supporting in the production of foodgrains in the immediate future. The rising numbers of population in the country will always outstrip the food output and for that reason a permanent arrangement by the State is needed for trading in food. The report of the Ford Foundation that recently visited this country points out that in view of India's rapidly rising population, which is expected to reach the figure of 48 crores by the end of the Third Plan, a target of 110 million tons is needed for food output to provide sufficient food to the number of population in the country.

The food production needs be doubled by the end of the third Plan. And to ensure proper distribution, full-fledged State trading and control over foodgrains are necessary. So long as the food trade remains in the control of private sector, the people, the country and the economy will suffer. To ensure larger production, the Government should declare a minimum price for foodgrains at the beginning of the agricultural season and assurance should also be given that the State is prepared to purchase foodgrains direct from the farmers at that price. Unless the farmers are assured of a profitable price incentive, production is bound to suffer and the farmers will also offer resistance in parting with their output unless they are assured that they can get foodgrains at almost the same price at which they will sell the crops. For this purpose the State organisation will impart confidence to the farmers.

Public Service Commissions

The frequency of complaints in Parliament and the State legislatures about the failure of the Union and State Governments to obtain, or abide by, the recommendations of the Union and State Public Service Commissions in a large number of cases is a matter of the most serious concern as it touches upon a very important subject of public policy in a democratic State, *viz.*, the maintenance of administrative efficiency and integrity. During a recent debate in the Uttar Pradesh Legislative Council, for example, the Leader of the Opposition complained that the State Public Service Commission was being treated in an extremely casual manner. He alleged, with reference to the report of the Commission for the year 1955-56 (why the report should have come up for discussion so late—nearly three years after the close of the period to which it relates—is another point for a proper appreciation of which it would be necessary to know the date on which the Commission had submitted its report to the Government), that the recommendations of the Commission had been repeatedly ignored and in a large number of cases even no reference had been made to it. The figures which he cited in support of this criticism showed that during that year, 1362 persons had been appointed without any reference to the Commission as against 1510 in a regular manner (*i.e.*, through the Commission).

One of the fundamental postulates of democracy is the dispersion of authority to create mutual checks and balances and to prevent excessive concentration of power which inevitably leads to tyranny and dictatorship. The Legislature, the Executive, the Judiciary and the system of independent audit through the Auditor-General are all meant to maintain the delicate balance of power in the democratic State. The Public Service Commission in such a set-up serves to help the State to get the services of the best talents of the country. Following the general democratic principle of not allowing power to concentrate in any particular organ of the State, the Constitution of India specifically lays down the role and functions of each. In the interest of administrative efficiency and integrity it lays down the principle that the Public Service Commissions should be generally consulted at the time of recruitment of personnel for filling up governmental vacancies. The specific mention of the Public Service Commissions in the Constitution is in itself an indication of the implied obligation of the Governments to refer to them all cases of appointments and to abide by their recommendations, save in exceptional cases which are to be few and far between. If on the face of this the Governments, in the Centre as well as in the States, should be unable in a significant number of cases to refer to the Commissions the cases of appointments and promotions or to accept their recommendations, as happens to be the case now, the question that comes to mind is whether there is at all any justification for maintaining the show of a number of costly commissions which are largely ineffectual. The continued refusal of the Executive to acknowledge the proper role of the Public Service Commission, in the Centre and in the States, brings credit neither to the Commission nor to the Government. It indicates either that the Commission has miserably failed in the proper discharge of its duties laid down in the Constitution which has led the Executive to take upon itself the major share of the Commission's task; or that the Executive, through the measures to side-track the Commission, is usurping powers which do not properly belong to it. Whether the responsibility lies with the Commission, or the Executive or with both, the nation has cause to be equally concerned at the trend of developments because the Executive, being subject to various pressures and influences which do not generally affect the independent Public Service Commission, may fail to exhibit that sense of

objectivity and detachment in selecting candidates which is essential for an efficient public service whose importance in a Welfare State can hardly be exaggerated. In an impartial assessment it is, on the other hand, impossible to overlook the fact that the Public Service Commission, in the Centre as well as in the States, have also not been able always to act up to expectation. When all the factors in this complicated relationship between the Executive and the Public Service Commission have been taken into consideration, it would appear that the national interest calls for the immediate appointment of a high-powered committee with adequate representation of the Parliament, the Executive, the Commission and the lay public, to go into the working of the Public Service Commission in the Centre and in the States with a view to summing up the past experience which only could enable future policies to be laid down on a sounder basis.

More on Law Commission's Report

The discussions in the Lok Sabha on the demands for grants of the Minister of Law and Home Affairs laid bare the vulnerability of some of the finding of the Law Commission. Both the Law Minister and the Home Minister were emphatic in their denial of any governmental interference in the appointment of Judges and the statistical support they brought to bear upon their agreement appeared to make their position impregnable. The Home Minister cited figures and said that all the seventeen Judges appointed to the Supreme Court since 1950 had been selected in accordance with the wishes of the Chief Justice of India. Of the 176 Judges appointed to the High Courts during that period all except one had the approval of the Chief Justices of the States concerned. In one case only the Government of India had accepted the view of the Chief Justice of India in preference to that of the local Chief Justices. The Home Minister added that in as many as 161 cases of appointment of High Court Judges the six persons connected with the matter of selection (the Chief Justice of the local High Court, the Chief Minister of the State concerned, the Governor of that State, the Union Home Minister, the Prime Minister and the Chief Justice of India) had been unanimous in their decision. In fourteen cases where there was a divergence of opinion the view of the Chief Justice had prevailed.

The statements of the Minister of Law and the Minister for Home Affairs run directly counter to the statement of the Law Commission and tend to create a great confusion in the public mind. If we are to believe the Minister's statements it would either mean a sad reflection upon some of the present leaders of our judiciary or upon the integrity of the Law Commission itself. If, as the Law Commission avers, the executive had interfered in the selection of Judges in a greater majority of cases and if the Chief Justices had submitted to such undue interference by concurring with many unsatisfactory appointments—while they had no obligation to do so either under the conditions of their service or under their oath of office, the people can hardly be expected to agree to arm such people with greater powers. If, on the other hand, the Judges had not behaved in such a despicable manner, the Law Commission's findings in this regard must be regarded as highly misleading and would, to that extent, lose public respect for it.

Levy Agitation Withdrawn

The withdrawal of the anti-Betterment Levy agitation in Punjab, following the implied assurance of the State Chief Minister that the Government would consider the grievances of the people, leads one to ask if the parties could not have arrived at such an agreement earlier without so much strife and violence in the State. The fact that the Government already has brought down the assessment from the original figure of Rs. 100 crores to Rs. 30 crores and has indicated its willingness to consider bringing it down still further would seem to indicate that the Government itself was by no means convinced of the righteousness of its own position. The agitation which was countered by the strongest police measures has meant the loss of several lives, direct physical and financial injury to many, and indirect inconvenience and loss to a still larger number of persons. Now that both the parties have come to see the folly of it all and the agitation has been called off unconditionally by the organisers of the movement, the Government should unreservdly come forward in adopting the speediest measures to mitigate the suffering of the people and to remove the grounds of their complaint.

Filling up the Vacuum

The policy of filling up the vacuum, which was first propounded with reference to the Middle East, may soon be extended to the area of the Indian Ocean. At any rate the threat of such an action is contained in a recent article in a U.S. magazine called *Navy* written by Rear-Admiral E. M. Eller, a historian for the United States Navy. "The Indian Ocean," the Admiral writes, "is momentarily a naval vacuum with no single or joint command at the ready to keep open this only highway to outside world . . . . A suitable naval task force in these waters would be of priceless value in helping to keep world peace. The sooner this vacuum is filled, the stronger will be the prospects of averting Soviet domination of this area whose loss in the end might mean the loss of freedom everywhere."

Admiral Eller is the director of the Naval History Division in the office of Naval operations and his article forms part of a study by the magazine of the Indian Ocean and the Persian Gulf areas. It may not, therefore, be unreasonable to take his views as representative of those of a certain section of official strategy-planners. The talk of an Indian Ocean Command has been in the air off and on for the past six years. The conclusions of a bilateral naval pact between Great Britain and the Union of South Africa once led to such speculations. In a statement, made sometimes later on, the Indian Prime Minister pointed out that the Indian Ocean was encircled by the navies of powers who were intimately connected with various regional pacts which could by no means, be regarded as conducive to peace and mutual understanding. The recent reports of the stationing of American mariners in Singapore not unnaturally led to anxious thoughts in many Asian minds. The article by the Rear-Admiral would seem to suggest that American policy in this matter is still in a fluid state and may, at any day, be interpreted to extend the purview of the various pacts (Baghdad Pact, SEATO Pact and other bilateral agreements) to cover the Indian Ocean area also which is almost inevitably bound to lead to the extension of the area of international tension.

Iraq and U. A. R.

King Feisal of Iraq was murdered with the late Premier Nuri Al-Said in the revolution of July, 1958. This revolution was then regarded, as conducted by a pro-Nasser group of "Free Officers" in the Iraqi Army. But today the conflict of ideology between Iraq and U.A.R. has been so acute those dreams of friendship and unity of action, one may think, have melted into the thin air. Charge and counter-charge between Cairo and Baghdad are the main play of the passions of present-day Iraq and U.A.R., President Nasser said in Cairo on March 11 that the U.A.R. would not be offended at Kassem's demonstrations and insults, 'because an insult for the sake of a great issue like Arab Nationalism is a great honour.' The President's policy was to support any Arab country threatened with aggression and not to give Kassem and the Communists the chance "to sow the seeds of dissension among us and place us within their zones of influence. Communist terrorism in Iraq against Arab Nationalism and the U.A.R., and our leaders will make us more determined than ever in our mission. We shall fight and struggle to protect our country and Arabism. We follow an independent policy emanating from our country. We resisted pressure and military pacts against the Baghdad Pact so that we should not be within spheres of influence." On March 15, in Damascus the President attacked his opponent bitterly: "The Arab and Iraqi people will defeat today the red dictatorship in Iraq as they defeated other countries and armies before. Looking at Baghdad we see a bigger terror than in the days of Nuri Al-Said." President Nasser told the cheering crowds that Colonel Abdel Salem Aref, former Deputy Prime Minister of Iraq, now under

death-sentence for plotting against the regime, was the real hero of the July 14, revolt. He accused the Iraqi rulers of deceiving the Iraqis, making a mockery of Arab Nationalism and called them Communist agents. He said that it was against this terror and subjugation that the revolt in Mosul was directed.

The Iraqi Government also did not remain inactive. On 10th March, they had expelled nine members of the United Arab Republic Embassy in Baghdad including the military attache, Brigadier Abdel Megied Ferid. These diplomats were reported to have been kept in an enclosure in the airport until a crowd of Communist demonstrators arrived and jeered them with anti-U.A.R., slogans. The Iraqi Foreign Ministry on March 14, issued a statement calling on the Government of the United Arab Republic to stop what it called violations of the Iraqi frontier by Syrian tribesmen. This statement was described as without foundation and charges were made by the U.A.R., that Iraqi Air Force fighters had strafed a Syrian village during the recent revolt in North Iraq. President Nasser in the speech on March 15, in Damascuss, predicted that the revolt in Mosul, Northern Iraq, would not be the last "as long as there is a dictatorship, terrorism and apostasy in Iraq." Discussing the revolution in July he said that Kassem's game was to wait and see so that if the July, 1958 revolution succeeded, he would proclaim himself as the sole leader but if it had failed he would have proclaimed loyalty to Regent Abdel Illah and Nuri Al-Said.

But in spite of this remark about Kassem by Nasser, it cannot be denied that there is strong support behind Kassem's power in Iraq. Evidence of it are not at all rare. One can easily recollect that Colonel Fadhel Abbas Mahdawi, President of the people's tribunal in Baghdad, interrupted its proceedings, on March 16, to shout into the microphone that the Iraqis would deal with 'Nasserites" and their agents "if you try to cross one inch into the Republic." "The lot of the traitor Showwaf was the lot of Nuri Al-Said and such will be your lot," he warned. Colonel Mahdawi denounced the Nasserites as traitors to the Arab cause. He declared: "We are the sincere guardians of the people and its power, the people headed by our leader Abdul Karim Kassem —Kassem, the hero of the revolution, Kassem of Iraq, Kassem of Syria, Kassem of Egypt, Kassem of all Arab countries."

Without entering into the questions whether General Kassem is a true nationalist, whether he has enough devotion to Arab Unity or whether he is a Communist agent as termed by President Nasser, we cannot help supporting his decision on March 24, though much delayed, that Iraq had decided to withdraw from the Baghdad Pact. In his statement broadcast by Baghdad Radio General Kassem said: "We are a neutral country and we have no aggressive intentions against the world's status. The policy of our State is founded on neutrality which excludes its being a party to a pact, a military or aggressive block. Our continued stay in the Pact would be a perversion of our convictions and contrary to the feelings of the people, because independence and sovereignty are inter-dependent and because the Pact-member States might violate them in the event of war or aggression and effect a landing of their forces in our country by invoking the 'frozen' Baghdad Pact . . . . We were determined to end this pact since July 14th. We did truly end it. But its vestiges remained and these we have now liquidated." The Radio concluded: "Iraq will maintain relations with all countries, especially with its neighbours, on the basis of friendship, equality and mutual benefit.

Views on Berlin Crisis

We give the background to the present crisis in the following summaries:

U.S.A.: In a nation-wide radio and television broadcast on March 17, President Eisenhower spoke primarily on the Berlin situation. He said the United States was ready to make "every sincere effort" to negotiate a German settlement, but stressed that America would not abandon its rights or responsibilities in such negotiations. "The free nations are faced with three choices today in regard to Berlin and Germany" he said: (1) An abdication of allied rights, which are also responsibilities. The Soviets would prefer this, he said, but for America this would be an "unacceptable" course. He said that the United States had no intention of abdicating its rights or of deserting free peoples. (2) "The possibility of war." He said that the free nations certainly did not want war, for it could mean the destruction of civilization. The Soviets knew this, he said. (3) Negotiation while at the same time providing for security. "If conditions promise results," he sated, "the United States and its allies stand ready to talk with Soviet representatives at any time and at any place." Mr. Eisenhower said the allies were ready to consider all proposals which could increase security and take account of the desires of the free people. In any negotiation, the United States would not, however, abandon the people of Berlin, agree to any permanent division of Germany, permit any unilateral abrogation of treaty rights, or allow any undermining of the security of the United States and its allies, the President affirmed.

U.S.S.R.: In a Press Conference in the Kremlin for Soviet and foreign journalists on the Berlin and German situations, the Soviet Prime Minister, Mr. Nikita Krushchev declared on March 19, that Russia recognised the right of the Western Powers to have troops in West Berlin, but he thought that after 14 years a peace treaty should be signed. In accepting western ideas for a May 11 Foreign Ministers' meeting, he again assured the western statesmen that Russia held to a peaceful settlement of the Berlin question by negotiation and dismissed any idea of an ultimatum. He declared that the Soviet proposals for a peace treaty with Germany and liquidation of the occupation regime in West Berlin was an initiative ending the cold war.

G.F.R.: At a Press Conference in Delhi Mr. Willy Brandt, the Governing Mayor of West Berlin said: "The case of Berlin points to the greater problem, namely, the rebuilding of the unity of German statehood free from foreign interference and by elimination of the neo-Colonialism by which East Germany has been subjugated." Summing up his conclusion on the Berlin question, Mr. Brandt reiterated the following points: (a) "The Berlin crisis is not an isolated case, but can and must only be understood in connection with the German problem as a whole which, in itself, is part of the overall problem of European World Security; (b) the Berliners want peace, but they oppose unilateral action, and they are absolutely aware that peace cannot be secured by moral capitulation; (c) The Berliners have a right to live, a right which is based on international law, recognised also by the Soviet side. This right to live includes free access to the city."

NATO Vs. The Soviets

The New York Times, dated April 5, gave the following commentary on the Berlin crisis:

The date was April 4, 1949; the scene, the stage of the Interdepartmental Auditorium in Washington. In succession the foreign ministers of twelve nations spoke briefly and put their signatures to a document bound in blue goatskin. The document was the North Atlantic Treaty. With that instrument there came into being an alliance designed to meet this situation:

"Russia had used the massive threat of the Red Army to sweep nation after nation into the Communist camp—the most recent of them Czechoslovakia the year before. A pivotal Western position, West Berlin, was under Soviet land blockade and was being supplied by a costly airlift. Postwar demobilization and economic instability had cut deeply into Western power. The hope was that the U. S. atomic bomb—then a monopoly—and the pledge of common action under the North Atlantic Treaty would deter Russia from further military advance."

Last Thursday morning, on that same stage in Washington, leaders of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization formally observed the alliance's tenth anniversary. In the afternoon, behind closed doors, they took up urgent problems confronting them. In the background were these essential facts about the situation in which the alliance now stands:

"Soviet military power has grown. True, the Western position has been strengthened also, with West Germans now in the alliance and bolstering the European front, and with NATO's southern flank extended to Greece and Turkey. East and West have seemed to be locked

in thermonuclear stalemate. Nevertheless the potential for catastrophic war—through recklessness or mischance—has multiplied. And now Russia is brandishing her power behind a new challenge in Europe."

The challenge goes to the fundamentals of Western security in Europe. It grows out of the Soviet demand that the Western Big Three abandon their military position in West Berlin and declare it a "free city." Along with the demand the Russians have served notice of intention to turn over to the East Germans the control of Western access to the city. The explicit threat is that if the Western powers do not deal with the East Germans but instead try to force their way through, they will collide with the power of the Red Army. Soviet Premier Khrushchev has been using the threat as a lever to force the West to negotiations at the summit, presumably in the hope of extracting concessions under the shadow of war. It is now considered likely that summit talks will take place.

Last Monday Mr. Khrushchev closed a round in the maneuvering toward the summit by accepting a Western proposal for talks of foreign ministers first, in Geneva May 11. The note arrived while ministers of the key Western nations involved—U. S., Britain, France, West Germany—were meeting in Washington to prepare for the next round. Wednesday evening they wound up their talks and reported to their NATO partners. Yesterday the meetings ended with a declaration of united determination to stand firm in defense of Western rights.

NATO, the greatest peacetime coalition in history, encompasses 450,000,000 people who inhabit 7,800,000 square miles of the earth's surface. Together, the fifteen-member nations have 5,500,000 men under arms, including forty-six divisions allocated to NATO's joint military pool in three regional commands. They are pledged to regard an attack against one as an attack against all.

West Germany was brought into the alliance in 1955 by the Western Big Three who had pressed forward with West German rearmament in the face of mounting Soviet pressure on the continent. NATO's front line of defense was thereby established along the West German border and the city limits of West Berlin. Thus the Soviet challenge on Berlin and Germany is a direct threat to NATO and the entire structure of Western defense.

That is the basic stake, as Western officials see it, in the new round of East-West negotiations which will begin in Geneva May 11. In its note last week agreeing to the foreign ministers' conference, Moscow also accepted a Western stipulation that the meeting should deal with "questions related to Germany" in addition to the specific Soviet proposals, first, to make West Berlin a "free city," and, second, to sign separate peace treaties with East and West Germany. The wording of the Soviet note also indicated that Premier Khrushchev regards the holding of a summit conference as a foregone conclusion regardless of the outcome of the foreign ministers' meeting. The note said:

"The Soviet Government notes with satisfaction that at present the Western Big Three have reached agreement to start solving urgent international questions at a foreign ministers' conference and a summit meeting . . . ."

Actually, the Western Big Three have not agreed unqualifiedly to go to the summit. In varying and somewhat ambiguous terms, each stated in its note to Moscow March 26 that a summit conference would depend on the outcome of the foreign ministers' meeting.

U.S.-Pak. Bilateral Agreement

We quote here from the American Embassy's *News Letter* March 11, some facts of the U.K.-Pak. Bilateral Agreement:

"Following the fall of the Royal Government of Iraq in mid-July of last year (that is, 1958) the Ministerial Council of the Baghdad Pact met in London . . . At that meeting the United States, which is not a signatory to the Baghdad Pact but is a member of several of its Committees, agreed to enter into agreements with the remaining active members of the Pact to assist in their security and defence,

"pursuant to existing congressional authorization." There followed a prolonged period of negotiation between the U.S. and Turkey, Iran and Pakistan . . . . Last Thursday in Ankara Ambassador Fletcher Warren for the United States and Foreign Minister Fatin Rustu Zorlu for Turkey, Ambassador Sayid M. Hassan for Pakistan and General Hassan Arfa for Iran signed identical agreements, differing only in the names of the countries involved. The first article of the agreement (Iran, Pakistan) is determined to resist aggression. In case of aggression against Turkey (Iran, Pakistan) the Government of the United States of America, *in accordance with the Constitution of the United States of America*, will take such appropriate action, including the use of armed forces, as may be mutually agreed upon and as is envisaged in the joint resolution to promote peace and stability in the Middle-East, in order to assist the Government of Turkey (Iran, Pakistan) at its request."

The 'threat' posed by this agreement was the dominant theme of the debate in the Lok Sabha on March 16. Two opposition members, Mr. Surendra Mahanty (Ganatantra Parishad) and Mr. W. C. Patnaik (Ind.) denounced the pact in stronger terms. Mr. Mahanty warned the Government that nothing prevented America from saying at any time that India was controlled by international Communism. "This is a clear cause of blackmail and international bullying by the U.S.A. against India," he said. Congress members, including Mr. Joachim Alva, Mr. D. C. Sharma, Mr. D. S. Raju and Mr. Kalika Singh, said that the pact was a menace to India. The Praja-Socialist member, Mr. Asoka Mehta, while calling the pact objectionable, did not think that it had basically altered the situation. In this connection we shall also follow the statement released at a press conference organised by the visiting Soviet Delegation in New Delhi on March 19: "The Government of U.S. has recently concluded new bilateral military agreements with Pakistan, Iran and Turkey, which are rightly considered by the peace-loving peoples of Asia as a new serious 'threat' to the cause of peace in this region. We understand the anxiety of the Indian people in connection with this agreement because in spite of the assurances of the Government of U.S. this agreement is directed not only against the Soviet Union but first of all against the neighbours of Pakistan—India and Afghanistan."

News from Africa

Africa is now in travail. The parts affected are the remaining zones of colonialism. We give summaries of the situations prevailing in some of them in the following summaries:

Northern Nigeria: Nigeria, largest British colonial territory, lies in Western Africa, between Cameroon and Dahomey (French) on the gulf of Guinea. Its area is approximately 373,250 square miles and population (1954) of 31,800,000. The chief exports are tin, palm oil, palm kernels, cotton lint, cocoa, hides and skins, columbite, rubber and pea-nuts. The Northern region of the huge country is the largest with some 17,000,000 inhabitants. Two-thirds of them are Moslems. The region achieved self-government on Sunday, March 15. At a celebation of the event on Saturday (March 14) her Commissioner in London, Alhaji Abdulmaliki, read this message from the Premier, Alhaji Sir Ahmadu Bello, the Sondana of Sokoto: "I would like to assure you all of our determination to remain within the British Commonwealth of Nations. As a young nation we shall have many problems facing us, but we will tackle them with courage and firmness to the best of our ability. We shall want, and welcome, assistance in our industry and commerce, and we shall do our best to create attractive conditions for investment."

Tanganyika: It is a trust territory administered by a Governor, with Executive and Legislative Councils, formerly was German East Africa, and was taken by the British in 1918, the Urundi and Ruanda districts going to Belgium, and the Kionga Triangle to Mozambique (Portuguese East Africa). It reaches from the coast to Lake Tanganyika and Lake Nyaza to Victoria Nyanza. The area is 362,688 square miles, population 8,069,000, the majority being of

the Bantu race. The principal products are sisal, cotton, coffee, hide and skin, bees-wax and ivory.

The appointment in July of five un-official Ministers and the formation of a Council of Ministers to replace the present Executive Council in Tanganyika would mark another major step in the progress of the territory towards eventual self-government. In Dar es Salem on March 17 the Governor, Sir Richard Turnbull, made an anouncement: "The position we have now reached is one stage in a succession of stages, each of which will get us nearer our final goal." After the elections, a committee would be conducting enquiries, and he would, in consultation with advisers, be considering the question of further advances in the constitutional field. The Governor explained that these advisers would include the five un-official Ministers —three African, one Asian and one European.

Nyasaland: Nyasaland is a British Protectorate in the Central Africa and situated in on the Southern and Western shores of Lake Nyaza and extends nearly as far as the Zambesi River. Its area is 47,404 square miles including 10,575 of water with a population of 2,600,000. Tea, wheat, cotton, rubber and tobacco are cultivated.

Mr. W. K. Chiume, a Nyasaland African leader who flew secretly to London last month addressed a meeting of students: "come what may, we are going to have freedom and we are determined to have it." 'Federation means apartheid, and 'out with Welensky' were among the slogans on banners carried by the students to the gathering place.

Kenya: Kenya is the crown colony and protectorate, extends from the Indian Ocean North-east to Somaliland, North to Ethiopia, West to Uganda and South to Tanganyika. Its area is 224,960 square miles and population is 6,150,000, largely native. The capital is Nairobi. The main products are coffee, tea, cereals, sisal, dairy products, timber and minerals. Mr. Tom Mboya, President of the Nairobi People Convention Party, has, in an open letter to the Governor of Kenya Sir Evelyn Baring said: "People had been arrested and removed from Nairobi, where they had been earning their living, without any proven case against them "and in fact without being faced with any evidence." Wives and children of some of the arrested men had been left to end for themselves and in two cases women who had been repatriated were forced to leave their children behind in Nairobi without anyone to take the responsibility for feeding and looking after them, he said. Mr. Mboya further said that the Nairobi Peoples Convention Party were based on a "frank and fearless expression of African feelings, fears and aspirations." The Party adhered to the principles of Democracy."

Southern Rhodesia: It lies in the central part of Southern Africa, extending from the Transval Province northward to the Zambesi River with Portuguese East Africa on the East and Portuguese West Africa and Bechuanaland on the West. It has an area of 150,333 square miles. Population is 2,480,000 including approximately 159,000 Europeans. The country is rich in gold reefs and other minerals, but has proved to be an ideal agricultural country. Salisbury is the capital. A new form of Government was established in Rhodesia in October 1, 1923 with a Governor assisted by a Legislature which had full control over internal affairs.

Commenting on the Government's Unlawful Organization Bill announced on Thursday which aims at permanently banning the African National Congress movement in Southern Rhodesia, the Archbishop of Central Africa the Most Revered James Hughes in an interview published in the **Bulawayo Chronicle** said on March 14: "I am in conscience bound to register a public protest . . . . I am shocked to discover that we appear to be devoid of both statesmanship and legal skill and must resort to methods characteristic of the Hitler regime."

French Cameroons: French Cameroons was part of the German Colony, Kamerun in Western Africa. It consists of 166,489 square miles. It became an autonomous state and provisional trusteeship on April 16, 1957. Its population is 3,127,400 including several thousand Europeans. Its chief products are palm oil, groundnuts, timber, hides, cocoa and ivory. The capital is Yaounde.

The 82-nation U. N. Trusteeship Committee on March 12, voted for the ending of Trusteeship and granting independence to French Cameroons on January 1, 1960. The Committee's resolution embodies an amendment sponsored by India, Ceylon and five other countries expressing confidence that at the earliest possible date after the attainment of independence, election would be held for the formation of a new assembly "which should take decisions regarding the establishment in their final form of the institutions of free and independent Cameroons."

Secretary of State Dulles

Mr. John Foster Dulles has resigned his post as the Secretary of State of the United States, due to being incapacitated by a recurrence of cancer.

Son of a Presbyterian Minister, Mr. Dulles comes from a family long active in foreign affairs. He is the third in three successive generations of his family to serve as U.S. Secretary of State. Dulles first came into the international picture when, as a 19-year old student at Princeton he accompanied his grandfather to the Netherlands and served as an attache of the Chinese Delegation at the second Hague Peace Conference in 1907. At 30, already well-known as an international lawyer, he was one of five close advisers to President Woodrow Wilson at the Versailles Peace Conference in 1919 following World War I. He was a member of the U.S. delegation that helped to establish the U.N. at Francisco, in 1945. An active participant in international affairs for 50 years and the driving force in U.S. foreign relations during his assignment as Secretary of State from 1953 to 1959, Mr. Dulles tried to find peaceful solutions to international problems. He represented the U.S. at every major international meeting until illness in 1958 restricted his activities. He was the principal adviser to President Eisenhower at the heads-of-government meeting at Geneva in July of 1955. His devotion to principle was strikingly demonstrated on November 2, 1956, when he went before the U.N. General Assembly to condemn the invasion of Egypt by the U.K. and France and by Israel and asked for an immediate cease-fire. Less than two years later, Lebanon issued its call for assistance and Dulles responded without the least hesitation. President Eisenhower in his news-conference said: "I. . . have asked him to remain as my consultant, and I will appoint him to some office that makes it possible for him to be useful both to the State Department and to me, because I think all of you know my opinion of Secretary Dulles."

U. S. View on Tibet

The New York Times of April 5, gave the following comments on the Dalai Lama's flight from Tibet into India:

On the night of March 17, according to reports reaching the outside world last week, a dramatic trek began in the remote mountain country of Tibet. The Dalai (Mongol for all-embracing) Lama (priest), a 23-year-old Tibetan who is venerated as the "Living Buddha" and a god-king by his countrymen, fled from the capital city of Lhasa. With a party of some eighty lamas and attendants, he hiked southward along narrow, stony tracks, across great rivers and high passes, toward India 300 miles away.

Chinese Communist planes searched for the party and on occasion Chinese paratroopers pursued it. But under the protection of Tibet's Khampa tribesmen, the Dalai Lama arrived last week at the Indian frontier in the area of Towang, about 500 miles north of Calcutta. On Friday, Indian Prime Minister Nehru announced to a cheering Parliament that the Dalai Lama was safe, in good health, and would be given "respectful treatment."

The highest land in the world, Tibet is a huge plateau (almost twice as large as Texas) between two mountain ranges, the Kunluns in the north and the Himalayas in the south. Its population of about 1 million are mainly peasants, nomads and priests. Tibet is a theocracy;

its religion is Lamaism, an offshoot of Buddhism, and 10 per cent of its population are celebated lamas who live in 3,000 monasteries. Its economy is pastoral; Tibet produces wool, woolen cloth, felt, yak's hair, hides, butter cheese and dried meat. Trade is mainly with India and is carried on through narrow Himalayan passes, some of them 18,000 feet high.

For centuries Tibet has been considered a part of China's sphere of influence. The Chinese Communists are determined to bring this land under firm Chinese control for two main reasons. First, they feel they need Tibet in order to assert their power in Central Asia vis-a-vis Russia and India. Second, they want to subjugate and communize the region because an autonomous Tibet, living in peaceful defiance of the rigid doctrines governing China, might spur rebellions against Communist rule in other discontented Chinese territorities such as Sinkiang.

In 1950 Chinese Communist troops invaded the country and a year later induced the Tibetans to sign a treaty in which (1) Tibet recognized Chinese suzerainty and Peiping's authority over its external affairs, and (2) Peiping agreed to respect Tibetan autonomy and the position of the Dalai Lama as the supreme spiritual and temporal ruler of Tibet.

Peiping violated its part of the agreement. The Chinese Communists challenged the Dalai Lama's authority. They sought to destroy the centuries-old Tibetan theocracy and communize the country. More than 300,000 Chinese Communist troops were stationed in Tibet. The Chinese established Communist schools and indoctrinated the young generation of Tibetans.

As the Tibetan people's bitterness mounted, fighting broke out. Last month the revolts became a full-scale rebellion and the Dalai Lama fled. Peiping rushed troop reinforcements and planes. News reports from Tibet itself have been scant because of poor communications. But the Chinese Communists told of bloody fighting in which they killed or captured thousands of Tibetans. According to reports from Himalayan frontier stations on the Indian border, the Chinese carted off thousands of Tibetans for forced labor.

Last week the fighting continued but the Chinese, vastly superior in numbers and equipment, were evidently in control of most of the country. Premier Chou En-lai ordered the dissolution of the Dalai Lama's Local Government of Tibet and the substitution of a regime headed by his rival, the Panchen Lama, who is regarded as a Communist puppet. Nonetheless, reports from Indian frontier stations said the Tibetan people continued to regard the Dalai Lama as their sole ruler.

The suppression of the Tibetan revolt cost Communist China much goodwill in Asia. For one thing, to every Asian nation with large groups of Hindus or Buddhists, the Dalai Lama has a special significance. Religion is a potent force in these nations and Hinduism, Buddhism and Lamaism are related—the Buddha himself was a Hindu prince. Hindus as well as Buddhists revere the Buddha and the young Dalai Lama is, to them, a holy figure.

In addition, there was the political aspect of Communist China's moves against Tibet. For a decade Peiping had sought to cultivate the neutralist nations of Asia. Peiping's approach, expressed at the Bandung conference in 1955 by Premier Chou En-lai, was this: "We people in the Asian and African countries share the same fate and the same desires." Until recently, many Asians believed implicitly in the peaceful intentions of the Chinese Communist regime. They excused Peiping's use of force in North Korea and North Vietnam on the grounds that the Communists had been "provoked" by Western involvement.

But the Asians were obviously disenchanted with Peiping last week. Relations between Communist China and India were thrown in jeopardy. The Indian press attacked the Communists in bitter terms. Peiping countered that the Tibetan revolt had been organized in the Indian border town of Kalimpong, with Indian help. The Indian Communists supported this charge. In New Delhi on Wednesday, Thursday and Friday Parliament angrily debated the

air. The Deputy Minister for External airs, Mrs. Lakshmi Menon, said the vernment took "very strong exception" the Chinese allegation and equal excepn to the Indian Communist statements. hen the Communist deputies rose to eak, the house shouted them down with ies of "Shame-Shame!" and charged that ey had shown themselve to be "traitors."

he Dalai Lama's Statement

The following is the text of the statement made at Tezpur on April 18:

"It has always been accepted that the ibetan people are different from the Han eople of China. There has always been strong desire for independence on the art of the Tibetan people. Throughout istory this has been asserted on numerous ccasions. Sometimes the Chinese Govenment has imposed its suzerainty over Tibet nd at other times Tibet has functioned as n independent country.

"In any event, at all times, even when the suzerainty of China was imposed, Tibet remained autonomous in the control of its internal affairs.

"In 1951, under pressure of the Chinese Government, a 17-point agreement was made between China and Tibet. In that agreement the suzerainty of China was accepted as there was no alternative left to the Tibetans. But even in the agreement it was stated that Tibet would enjoy full autonomy. Though the control of external affairs was to be in the hands of the Chinese Government, it was agreed that there would be no interference by the Chinese Government with the Tibetan religion and customs and her internal administration. In fact, after the occupation of Tibet by the Chinese armies the Tibetan Government did not enjoy any measure of autonomy, even in internal matters, and the Chinese Government exercised full powers in Tibetan affairs.

"In 1956 a Preparatory Committee was set up for Tibet with the Dalai Lama as Chairman and the Panchen Lama as Vice-Chairman and General Chang Quo-hua as the representative of the Chinese Government. In practice, even this body had little power, and decisions in all important matters were taken by the Chinese authorities. The Dalai Lama and his Government tried their best to adhere to the 17-point agreement but the interference of the Chinese authorities persisted. By the end of 1955 a struggle had started in Kham province and this assumed serious proportions in 1956. In the resultant struggle the Chinese armed forces destroyed a large number of monasteries.

"Many Lamas were killed and a large number of monks and offcials were taken and employed on the construction of roads in China, and interference in the exercise of religious freedom increased.

"The relations of Tibetans with China became openly strained from the early part of February, 1959. The Dalai Lama had agreed a month in advance to attend a cultural show in the Chinese headquarters and the date was suddenly fixed for March 10. The people of Lhasa became apprehensive that some harm might be done to the Dalai Lama and, as a result, about 10,000 people gathered around the Dalai Lama's summer palace at Norbulingka and physically prevented the Dalai Lama from attending the function.

"Thereafter the people themselves decided to raise a bodyguard for the protection of the Dalai Lama. Large crowds of Tibetans went about the streets of Lhasa demonstrating against Chinese rule in Tibet. Two days later thousands of Tibetan women held demonstrations protesting against the Chinese authorities. In spite of these demonstrations by the people, the Dalai Lama and his Government endeavoured to maintain friendly relations with the Chinese and tried to carry out negotations with the Chinese representatives as to how best to bring about peace in Tibet and assuage the people's anxiety.

"While these negotiations were being carried out, reinforcements arrived to strengthen the Chinese garrisons in Tibet. On March 17 two or three mortar shells were fired in the direction of the Norbulingka palace. Fortunately the shells fell in a nearby pond.

"After this the advisers became alive to the danger to the person of the Dalai

Lama and in those difficult circumstances it became imperative for the Dalai Lama, the members of his family and his high officials to leave Lhasa.

"It was due to the loyalty and affectionate support of his people that the Dalai Lama was able to find his way through a route which is quite arduous. The route which the Dalai Lama took involved crossing the Kyichu and Tsangpo rivers and making his way through the Lhoka area, Yarlung Valley and Psona Zong before reaching the Indian frontier at Kanzey Mane, near Chuhangmu.

"On March 29, the Dalai Lama sent two emissaries to cross the Indo-Tibetan border to request the Government of India for permission to enter India and seek asylum there. The Dalai Lama is extremely grateful to the people and the Government of India for their spontaneous and generous welcome as well as the asylum granted to him and his followers.

"India and Tibet have had religious, cultural and trade links for over a thousand years, and for Tibetans it has always been the land of enlightenment, having given birth to the Buddha. The Dalai Lama is deeply touched by the kind greetings extended to him on his safe arrival in India by Mr. Nehru and his colleagues in the Government of India. The Dalai Lama has already sent a reply to this message of greetings.

"Ever since the Dalai Lama entered Kanzey Mane he has experienced in full measure the respect and hospitality extended to him by the people of the Kameng Frontier Division of the North-East Frontier Agency and the Dalai Lama would like to state how the Government of India's officers posted there had spared no effort in making his stay and journey through this extremely well-administered part of India as comfortable as possible.

"His country and people have passed through an extremely difficult period and all that the Dalai Lama wishes to say at the moment is to express his sincere regret at the tragedy which has overtaken Tibet and to fervently hope that these troubles will be over soon without any more bloodshed.

"As the Dalai Lama, and the spiritual head of all the Buddhists in Tibet, his foremost concern is the well-being of his people and in ensuring perpetual flourishing of his sacred religion and freedom of his country.

"While expressing once again thankfulness at his safe arrival in India, the Dalai Lama would like to take this opportunity to communicate to all his friends, well-wishers and devotees in India and abroad his sincere gratitude for the many messages of sympathy and concern with which they have flooded him."

The Canberra Jet Plane Incident

New Delhi, April 21.—The Defence Minister, Mr. V. K. Krishna Menon, reiterated in the Lok Sabha this evening that the shooting down of the Indian Air Force Canberra jet aircraft over Pakistan on April 10 was a "calculated and wanton" attack.

Mr. Menon said it was against all principles of international law and the Charter of the United Nations and in "total disregard" of the principle of reciprocity in relation to India. The Defence Minister also stated that the treatment meted out to the injured crew after the Canberra was shot down was against the Geneva Convention.

Mr. Menon listed Pakistani violations of Indian air space in recent weeks. He said even yesterday (April 20) a Pakistani aircraft had penetrated some 85 miles into Indian territory in the district of Hissar, "not far away from Delhi" and added: "Indian aircraft have not resorted to any hostile action in spite of the provocation in respect of the Canberra."

The Defence Minister, who made a detailed statement on the subject after interrogating the severely injured pilot and the navigator of the aircraft repudiated Pakistan's contention that it had warned the Indian Canberra before it was shot down. "Not even the (Pakistan) concocted confession of our pilot contained any reference to these alleged warnings given to the aircraft," he said.

Had any such warning been given, according to the practice on a wave-length accepted by all nations, it would have been heard by other stations, certainly by the nearby air stations at Amritsar or Jammu as they were tuned to this wave-length.

"No air station anywhere heard any such message. It must be clear therefore, that Pakistan's claim in regard to warnings is untrue," he added.

Mr. Menon said: "No warning of any kind by radio or by firing tracer bullets, as alleged by Pakistan, was at all given. Both the pilot and the navigation, who have been very closely questioned by our Air authorities on this matter, are clear on this point."

The first indication to the crew that anything unusual was happening was not any warning by radio or by tracer bullets, but the "rude shock of a 'thud' in the plane." The crew became aware of the attacking planes only after they had been hit; when after having seen two airfields on the ground and realised that they were probably over Pakistan, they had already turned towards India.

Mr. Menon stated that the crew during interrogation after their return to India had "categorically and repeatedly" stated that their flying over Pakistan territory was the result of a navigational error.

Mr. Menon recalled that Pakistan authorities had admitted that the Canberra was attacked by more than one Pakistan fighter plane. It was obvious, therefore, that the 'fighters were armed and the guns loaded contrary to the practice of Air Force planes in peacetime. The attack on the Canberra was "deliberate, planned and prepared," and was made not to prevent her from further penetration into Pakistan because the aircraft was already turning Indiaward.

Mr. Menon said during the interrogation of the injured airmen, the Pakistan officers concerned appeared to have subjected them to much pressure and harassment. "They appear to have told their victims that they were in Pakistan and not in India and that it was better for their health if they confessed that they had deliberately violated Pakistan territory for aerial reconnaissance and photography."

The pilot had only hazy recollections of the whole of this period of interrogation. "He remembers people continuously shouting at him. He remembers feeling threatened and harassed. He has no recollection whatsoever of speaking himself or signing any statement at all or as alleged."

The navigator, who was separated from the pilot from the moment they reached the Pakistan military hospital, had been told (by Pakistan authorities) that "it was no use his saying he was off the track and was over Pakistan territory owing to faulty navigation since the Prime Minister (Nehru) and the Government of India had already admitted that they had been sent out on a mission to fly over Pakistan and to take photographs."

In fact, Mr. Menon said, despite the fact that the navigator was totally exhausted, shortly after the midnight of April 11 the navigator was asked to sign a statement which was not read by him.

Mr. Menon said that Pakistan officers repeatedly assured the navigator that the statement was only to the effect that they had come over Pakistan territory as a result of navigational error and that the signing of the statement was a mere formality which he (the navigator) had to comply with before returning to India. The navigator signed the statement. "It is significant that neither the Pakistan authorities nor the Pakistan Press has so far said anything about the statement of the navigator," he said.

Mr. Menon said that both these airmen had confirmed that they flew at a height of 47,500 ft. The height of the plane given by Pakistan at first was 50,000 ft. It was afterwards changed to 45,000 ft.

"This is, no doubt, intended to cover up the fact that at the height of 50,000 ft. the Canberra could not have been chased by a Sabre jet but could only have been shot at by the fighters lying in wait for her quite deliberately. It is absurd to suggest that the Sabre jets could have chased the Canberra for over 100 miles and still keep her under their control."

Mr. Menon said that Pakistan as a member of the United Nations had an obligation not to use force except in self-defence against armed attack as provided in Article 51.

"Her conduct, therefore, considered from any point of view, is in disregard of the canons, the principles and practices of international behaviour as well as the Charter of the United Nations. It is also in total disregard of the principle of recipro-

city in relation to India," Mr. Menon declared.

He disclosed during this month several violations of Indian air space of a "sinister character" had been made by Pakistan aircraft. Even yesterday a Pakistani aircraft penetrated some 85 miles into Indian territory in Hissar district about 75 miles from Delhi. "But no hostile action was taken by Indian aircraft despite the provocation in respect of the Canberra."

Mr. Menon said the photostat copy of the rader-tracked map could not be true. "This is not and, what is more, cannot be the case. The photostat is the photograph of merely a map with lines on it which could be drawn at any time without any reference whetever to any rader-tracking."

Mr. Menon said Indian Air Force had "strict instructions not to engage themselves in any missions or exercises which involve violation of Pakistan or any foreign territory. I have no doubt in my mind that these instructions are strictly observed."

The Defence Position

The Hindusthan Standard report:

New Delhi, April 8.—The inconclusive defence debate in the Lok Sabha today evoked more than ordinary interest with members urging the Government to reorganise the armed forces to meet the requirements of a modern war and to gear the ordnance factories to the production of modern weapons.

There was criticism of waste of defence expenditure. References were made to cases of corruption and "scandals," and members made it clear the country was prepared to spend more if there was an assurance that the money would not be mis-spent and that adequate defence arrangements on modern lines had been made.

Mr. U. C. Patnaik (Ind.) pointed out that if instead of "camouflaged" reduction in the defence budget this year more funds had been utilised on ameliorative schemes for the forces, it would have been worthwhile for the country's defence.

He accused the Defence Ministry of showing little regard to Parliament or financial control and said that losses worth hundreds of crores of rupees had been incurred by entrusting the task of purchasing defence equipment to officials with a shady past, some of whom had been even convicted.

Mr. Patnaik said that nothing had been done to re-organise the armed forces or to start the production of rockets and other modern weapons in the ordnance factories, although research on various projects had been going on for many years. He pointed to the discontent among a certain section of Army officers and said that 25 senior Brigadiers, known for their efficiency, had recently been superseded.

Dr. Jayakar

Dr. Mukund Ramrao Jayakar, a prominent figure in the public life of India died on 11th last month at an age of 86.

Dr. Jayakar was a student of the Bombay University and was a Barrister-at-Law of the Bombay High Court. He entered into public career in 1916 and became a member of the Bombay Legislative Council seven years later. He was the leader of the Swaraj Party in the Council and remained leader of the opposition in 1925. Dr. Jayakar was returned to the Legislative Assembly in 1926 and continued to be its member till 1930. He represented India at the Round Table Conference in London and later he was a member of the Federal Structure Committee. He was appointed a Judge of the Federal Court of India in October, 1937. He became a member of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in 1939 and continued to be a member till his resignation in March, 1942. He was elected as a member of the Constituent Assembly, but resigned early in 1947. He served the Poona University as a Vice-Chancellor from 1948 to 1956.

Dr. Jayakar was a man of many talents. He had a great love for education. In politics, he was a moderate.

Pandit Bidhusekhar Sastri

We regret to have to announce the demise of Pandit Bidhushekhar Shastri at the age of 80.

A devout follower of Rabindranath Tagore, he spent the greatest part of his active life at Santiniketan, where his profound scholarship and vast learning made him a landmark.

He was one of our oldest and most valued contributors and it is with sorrow that we announce the loss of this learned son of India.

THE UNION PUBLIC SERVICE COMMISSION

By Dr. VRAJ MOHAN SINHA, M.A., Ph.D.

Our Constitution framers were quite aware of the importance of a non-political civil service and hence they took proper steps to put the recruitment beyond the reach of political parties. At the national level we have the Union Public Service Commission which exercises jurisdiction with regard to All-India and Union Services. At the State-level we have the State Public Service Commissions which have jurisdiction over the State Civil Services.

Article 315 of our Constitution provides for the Union Public Service Commission. This, however, is not a new innovation. Under the Government of India Act, 1919, the Public Service Commission was there to discharge, "in regard to recruitment and control of Public Services in India such functions as may be assigned thereto by rules made by the Secretary of State in Council."[1] But in spite of this provision the Commission was not established and it was only in 1926 that India got the Public Service Commission after the Lee Commission had strongly pleaded for it. It was then named as Public Service Commission (India). When the Government of India Act, 1935, came into force it was designated as the Federal Public Service Commission and subsequent to the commencement of the Republican Constitution it came to be known as the Union Public Service Commission. Members of the Federal Public Service Commission automatically became members of the Union Public Service Commission unless they chose otherwise. As a temporary measure the Constitution relaxed the conditions regarding qualifications, terms of service and age of retirement. In all these matters they were to be governed by rules under which they were appointed.[2]

The Constitution satisfies itself by merely providing for the Commission. It does not specify the number of members or their conditions of service. This has been left to the President.[3] At present the Commission is composed of 8 members including the Chairman appointed by the President. The President will not be free to make appointments as he is not free to perform any other official function. Thus the right of appointment, though not in theory, but in practice, is vested in the Prime Minister and the Cabinet. How far the Prime Minister and the Cabinet will act in an impartial manner in matters of appointment of the members of the Commission will depend upon the political conditions prevailing in the country and also on the view which they take.

The existence of the Commission can be justified only if it is allowed to act impartially. To quote Dr. P. S. Deshmukh, "These Commissions are said to be a necessity of modern States. These Commissions are primarily meant to keep appointments away from day-to-day politics, party preferences and influences."[4] This object can be achieved only if the commission is fully independent of the executive and can afford to displease them if necessary. The present Commission can act more independently than the Federal Public Service Commission under the 1935 Act. Once appointed the Chairman and the members are free from the control of the executive. If they are to be removed on the grounds of misbehaviour the President must make a reference to the Supreme Court.[5] The Supreme Court has already prescribed the procedure for dealing with such references.[6] On receipt of the order for enquiry the Registrar of the Supreme Court sends notice to the person concerned and also to the Attorney-General to appear before the court

1. *The Government of India Act, 1919*, Section 96 (c).
2. *The Constitution of India*, Article 378.
3. *Ibid*, Article 318.
4. *Constituent Assembly Debates*, Vol. IX, No. 15, 22nd August 1949, p. 560.
5. *The Constitution of India*, Art. 317 (1).
6. *Order XXXVII of the Supreme Court Rules, 1950*.

on the fixed day. A copy of the charge-sheet is also sent to the person concerned along with the notice. Witnesses too may be summoned. Under this procedure of enquiry the President has little to do.

If removal is to be affected on grounds of (i) being adjudged insolvent; (ii) accepting a paid office; or (iii) infirmity of mind or body then reference to the Supreme Court is not needed.[7] But none of these require any discretion on the part of the President. These are self-evident. Of course, pending the report of the Supreme Court the President may suspend the Chairman or the member concerned.

Such provisions were altogether missing in the Government of India Act, 1935. These were left to the discretion of the Governor-General. Obviously the Commission can act more independently under the present set-up. Though the President is authorised to determine the terms of service of the members and the Chairman of the Commission, yet he cannot alter it to their disadvantage during their term of office. All this goes to show that the executive has no means of controlling them. Once in office they must continue for six years or until attainment of sixty-five years of age, unless removed according to the procedure outlined above.

The constitutional requirement that the Commission should submit an annual report to the President which should be presented to the Parliament along with a memorandum explaining the causes of non-acceptance of the Commission's advice[8] is also designed to act as a check against the high-handedness of the executive. Cabinet will think twice before turning down Commission's advice as such an act is likely to cause criticism in the Parliament, the press and the public. Nevertheless because of the present-day party solidarity of the Congress both inside and outside Parliament this is not likely to be very effective.

As regards the composition of the Commission the Constitution requires that "as nearly as may be one half" shall be officials of at least ten years standing.[9] But the Commission may be composed of any number of officials even to the extent of totally excluding the non-officials. The composition of the Commission cannot be challenged because non-officials have been excluded. In *P. Raghunandha Rao v. State of Orissa and another* the validity of the Orissa Public Service Commission was challenged because it was composed of officials only. The petitioner's contention was that when the Constitution says as nearly as one half should be officials the other half must necessarily be composed of non-officials. The Orissa High Court however held that, "As nearly as may be one half" in Article 316 indicated only an approximation. This could not be equivalent to more than half. It is open to the Governor to appoint other members of the Commission from amongst officials or non-officials as he pleased. In support of this view the court also pointed out that a suggestion to substitute "not more than half" for "as nearly as may be one half" was defeated in the Constituent Assembly.[10] This judgement equally well applies in case of the Union Public Service Commission also. However, from the above judgement it may be inferred that if less than half are non-officials then the composition of the Commission may be challenged in the Court of law for such an Act offends against a Constitutional requirement.

Under the Government of India Act, 1935, the position was just as it is today. In the proviso to Clause (1) of Section 265 instead of "as nearly may be one half" "at least half was used." It could be very well pointed out that the Act has nothing to say regarding the composition of the other half and as such it has been left to the discretion of the executive. Further, it could also be pointed out that "at least half" indicates the minimum only. It is not the maximum which may be more than this.

To achieve the best result it is desirable that in the composition of the Commission outside knowledge and the intimate knwledge of the Civil Service is judiciously blended. This minimum of one half seems to be too much. Already there is a feeling that our bureaucracy remains largely uncontrolled. If half or more than half of the total membership goes to the officials, to be further augmented by the inclusion of the nominee of the Ministry for which recruitment is being made, they will be able to carry the selection the way they like. To avoid this two suggestions may be made.

(i) No official be appointed as the Chairman of the Commissien. The Chairman exercises great influence over his colleagues. An official acting as the Chairman makes the official side too strong.

(ii) Official membership be reduced to one-third, and it be provided that in the remaining two-thirds officials will not be included. The suggestion that the official membership be put at one-third was also put forward by the conference of the Chairman and the members of the Union Public Service Commission and the Chairmen of the State Public Service Commissions. Such a body is probably the best authority to say as to which interest should be represented on the Commission and in what proportions.

Speaking against so overwhelming a representation of the official elements on the Commission a member observed in the Constituent Assembly, " The Government Servants' views should not be so overwhelmingly represented on the Public Service Commissions. While it is necessary that we must have the advantage of experience of Government Servants their views should not be the determining factor in the selection of the candidates." Further he observed, "The longer the period a person has been in the Government service the more conservative he becomes and develops the whims and caprices and even idiosyncracies of that class. They get out of touch with the public opinion and changing needs of society."[11]

The functions of the Commission have been detailed in the Constitution itself. These are more or less the same as were prescribed under the Government of India Act, 1919, or the Government of India Act, 1935. The functions of the Commission are advisory. The Government may or may not accept their recommendations. The reason for this was explained in the Parliament in the following words: "The danger is that if you give them mandatory powers you set-up two Governments in a province and two Governments at the Centre and there is everything to be said against a procedure of that kind."[12] The Commission had the same position under the Government of India Act, 1935, also. Acceptance of Commission's advice in other countries too is based on conventions only, but in certain cases indirect statutory safeguards are provided. For instance in England no Civil Servant is entitled to receive pension unless he has been appointed in consultation with the Commission. The Union Public Service Commission in their first report pleaded for similar safeguards in India too.

The Commission conducts examination for recruitment to all-India and Union services and frames and operates schemes of joint recruitment, if requested by two or more States. Besides this the Commission is to be consulted in the following matters:

(i) Method of recruitment to the Civil Servants and Civil posts.

(ii) Principles and suitability of candidates for appointment, promotion or transfer from one service to another for officers referred to in (i) above.

(iii) Disciplinary matters affecting officers serving in civil capacity.

(iv) Payment of cost of legal proceedings instituted against an officer serving in civil capacity for his official acts.

(v) Pension of officers serving in civil capacity for having sustained injury while on duty.

(vi) Any matters referred to the Commission by the President.

The Constitution provides "The Union Public Service Commission . . . . shall be consulted . . . . . ." The judicial opinion has not been uniform regarding the interpretation of this Clause. In 1953, the Calcutta High Court in *Munna Lal Tewari v. Harold Scott*, held that the Commission must be consulted on disciplinary matters though acceptance is not obligatory, *i.e.*, if the Commission is not

7. *The Constitution of India*, Art. 317 (3).
8. *The Constitution of India*, Article 318.
9. *Ibid*, Art. 316(1) Proviso.
10. *P. Raghunandha Rao vs. State of Orissa and another*, *A.I.R.*, Orissa 1915, page 113.
11. *Constituent Assembly Debates*, Vol. IX, No. 15, 22nd August, 1947, p. 577.
12. *Parliamentary Debates*, Vol. 300, Col. 858, as quoted in *Commentary on the Constitution of India* by Basu.

consulted then the orders are inoperative because a Constitutional provision has been offended but non-acceptance of advice does not affect the orders.[13]

It may however be pointed out that the present Article 320(3) is just a reproduction of Section 266 of the Government of India Act, 1935. In a case under that section it was held that the "provisions of the Section 266 are directory and failure to consult the Public Service Commission before appointing Tapan Kumar Chatterji" does not invalidate the appointment.[14]

Later in *Munnalal Tewari v. Harold Scott and Others*, a division Bench of the Calcutta High Court (on appeal) held that "Article 320(3) appears to me to be of a directory nature for a variety of other considerations. The first is that the article itself gives the liberty to the President and the Governors to exempt themselves from its operation by regulations framed by themselves. A mandate which leaves it open to the mandated person to carry or not to carry the mandate according to his pleasure or discretion cannot be a mandate properly so-called . . . . . "[15]

In view of the fact that the opinion of the Commission is not mandatory the consultation should at least be made mandatory and the Constitution should be suitably amended.

Under the proviso to Clause (3) of Article 320 of the Constitution the President has made the Union Public Service Commission (Consultation) Regulations which prescribe the following matters to be excluded from the purview of the Commission.

"(a) Appointment to a Central Service, Class I, of any officer in the armed forces of the Union or any officer who is already a member of any all-India service, a Central Service Class I or a Railway Service Class I.

"(b) Appointment to a Central Service Class II of any officer from another Central Service Class II or from a Central Service Class III or of any officer in the armed forces of the Union or of a Railway Service Class II.

"(c) Appointment to a tenure post in Central Service, Class I or a Central Service Class II of an officer of the service of a Part 'A' State."[16]

The Commission need not also be consulted in regard to selection where they have agreed to recruitment being made abroad. Generally speaking the Commission is not consulted in appointment which are likely to last for a year only. The exercise of this power by the Government has been the target of criticism by the Commission.[17] There have been instances of appointments where candidates were reasonably expected to hold office for more than a year. Often such persons held offices for periods far in excess of a year without any reference to the Commission. The office experience proves to be of great advantage when such candidates appear before the Commission along with fresh candidates. Regulation 4(b)[18] has been interpreted and used in a fashion which could have been never intended. The sole idea behind this Clause was to give the Government Departments this latitude so that their work may not suffer for want of officers. Government Departments seem to have taken the stand that they can retain the persons in their service for one year without any reference to the Commission. Towards the fag-end of the year they inform the Commission and can later smuggle them into service on strength of their experience which they claim to have acquired. The Commission in their first report observe, "This provision has unfortunately been invoked by Ministries and departments far too indiscriminately."[19] This has been used as a convenient backdoor which was never intended to be.

13. *Commentaries on the Constitution of India*, by Basu, page 510.
14. Matter No. 7 of 1949 Cal. (c) Quoted in *A.I.R.*, Cal., 1954, page 63.
15. Munnalal Tewari *v.* Harold Scott and Others, *A.I.R.*, Cal., 1955, page 451.
16. *Union Public Service (Consultation) Regulation*, Regulation No. 3.
17. *First Report of the Union Public Service Commission*, page 3.
18. *Union Public Service (Consultation) Regulation*, Regulation No. 4(b).
19. *First Report of the Union Public Service Commission*.

THE RATE OF CATTLE MORTALITY IN INDIA

By Dr. P. C. BANSIL, M.A., Ph.D.

Mortality among animals, to a large extent, is a function of factors like housing, tending, feeding, standards of sanitation and veterinary facilities, etc. For this very reason, a major portion of cattle deaths can be attributed to famines, floods and pestilence. But for the information contained in the annual administration reports of the Animal Husbandry Departments of various States, nothing definite is known about cattle mortality or slaughter in the country. For having an idea of the mortality rate, we will have to tackle the problem from a number of angles.

Trend of Cattle Population

Reliable cattle population data are not available over a long period in this country. The system of holding regular cattle censuses on an All-India basis was initiated in 1919-20 and 8 enumerations have been held since then. None of these censuses covered the whole of the country at one time and even the areas of enumerations have not been the same in all cases. A brief description about the various cattle censuses would be of interest for the purpose of their study.

Attempts are said to have been made in the Moghul period to take a cattle census but it was only from the eighties of the nineteenth century that any regular census system was initiated. The work was first taken up in certain districts of the Punjab and later in Bengal and other British provinces. In most parts, the statistics were collected annually and in some cases they were of doubtful accuracy. They were neither collected at the same time nor the methods of enumeration were uniform throughout the country. With a view to standardise the methods of collection and to make the data comparable and more useful, the Government of India decided in 1916 that a census of cattle should be taken throughout British India during the cold weather of 1919-20 and that this census should be repeated quinquennially thereafter. The first census was accordingly held from December 1919 to April 1920 throughout British India.[1] The co-operation of Indian States was also invited and 28 of them comprising about 29 per cent of the total area of Indian States joined. The second census was taken in 1924-25, when 12 more Indian States participated, bringing the total area covered to about 38 per cent; but no census was taken in British Baluchistan where it was decided to do it decennially. In Bengal, this census was actually taken in 1926 and in the Punjab in 1923. Owing to settlement operations then going on, no census was taken in the Kamrup and Sibsagar districts of Assam.

The above two censuses suffered from one defect in that the period of enumeration was too long, *viz.*, from December to April. Large inter-provincial movements of cattle are known to take place during these months and the results were probably inaccurate to some extent for this reason. In 1928, the Royal Commission on Agriculture recommended that the census should be taken simultaneously all over the country in as short a period as possible so that the results are more accurate and reliable. Accordingly, the third census was taken in January, 1930, when all the British Provinces and 83 Indian States joined, covering about 50 per cent of the total area owned by the States.

The fourth census was taken in January, 1935. The provinces of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa did not participate in this census mainly owing to financial reasons. A large number of Indian States, however, participated and about 66 per cent of their total area was covered, as compared with about 50 per cent in 1930. The fifth census was held in January, 1940. The United Provinces and Orissa could not join this time but the number of Indian States which took part in it increased and nearly 79 per cent of their area was covered.

In the censuses of 1919-20, 1924-25 and 1929-30, the oxen and the buffaloes were, for

1. The census in British Baluchistan was taken in 1920-21.

purposes of enumeration, divided into four groups, *viz.*, bulls, bullocks, cows and young-stock. The last group included animals not old enough for work or breeding. With a view to obtaining more complete information, the following revised classification was adopted for the 1935 census.

Sub-divisions used in 1935 Cattle census:

Males—

1. Breeding bulls, *i.e.*, entire males over 3 years kept or used for breeding purposes.
2. Working bullocks, *i.e.*, bullocks and uncastrated males over 3 years kept for work only.
3. Bulls and bullocks over 3 years not in use for breeding or work.
4. Total bulls and bullocks . . .

Females—

1. Breeding cows, *i.e.*, cows over 3 years kept for breeding or milk production.
2. Cows over 3 years used for work.
3. Cows over 3 years not in use for work or breeding purposes.
4. Total cows . . .

Young-stock—

1. Under one year male and female.
2. One to three years of age—male and female.
3.
4. Total young-stock.

A slight departure from the above classification was made by the United Provinces in submitting its returns. Several of the Indian States also adhered to the old classification.

In the 1940 census, the breeding cows were further sub-divided into: (i) In milk, (ii) Dry and (iii) Not calved. Another feature of this census was that enumeration was done separately for rural and urban areas in each district. All the provinces and States participating in the census did not, however, follow the new classification. In Bihar and in some of the States, the 1935 groups were adhered to and no census was taken separately for urban and rural areas. In some cases, *viz.*, Bikaner State, the enumeration was done in 1938-39 instead of in 1940.

This sixth census was taken in 1945 in which 92 per cent of the States participated. On the partitioning of the country in 1947, Sind, Baluchistan, N.-W.F.P., and parts of Punjab, Bengal and Assam were transferred to Pakistan, thus resulting in a large-scale transfer of both human and cattle population. The first official live-stock census for the Indian Republic was taken in 1951, covering 94.5 per cent of the total area of the country.

The second livestock census for the Indian Republic and the Eighth in the All-India series was held in 1956. Certain improvements were introduced this time to obviate the defects of the past. The reference date for the census was 15th April, 1956. But due to administrative and other difficulties, no census could be conducted in Orissa, West Bengal and Manipur during 1956. These States conducted the census in 1957. The census date for 1956 is thus for all the States and the Union territories of India based on the Census conducted in 1956 and 1957.

From the above description it will be observed that livestock enumeration in India has not yet attained any desirable standard of accuracy. Frequent changes in the classifications, the adoption of different groupings by some units and participation of some areas in one census and non-participation in the other, affect the utility of figures and make comparison, on all-India basis, difficult. Besides, the data in many parts are at present collected through village chowkidars, headmen, policemen, etc., and are not always free from doubts.

Appendix 'A' would supply the available information with regard to the trend of cattle and buffalo population for the period 1940-1956. The broad idea can be had from the following figures:

TABLE 1

Trend of Cattle and Buffalo Population

(in millions)

	Cattle	Buffalo	Total
1940	138	40	178
1945	136	38	174
1951	155	44	199
1956	159	45	204

This would indicate a marked increase in the population of both cattle and buffalo during the quinquennium 1945-1951 as compared with the preceding or the succeeding period. No

specific reasons can be found for this increase as even the effect of the ban on cow slaughter would not have been perceptible. In case, the factor has had any appreciable effect the increase in the period 1951-56 would have been more pronounced.[2]

All this would raise a number of doubts about the comparability of the data for the various years. From the brief discussion of various livestock census as given in the preceding pages, such a conclusion emerges automatically. This being the case no definite conclusion can be drawn from this date.

A study has, however, been made with regard to the trend of cattle population in certain selected areas for which census figures are available from year to year. Table below supplies this information:

TABLE 2

Trend of Cattle and Buffalo population in certain selected areas

(in millions)

Census year	Cattle	Buffalo	Index of cattle with 1920 as 100
1920	60.8	19.8	100
1925	60.3	21.1	99
1930	62.2	22.0	102
1935	64.4	23.4	106
1940	60.4	24.1	99
1945	59.7	22.7	98
1951	65.1	24.1	107

Ajmer, Bhopal, Bilaspur, Coorg, Delhi, Hyderabad, Kashmir, Madras, Mysore, Punjab(I), Travancore-Cochin and U.P.

Source: *Report on the Marketing of Cattle*, 1956, p. 15.

The Index of cattle population with 1920 as 100 came down to 98 after 25 years in 1945. In the first year of the war—1940—it stood at 99. It went up to 107 in the year 1951. This means that cattle mortality plus slaughter during the 25 years (1920-45) was just equal to births so that there was no net addition to the population. The decline in the population by 2 points during 1940-45 may be attributed to war during which a large number of cattle were slaughtered for the foreign forces. This is apparent from the Table below:

TABLE 3

Number and percentage of Cattle slaughtered for military purposes

Year	Number slaughtered	Percentage to total
1940	47,883	.023
1941	73,524	.035
1942	2,22,417	.107
1943	2,65,396	.128
1944	1,83,974	.088
1945 (9 months)	1,42,110	.068×017

Source: *Report of the Cattle Preservation and Development Committee*, page 31.

Here again the possible reasons for the increase cannot be ascertained. As already stated it cannot be attributed to the ban on cow slaughter. If this is natural increase, we do not find any specific reasons for it. May be that we have been having some frequent increases or decreases due to the complexity of a number of factors. Practically no cattle improvement work has been done in the past which might possibly have brought any radical changes in their birth and death rates in the country.

Looked at from a long-term point, it can be assumed that our cattle population has been more or less stationary. If so it would follow from this that birth rates among the cattle have been more or less equal to death rates. Let us then examine the position about birth rate.

BIRTH RATE

Calves below one year: We have already seen that our cattle census data suffers from a number of limitations. Any conclusion derived from this can thus be considered as only tentative. Table 4 summarises the available information with regard to the total cattle population between the various age-groups up to the year 1951. Such a break-up for 1956 is not yet available.

TABLE 4

Distribution of Cattle population in India, between various age groups

(in millions)

	Pre-partition India		India	India
	1935	1940	1945	1951
Age	Population	Population	Population	Population
Below 1 year	21 (13)	20 (13)	21 (13)	19 (12)

2. This is because ban on cow slaughter came only after partition in August, 1947, and it can be reasonably assumed that it would have taken a few years more, before it could have been properly implemented.

1 to 3 years	27	25	22	25
	(17)	(17)	(14)	(15)
3 to above	114	105	113	118
	(70)	(70)	(73)	(73)
Total	162	150	156	162
	(100)	(100)	(100)	(100)

Note: Figures in parenthesis are percentages to total.

This brings out a very interesting point. The total young-stock under one year (both males and females) were near about 20 million or 13 per cent of total cattle at the various censuses. This can reasonably be taken as the minimum annual addition to the cattle population of the country. Actual birth rate would, however, be more than this because the figure of 13 per cent excludes all deaths of calves below one year, it being only those who were living at the time of the census. The actual number would obviously be more than this.

Cows kept for breeding: Some idea about birth rates can also be formulated from the population of cows kept for breeding and their average calving interval. Table 5 gives details about cows kept for breeding and their percentage to the total population.

TABLE 5

Cows kept for Breeding during various Censuses

(in thousands)

Total cattle population	1940	1945	1951	1956
	137929	135960	155239	158650
Cows over 3 years kept for breeding or milk	48988	40275	46373	47248
(i) In milk	—	17007	18960	20095
(ii) Dry & not calved	—	23268	27413	27153
Percentage of 2 to 1	29.5	29.62	29.87	29.78

This again shows a remarkable uniformity in the sense that cows kept for breeding constituted roughly 30 per cent of the total cattle population from census to census. Assuming that this ratio between cows kept for breeding and the total cattle population might have remained constant during the previous years, and that every cow calves on an average every second year,[3] there were annually 20 million additions to the total cattle population or a birth rate of 13 per cent.

Incidentally this figure is also the same as we got on the basis of calves below one year. Here also, it may be a little underestimate because the calving interval of two years assumed by us may not be true as an average for all the cows kept for breeding. If the actual average (for which we have no data to compute) is, say even 20 months instead of 24, there can be assumed a corresponding increase in the birth rate.

If, therefore, the two assumptions, *i.e.*,

(a) every cow over 3 years kept for breeding calves on an average after every two years,

(b) there is no net addition to cattle population or change in the percentage of cows over three years kept for breeding,

are correct, birth rate among the cattle can be taken as 13 per cent.

The study so far thus fixes in a way the lower limit of birth rates among cattle at 13 per cent.

DEATH RATES

Trere are also some independent indicators like the average life-span and production of cattle hides which can give an idea of mortality rates among the cattle. It may be pointed out that nothing definite can be said even here. This is because the data about these factors also are inadequate and unreliable.

3. According to Dr. I. D. Mantramurthi cows come on heat in temperate climates about 3 weeks after calving and every three weeks after that until they conceive. But in India, in the case of indigenous cows, they vary from three weeks to a year or more after calving and their period are very irregular.—*Milk Symposium*, p. 31.

Since a large number of the existing Indian cows are poor in health and are of low breeds the dry period in their case invariably extends to a year or more.

AVERAGE LIFE-SPAN OF CATTLE

The average life of a cattle in India has been computed at 5 to 6 years. This would in other words mean that the total cattle would replace themselves in a period of about 6 years. Annual additions as well as mortality on this basis also would be about 16 per cent.

As there is no scientific basis for fixing the average life of cattle at 6 years, it is quite possible that it may be a little more or less than this figure. Normal life of quite a healthy cattle is about 10 to 12 years and majority of our cattle are not healthy. Besides this the incidence of calf mortality is also quite large. The average of 6 years would under the circumstances seem to be quite fair. The higher limit of cattle mortality may thus be assumed as 16 to 17 per cent. This has been taken as the higher limit because the average span of 6 years can be considered as the minimum. The number of cattle that may be dying every year on this basis works out to roughly 25 million.[4] With our assumption of births as equal to deaths, annual births can also be considered as near about this figure, which may seem to be quite reasonable according to our previous calculations.

ANNUAL PRODUCTION OF KIPS

Oxen type or cattle hides, that is hides of cows, bullocks, bulls and calves, are different from those of buffaloes and are called kips in trade. If some accurate estimate of the annual availability of kips can be made, it can give us a fairly accurate idea of cattle mortality rates in the country.

4. J. A. Voelcker (*Report on the Improvement of Indian Agriculture*, p. 113) estimated that "60 million cattle die or are slaughtered annually in India." This statement would obviously seem to be far from correct. The life-span would work out to hardly 3 years on this basis which is not correct. Maybe, he was referring to total live-stock. The total number of cattle deaths at the close of the last century, when he was writing cannot be so high. The total cattle population can be considered as near about the present levels. But the general health of the cattle must be strong because of better pastures and open spaces.

Such hides can be divided into two categories—fallen or slaughtered. In the case of slaughter, the data available are sufficiently reliable. Some discrepancies may, however, be there to fallen hides because cattle are also slaughtered outside the slaughter houses. But a rough idea about the number of cattle slaughtered annually can be formed. The production of fallen hides is directly related to the number of animals which die every year through disease or other causes. Deaths are recorded only in the case of certain diseases and the figures are far from complete. The *Report on the Marketing of Hides* after tapping all the possible sources of information have come to certain conclusions. Appendix 'B' gives the number of hides for the year 1948. Since we have already taken cattle population as constant over a period of time, the year of survey would be more or less immaterial. The table below summarises the available information for the years 1943 as well as 1948.

Annual Production of Hides in India

(in millions)

	1943			1948
	Fallen	Slaughtered	Total	Total
Kips	14.7	5.3	20 (11.4)	14.2 (10.1)
Buffalo	4.4	1.3	5.7 (12)	4.8 (11.5)

Note: Figures in parenthesis represent percentage to the total cattle and buffalo populations respectively.

Source: *Reports on the Marketing of Hides and Skins* (1st and the 2nd Edition).

In most of the Western countries, where all the uneconomic cattle are slaughtered, the proportion of hides produced (or the number of animals annually killed) to the total cattle population is quite appreciable. In Italy and USA, for instance, it is as high as 44.6 and 44.4 per cent respectively. But it is the lowest in Africa with 9.2 per cent of the total.[5] The pre-partition estimate for India is 11.5 per cent and the 1948 figures indicate that it was 10.1 per cent.

These 11 to 12 per cent figures for India are decidedly the lowest limit. The number of

5. H. S. Bawa: *Livestock Products, ICAR*, p. 10.

fallen hides is only based on collections made by either individuals or some other agencies. The question of this estimate being an exaggerated one is, all the same, the remotest. On the other hand, there is clear evidence of its being an underestimate. The table below summarises the findings of a survey conducted in U.P.

No. of Skins and Hides Produced in U.P.
(in thousands)

	Fallen	Slaughtered	Total
Buffalo hides	370	190	560
Kip (cow hides)	1120	480	1600
Total hides	1490	670	2160
Sheep skins	130	450	580
Goat skins	400	1400	1800
Total skins	530	1850	2380

Source: *Report of the Animal Husbandry Reorganisation Committee, United Province,* 1947, page 73.

The total number of kips produced in U.P. comes to 1,600 thousands as against the Marketing Directorate estimate of 1,148 thousands (Appendix 'B'). This would indicate that U.P. figures are an underestimate to the extent of nearly 25 per cent. It is very difficult to say that All-India figures are also biased to the same extent. But even if they are raised by say 20 per cent; the lower limit of cattle mortality comes to near about the previous figure of 13 per cent.

Mortality Rate

The scattered as well as incomplete data analysed above give some broad indications about cattle mortality rates. The lower limit on the basis of this discussion can be fixed at 13 per cent and the highest one at about 17 per cent. Taking the mean of these two figures, we can reasonably assume that the rate of cattle mortality in India is approximately 15 per cent.

This can be further split up into various causes that are responsible for the total mortality.

Causes of Mortality: Mortality among cattle may be divided into the following four classes:

(a) Contagious diseases.
(b) Other diseases and accidents.
(c) Calf mortality.
(d) Normal deaths.

Contagious Diseases: Veterinary departments of various State governments maintain records of deaths due to contagious diseases like rinderpest, halmorrhagic septicaemia, black quarter, and anthrax, etc. The available information for the period 1928-1938 is summarised below:[6]

Cattle Mortality due to Contagious Diseases

Year	Reported mortality from contagious diseases (lakhs)	No. of preventive inoculations (lakhs)
1928-29	3.7	19.0
1929-30	4.2	20.3
1930-31	3.2	15.1
1931-32	2.7	15.8
1932-33	3.0	17.3
1933-34	2.9	22.3
1934-35	2.2	24.4
1935-36	2.3	31.4
1936-37	2.8	44.4
1937-38	2.4	48.5

With the total cattle population of 150 million, and quite negligible[7] veterinary services, there is every possibility that the reported mortality may be much less than the actual figures. Rinderpest from among all the epidemics is the most fatal. It is said to be always present in some parts of the country and has waves of virulence from time to time which take three to four years to reach their crest.[8] Madras and U.P. where reported coverage is comparatively better, mortality due to contagious diseases is of the order of 1.6 to 2 per thousand. This would seem to be quite a small

6. *Report on the Marketing of Hides,* p. 16.
7. It was reported that India spends only ½ anna per annum per cattle, on matters relating to animal husbandry or cattle welfare, compared with more than Re. 1 per head in other countries like the USA—*Hide Report,* p. 17.
8. G. S. Priolkar: *Problems of Cattle Insurance,* p. 77.

figure as compared with the total deaths and obviously an underestimate. This can possibly be attributed to the absence of any regular agency for maintaining such records. It is very difficult to have a precise idea of actual mortality due to contagious diseases. Assuming that only 25 per cent of such deaths are reported, cattle mortality due to this factor may be of the order of 1 per cent.

No. of Cattle Slaughtered: Cattle are slaughtered both inside and outside the slaughter houses. As already pointed out while reliable information is available with regard to the number of cattle slaughtered inside the slaughter houses, nothing is known for those slaughtered in unauthorised slaughter houses or outside. It is quite possible that the number of cattle slaughtered has fallen after partition. Most of the animals slaughtered have no doubt been those which were old and unserviceable. Big cities like Madras, Calcutta and Bombay, have, all the same, been responsible for an indiscriminate slaughter of useful animals of all ages. Milch cattle after they are dry are sent to slaughter houses as they are uneconomical to maintain during dry periods.

The estimated number of cattle and buffalo, slaughtered before the Second World War was about 3 to 4 millions[9] out of which roughly one million were buffaloes. The position has changed a little after partition and the estimated figure of cattle and buffalo slaughtered for the year 1948 was nearly 2.5 millions.[10] Of this, 0.6 million were buffaloes. Cattle slaughter on this basis comes to about 1.4 per cent. Latest estimates for cattle slaughter place it at 0.9 per cent[11] and 1.4 per cent for buffaloes. Availbale information in this case is given in Appendix 'C'. Even if there is some little possibility for underestimation, cattle slaughter can be taken as nearly 1 per cent.

Calf Mortality

A large number of cattle die when they are quite young. Calf mortality could have easily been worked out if life tables for cattle were available. It was only from 1935 that cattle population was divided into the following classifications:

a. Youngstock—
   Under one year.
   One to 3 years.
b. Cows over three years—
   In milk.
   Dry.
   Not calved.
   For work.
   Others.
c. Bulls over 3 years—
   Kept for breeding.
   Work.
   Others.

Data in this respect are also not available for the whole of the country from comparable areas. Available information in this regard has already been given in Table 4.

In the year 1935, youngstock population under one year was 21 millions and between one and 3 years 26.5 millions. Assuming that during each of the previous two years calves below one year numbered 21 millions, youngstock population between one and 3 years should have been 42 millions. The difference of 15.5 millions (42-26.5) obviously represents deaths and slaughters. When the total slaughter among cattle has been estimated at 1 per cent, the one for youngstock may be considered as quite negligible. The loss of 15.5 millions of youngstock during a two-year period or an annual loss of the order of 7.8 millions can, under the circumstances, be attributed to deaths. It is possible that some of the youngstock under one year might have also died by the census time. If births and deaths are taken at 15 per cent as already concluded, the total number of annual births for a cattle population of the order of 160 would be around 24 million. This would mean that premature calf deaths at the time of the census can be computed around 3 millions. In other words, annual calf deaths were 10.8 or about 11 millions.

When from a total of 24 millions, calf deaths are calculated at 11 millions, on percentage basis, it would work out to 7 per cent from a total mortality rate of 15 per cent.

9. *Report on the Marketing of Cattle,* 1944, p. 19.
10. *Cattle Report,* 1956, p. 24.
11. *Report on the Marketing of Meat,* 1956, p. 22.

Natural Deaths

Total cattle mortality as a whole has been computed above at 15 per cent. Of this, 9 per cent is the share of slaughter, contagious diseases and calf mortality. Normal deaths would accordingly be 6 per cent.[12]

If 6 per cent is taken as the normal death rate the average span of life of a normal healthy cattle will be about 16 years. A number of cattle have been observed to live in the country to this age. On this ground also, this would seem to be correct.

Conclusion

On the basis of this preliminary data, the following position can be summed up:

Mortality due to—	Percentage
slaughters	1
contagious diseases	1
calf mortality	7
normal deaths	6
Total	15

This would bring to focus very interesting points about the future cattle policy in the country. Contagious diseases, we have got to check, because they are a heavy toll on our precious and useful cattle. With all the cattle improvement programmes, calf mortality is also sure to be reduced appreciably. It is, quite possible that cattle-owners may not pay due attention to the upbringing of calves as is the case at present. Still with the improvement in the health of the mother, some of them are sure to survive. Even if calf mortality is reduced by 1.5 to 2 per cent and another 0.5 per cent are saved from contagious diseases, cattle population will start increasing at an annual rate of about 2 per cent. Cattle population in 1956 was 159 millions. In a period of 20 years, *i.e.*, by 1976, it will go up to nearly 236 million heads or an absolute increase of 48.4 per cent. If so, this is going to upset all our future plans.

12. Incidentally Priolkar (*op. cit.*, p. 47) has also given the same figure for normal deaths. He has, of course, not adduced any reasons for it.

What the future of India needs is an improvement in the quality of our cattle and not in quantity. The only possible solution under the circumstances would be to increase slaughters from the existing 1 per cent to at least 3 or even 4 per cent. May be that this is against our sentiments. But what cannot be cured has got to be endured. There does not seem to be any other escape in the larger interest of the nation.*

APPENDIX A

Cattle and Buffalo Population

	1956	1951	1945	1940
Total Cattle	158650a	155239	135960*	137929
1. Males over 3 years	61867	61804	5274b	54186
(i) Breeding	437	646	543	
(ii) Working	62475	58475	52132	
(iii) Others	1955	2683	2050	
2. Female over 3 years	49893	49873	43361c	43673
(i) Breeding	47218	46373	40275	
(a) in milk	20095	18960	17007	
(b) dry and not calved	27153	27413	23268	
(ii) Working	1837	2314	1646	
(iii) Others	808	1186	715	
3. Young stock	43803	43561	37324	40070
Total buffaloes	44916d	43401	40593*	40125
(1) Males over 3 years	6506	6798	5748e	5599
(i) Breeding	331	306	271	
(ii) Working	5953	6027	5159	
(iii) Others	222	465	290	
(2) Female over 3 years	22335	21850	19928f.	19199
(i) Breeding	21669	21003		
(a) in milk	11811	10216	10648	
(b) dry and not calved	9858	10787	8566	
(ii) Working	421	550	396	
(iii) Others	245	297	192	
(3) Young stock	16072	14752	14916	15327

Note: Data for 1945 and 1940 are not comparable as the number of participant States in the two censuses was not uniform.

a. Includes 86200 for which details are not available.
* Includes one thousand for which details are not available.
b. Includes 594 thousands for which details are not available.
c. Includes 725 thousands for which details are not available.
d. Includes 1760 for which details are not available.
e. Includes 28 thousands for which details are not available.
f. Includes 126 thousands for which details are not available.

* *This represents the personal views of the author.*

APPENDIX B

*Annual Production of Skins in India (1951)**

(Production in lakhs)

State	Goat skins	Sheep skins	Total
Ajmer	1.26	0.76	2.02
Assam	1.82	0.04	1.86
Bihar	18.19	3.16	21.35
Bombay	31.85	23.35	55.20
Delhi	2.29	0.98	3.27
Himachal Pradesh	1.38	1.54	2.92
Hyderabad	11.50	5.21	16.71
Jammu and Kashmir	3.35	3.06	6.41
Madhya Pradesh	10.25	1.69	11.94
Madhya Bharat	5.81	1.05	6.86
Madras	29.20	57.55	86.75
Mysore	7.22	12.36	19.58
Orissa	2.64	1.31	3.95
Pepsu	2.21	0.73	2.94
Punjab	6.93	1.95	8.88
Rajasthan	16.85	13.76	30.61
Saurashtra	3.64	5.72	9.36
Travancore-Cochin	1.40	1.89	3.29
Uttar Pradesh	36.48	14.96	51.44
Vindhya Pradesh	2.97	0.83	3.80
West Bengal	14.14	2.26	16.40
Others**	1.56	0.88	2.44
Total	212.94	155.04	367.98

* Report on the *Marketing Skins in India* (2nd Edition), Directorate of Marketing and Inspection, Ministry of Food and Agriculture, Government of India.

** Comprising Andaman and Nicobar, Bhopal, Bilaspur, Coorg, Kutch, Manipur, Sikkim and Tripura States.

APPENDIX C

Number of Cattle Slaughtered Inside and Outside Slaughter Houses in India, 1949

State	Cattle			Buffalo		
	Inside slaughter house	Outside slaughter house	Total	Inside slaughter house	Outside slaughter house	Total
Assam	....	29,281	29,281	...	3,000	3,000
Bihar	45,649	189,716	235,365	13,348	37,038	50,380
Bombay	115,702	49,298	165,000	47,055	7,635	54,690
Delhi	....	....	...	...	...	...
Himachal Pradesh	....	....	...	...	...	...
Hyderabad	66,140	21,712	87,852	7,340	4,545	11,885
Kashmir	....	...	...	...	...	...
Madhya Bharat	....	....	...	...	...	...
Madhya Pradesh	42,605	1,420	44,025	7,050	300	7,350
Madras	89,929	317,071	407,000	22,772	100,228	123,000
Mysore	....	....	...	...	...	...
Orissa	....	32,777	32,777	...	1,126	1,126
Pepsu	....	....	...	...	...	...
Punjab	....	....	...	...	...	...
Rajasthan	5,475	....	5,475	365	...	365
Saurashtra	....	....	...	...	...	...
Travancore-Cochin	3,552	8,952	12,504	1,221	1,876	3,088
Uttar Pradesh	56,585	....	56,585	202,106	75,846	278,042
Vindhya Pradesh	....	....	...	...	...	...
West Bengal	111,131	68,954	180,085	22,527	935	23,462
Others*	....	13,180	13,180	3,381	4,250	7,631
Total	536,768	732,361	1269,129	327,246	236,773	564,019

* Includes Ajmer, Bhopal, Bilaspur, Coorg, Kutch, Manipur, Sikkim and Tripura States.

Source: *Report on the Marketing of Meat in India*, 1956.

APPENDIX D

Annual Death Rates of Animals at Different Ages

(Average death rate per 1000 animals)

Age in years	Bulls and bullocks	Cows	Calves	He-buffaloes	She-buffaloes	Calves
Below 1	....	....	263.2	....	....	385.6
1	....	....	84.5	....	....	194.7
2	....	....	55.2	....	....	154.3
3	60.9	85.9	....	149.3	83.2	....
4	60.9	85.9	....	149.3	83.2	....
5	60.9	85.9	....	198.7	74.9	....
6	41.0	94.1	....	198.7	74.9	....
7	26.6	94.1	....	151.8	88.6	....
8	26.6	126.0	....	151.8	88.6	....
9 above	128.6	174.4	....	164.4	136.4	....

Birth Rates for Cows and Buffaloes at Different Ages

Age of animal	Cows: No. of calves per 100 cows	Buffaloes: No. of calves per 100 buffaloes
3	27.82	20.15
4	40.04	
5	44.59	52.000
6	45.50	
7		44.98
8	46.02	36.66
9 and above	16.90	21.19

Source; *Second Report on the Poona Schedules of the National Sample Survey*, 1950-51, p. 76.



ENDS AND MEANS IN PLANNING

By SURESH RAM

The country is now in the middle (rather, the latter half) of the Second Five-Year Plan. Naturally, they have begun to think of the Third Plan. But unlike the First Plan, the course of the second has not been a bed of roses. It has developed some serious trends which have directly provoked anxious thinking and indirectly pointed to the need of discussing afresh the vital question of our ends or aims in planning as also the no less vital one of the means of realising those ends. Specially so, because the problem of people's co-operation remains as baffling as ever. It should be an object of positive concern why common man, the lay citizen of India, is not yet coming forward to lend his shoulder to the planning-wheel.

The First Plan began with the objective of economic and social planning, in order to "canalise the idealism and the constructive wages of the community into new lines of activity." Planning was regarded as the "purposive adaptation of resources to social ends." Its significance was to be judged "not merely by the results that were expected to materialise by the end of the plan-period, but by the new trends it sets up in the direction of ordered growth." Further, it held that people's "support and co-operation were the real sanctions behind the Plan."

The actual working of the First Plan, however, has, in one essential respect, *viz.*, reduction of inequalities in income and wealth and a more even distribution of economic power, yielded not very flattering results. Sri Vaikunth Lal Mehta, former Finance Minister of Bombay and President of the All India Khadi and village Industries' Commission writes in the December 1957 issue of *Khadi Gramuduog* as follows:

"During the period of the First Plan, the national income is shown to have risen from Rs. 342.35 crores to Rs. 500.54 crores, giving an increase of Rupees Hundred crores approximately. Looking at income-tax statistics, we find that the taxable income have increased during the period from Rs. 342.35 crores to Rs. 500.54 crores, that is, by a little over Rs. 150 crores. If the increase in the taxable incomes is more than the rise in the aggregate national incomes, the presumption is that non-taxed incomes have gone down correspondingly. This may mean that those below the taxable limits are now actually worse off than they were at the commencement of the Plan period, a fact reflected in the diminution of the per capita national income, at current prices, from Rs. 265 to Rs. 252."

Obviously and certainly, this could not be the intention of the planners. These horrible consequences have emanated in spite of themselves. But the Indian masses with thousands of years of experience have an instinctive genius to read the writing on the wall and to recognise their well-wishers or friends. Little wonder, they did not feel it worthwhile to rise to the vague expectations of the planners.

The Second Five-Year Plan started under very happy auspices. It had before it the clearly-defined objective of "achieving the socialist pattern of society"—which means that the "basic criterion for determining the lines of advance must not be private profit but social gain, and that the pattern of development and the structure of socio-economic relations should be so planned that they result not only in appreciable increases in national income and employment but also in greater equality in incomes and wealth." It points out that in the process of reducing inequalities no damage should be done to the "productive system as would jeopardise the task of development itself, or imperil the

very processes of democratic change which it is the objective of policy to strengthen. On the other hand, regard for democratic and orderly change cannot be allowed to become a sanction for existing of new inequities." The Plan envisaged "an increase in national income of about 25 per cent over a period of five years and of providing employment opportunities to ten to twelve million persons."

Very laudable things indeed!

But in the second year itself the Second Plan got into doldrums. In a recent study, Sri Asoka Mehta, than whom there is no greater, except perhaps the Prime Minister, admirer, expert and exponent of Indian planning, says:

"In that year the Government's savings dropped to a fraction of the previous year, and loans and small savings received a poor response—the Plan was kept afloat by deficit financing to the order of 70 per cent and external assistance of 15 per cent. In 1958-59, voluntary savings show buoyancy, but the Government has entered the phase of dissaving!"

Neither the resources position is encouraging. To quote Mehta again:

"The sterling balances with the Reserve Bank have come down from Rs. 746 crores at the beginning of the Second Plan (and Rs. 1750 at the end of the last War) to Rs .180 crores (and that with a last War) to Rs. 180 crores (and that with a drawal equivalent to Rs. 95 crores from the IMF). The total deficit in the foreign exchange account will be nearer to Rs. 2,000 crores than to Rs. 1,100 crores, as was estimated when the Plan was drawn up. That means that nearly a third (32%) of the Plan outlay will come from foreign loans (23%) and running down of our foreign balances (9%). In the First Plan the comparative figure was Rs. 190 crores (6%)."

As regards the terms of trade, he says:

"India's favourable terms of trade during the First Plan resulted in a gain of Rs. 325 crores. During the Second Plan, in the First two years, the gains dropped to Rs. 18 crores and a loss of seven crores, respectively.

"Deficit financing for the first three years (1956-59) amounts to Rs. 917 crores or 37.4% of the Plan outlay during the period. During the remaining two years of the Plan, external assistance is expected to contribute Rs. 642 crores, deficit financing between Rs. 200 to 300 crores, and budgetary financing between Rs. 300 crores and budgetary resources Rs. 900 crores (of which over Rs. 600 crores will be from loans and savings)."

The layman is likely to be lost in these bewildering figures. But he understands one thing—daily prices of the goods he consumes. And in this sphere there has been a rise of 15 per cent during 1956-59 as against a decline of 7 per cent during the period of the First Plan.

Taxation also seems to know no bounds. Whereas the additional taxation in the First Plan amounted to Rs. 276.8 crores (Rs. 60.4 crores direct and Rs. 216.4 crores indirect), in the three years of the Second Plan, it has already reached Rs. 453.3 crores (Rs. 53.7 crores direct and Rs. 398.6 crores indirect). Even the huge taxations over and above the target set in the Plan has contributed little to the prosecution of the Plan. It has been absorbed in other channels. In its "Appraisal and Prospects," the Planning Commission itself observes:

"All this tax effort has, however, not provided resources for the Plan. A large part of it has been absorbed by other demands: defence, non-development expenditure and development expenditure outside the Plan. This means that despite the improvement in tax-receipts by Rs. 500 crores over the original Plan target, the revenue resources available for financing the Centre's Plan outlays are expected to show an improvement only Rs. 45 crores as compared to the plan estimate."

Further, external assistance is also going to cost us a lot. The loans have to be repaid. An idea of the repayment position up to 1967-68 can be had from the picture computed by a financial journal.



Dr. Radhakrishnan going round an exhibition of Modern Czechoslovak Glass in New Delhi



Sri V. K. Krishna Menon, in conversation with Mr. Willy Brandt, governing Mayor of West Berlin



The Prime Minister inaugurating a seminar on Architecture organised by the Lalit Kala Akademi



The President, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, watching a group of paratroopers

It is as follows (the figures being in crores of rupees):

Year	Capital repayment	Interest	Total
1957-58	9.42	3.06	12.48
1958-59	11.88	11.03	22.91
1959-60	21.02	23.37	44.39
1960-61	76.92	33.78	110.70
1961-62	107.70	42.42	150.12
1962-63	98.79	35.50	134.29
1963-64	59.91	41.54	101.45
1964-65	56.36	30.73	87.09
1965-66	54.76	28.28	83.04
1966-67	62.88	25.53	88.41
1967-68	62.38	22.35	84.73

Such stupendous commitments show how the country's resources have been mortgaged and what a tremendous pressure is this all going to put on our planning and development. This is why that the experts are never tired of (nor feel any qualms of conscience) telling us that taxation is bound to go higher and consumer is foredoomed to pay more. Over and above, the rate of the inevitable growth of population has belied the Plan estimates. Under such awful conditions the gloomy future is anybody's prophecy.

The natural question poses itself: How is it that, except for the upper strata, planning is not able to do the promised good or bridge the avowed gulfs? The reason is not far to seek. If we compare the Plan to a vessel containing our prosperity and wealth, it is easy to see that there are three big holes which do not allow anything to stay. They are: (i) An annual expenditure of about Rs. 300 crores on defence, (ii) of about Rs. 200 crores as the 5.6 million employees of the Central and State Governments and local bodies, and (iii) of about Rs. 100 crores on import of food. With these three serious liabilities, it is not surprising that the common man is unable to derive any advantage from planning or feel its glow.

The mounting expenditure on defence also indicates that say what we may, our socialistic pattern has its ultimate faith in arms for its survival. No doubt we are a sovereign Republic and a democratic nation. Yet our Democracy requires supports in the form of arms for its maintenance. And as is with all armed nations, the more we spend on defence the more insecure we feel (for those whom we hold as our adversary also raise up their forces accordingly).

In spite of more production of goods, we find that there is not only a rise in defence budget but also an increase in the number of suits in our *taluka* and district courts as also of appeals in the Supreme and High Courts. This only shows that mutual relations between the people are getting less cordial and more bitter. Nay, distrust is aggravating. Besides, party-politics is further embittering feelings and throwing salt over injury. In this connection it may be stated that almost in all advanced or developed countries of the West, crime is on the increase. The greater the prosperity and the higher the literacy, the more the crime. A sort of emptiness marks their life and they seem to suffer from want of direction. If riches and wealth could provide the key to prosperity, people of U.S.A., U.K., or U.S.S.R. would have been the happiest on earth. But they are not. There is a fear in their eyes which warps the even tenor of their course.

This brings us to the fundamental problems of ends or aims in planning. There is nothing wrong with socialism. The Second Five-Year Plan has well placed the four principal objectives before it:

(a) A sizeable increase in national income so as to raise the level of living in the country;
(b) Rapid industrialisation with particular emphasis on the development of basic and heavy industries;
(c) A large expansion of employment opportunities; and
(d) A reduction of inequalities in income and wealth and a more even distribution of economic power.

But this is not enough. It may have contrary reactions. True, an increase in the level of living is welcome. But what about the level of life? Socialistic pattern may provide one with a job, but what about one's relationship with the neighbour? A progress which does not induce us to share our neighbour's weal and woe may do more harm than good. Planning may indeed make us well-fed animals, but what about the human element within us? If only the animal spirit develops, entire progress many prove to be satanic.

Let us beware of this unfortunate trend in planning and development. It would be suicidal to copy the nations of the West or the East. We have to evolve our own method according to our genius.

Take for instance, production. Everybody is eager for more production. But let us not forget that production for profit is the basis of capitalism. Likewise, production for consumption or for the State is socialism or communism. But what is desirable is that the production should be for the neighbour. This is what Mahatma Gandhi called the *Swadeshi* doctrine and over which he was never tired of stressing.

The same is true for labour and wealth. In capitalism, labour is done by the labourer while the wealth produced goes to the owner. In socialism or communism, labour is done by the labourer while the wealth produced goes to the State. But what is required is that labour should be done by all and the wealth produced should also go to all. It is a wrong division making some people do labour and labour and letting others enjoy the fruit in the name of State or management.

The context will positively change when the production would be for the neighbour and all would take to labour. Mutual relationship will be transformed. The gulf between heads and hands would go. More cordiality and greater sanctity will mark our mutual life. Co-living will prosper.

Besides, service would then become real service. Today it is like a maid-servant in the palace of Dame Power. Service looks to Power for patronage, help and even guidance. This is why there is not much of efficacy, honesty or substance in our service. Little wonder it does not impress the people at all. Whence it does not behove us to accuse the public of not co-operating with us or of not recognising our 'services.'

It needs little reflection to state that if the present trend of development continues, we shall be creating more problems than solving them. Production and bitterness would grow side by side. Growth in the latter is bound to affect the former. We shall be nowhere.

The contention that profit or money is the only incentive to work is horribly absurd. Had this been so, there would be nothing what we know as civilisation. Surely Kabir, Tuslidas, Nanak, Gyandeva Nammalwar, Virgil or Goethe would then have written no work. Nor would Archimedes, Newton, or Einstein have made any discovery. We would have neither sciences nor arts, nor literatures. The fact is that profit or self-interest is a very minor factor in one's life. The major factor everywhere is love and compassion. It should be the object of planning to awaken and encourage these human feelings and values.

Doubtless, U.S.A. or U.K., U.S.S.R. or China have not had this human aspect before them in their planning. Need we copy them? While some say, it is the fittest who can survive, others hold that we should live and let live. No, we must adopt the third course: Live in order to let live. Co-living should be the guiding principle of our life.

And because co-living is not the purpose behind our planning we have to resort to arms and greater arms and the gulf between mental work and manual labour knows no abatement. Call it a Welfare State, socialism, communism or fascism, they are birds of the same feather. For, they all worship at the same shrine of Armed Power. Our India is also caught in this vicious circle. We command neither the resources nor the know-how of the instruments of defence, which means we would have to toe the line of either of the two power-blocs. For, the question is not of the quantity of arms with us but of their quality. Marshal Petain had promised France to fight Germany to the last drop of the last Frenchman. But he surrendered and not a drop was shed. Why? Simply because the quality of the then French arms was inferior to that of the German ones. Likewise, Japan lay prostrate before America because the former had no Atom bomb. Surely, in no foreseeable future shall India be able to afford to build up arms as those with U.S.A. or U.S.S.R. With inferior arms, we shall have to play second fiddle to either of them. That means subservience.

Hence if we have to save our planning and make it really effective we must gather courage to turn a leaf. Instead of following the 'advanced' nations in the circular groove, let us make a right about turn and adopt the new course. That is, non-violence should be the guiding factor of our planning and development. This view is also gaining ground in the West. In his remarkable book, *Defence in the Nuclear Age*, Sir Stephen King-Hall, the well-known British Commander and war-expert, has categorically stated:

"I have come round to the view that on the facts known to me and after endeavouring to assess the relative dangers of the risks inseparable from our present defence policy and those which seem to arise from the adoption of the alternative policy, I support the idea of changing the basis of our defence strategy from one of violence to one of non-violence."

This must open our eyes. A recourse to militarisation and its natural corollaries, centralisation and industrialisation, is no solution of our ills, nor a reliable defender of our Republic and planning. If India is to live, she must not imitate U.S.A., U.K., U.S.S.R., or China or any other power and must blaze her own trail.

It is only then that the problem of co-operation will be really met with. Even our Prime Minister has begun to feel its lack. In a recent message to the *Kurukshetra* monthly, he says:

"I regret to say that the Community Development Movement has only very partially succeeded. Why is it so? Why? I think that the only way to get a response is to trust the peasant and give him power and authority to go ahead. The argument is used that he does not know enough. That is why we may not give him the power and the authority.

"But this is fundamentally a wrong argument . . . . Essentially authority and power must be given to the people in the villages."

This issue of response or co-operation is very ticklish. In fact, co-operation, like love, should never be demanded. Begin to co-operate and you will be co-operated with. That is the natural law and no logic or temptations can alter it. But that requires descending from the Ivory Tower of authority and power and a willingness to identify with the lowliest and the lost. And our unwillingness to quit the tower has landed us into awful misery and to try ridiculous solutions of serious problems.

Take for example, population. The more the merrier. For every mouth comes blessed with two hands. To us, on the other hand, the blessing is becoming a curse because we know not how to employ hands in useful productive work. Needless to state that any encouragement of artificial birth-control is destined to demoralise the whole nation of ours. The illustration of France is a pointer. The same France which preached Fraternity, Liberty and Equality to the world, has not known a stable Government for years and is now the helpless victim of a military dictatorship. The reason of this tragedy lies more in the emotional disintegration of her people than in any other economic or political excuse. Experts have advised our Government to levy a tax on birth and to legalise abortion. There could not be a more scientific device to ruin our mothers and sisters and thus the whole family.

Instead of going to the root of the problem we deal it on the surface. Who does not know that the greater the poverty in a community, the larger the rise in its

population? Happy and prosperous families do not generally tend to increase in number much. The situation calls for an immediate adoption of such means as can promise these millions work and food. Denying the same to them in the name of industrial revolution and nuclear progress is both criminal and unhuman.

Again, what are we doing to help a man lead a life of self-restraint? Is it not a fact that in spite of all advance, the woman's moral status, specially in the eyes of the male brute, is going low and lower? Our sensational films and high-pressured advertisements depict her, not as a respectful person equal to ourselves but as an object of lust to be possessed and want only treated like any other market article. The progress towards "nudism," regarded as a sign of advancement is an undoubted return to barbarism. And yet it is hailed as 'civilisation'. True, but of the nomadic variety!

Our unique experts have little knowledge of the Indian environment and tradition. Any figment of imagination—and they would like to impose it on us. Well, why blame thm? They don't impose. They only suggest. It is our Government which accepts their recommedations and forces it down the people.

And it does so by the dint of law. It appears as if the whole edifice of socialistic pattern can be built by law. No sacrifice, no fellow-feeling, no voluntary sharing is in sight. Oh! if law or power could bring about a revolution or establish a certain mode of society, the world would have been different altogether and the wielders of legal might would have given it their cherished shape. Let us not forget the old adage that law is an ass and that it can make a horse reach the pond but can't pour water down its throat. Law has nothing to do with co-sharing, which is the cream of culture and life.

It is high time, therefore, that we redecide our ends in planning. Objectives like the following should have a definite place in our planning:

(i) Unilateral disarmament and resolve to disband all arms within the shortest time;

(ii) Development of the feeling of coliving and readiness to share mutual sorrows and joys;

(iii) Gradual decrease in the number of the Police and the staff in various offices;

(iv) Positive bridging of the gulf between mental and manual labour, etc., etc.

It is only such objectives as these that can make our plan real and evoke the desired response in the people. And once we have the above ends in view, the means to reach the same are easy and clear:

(i) Abolition of private ownership in land or property;

(ii) Decentralisation of power from the top and its essential concentration at the village level;

(iii) Generation of self-reliance in the people with regard to their basic necessities like fooding, clothing and housing;

(iv) Resort to collective non-violent defence in case of internal conflict or external aggression.

All this may sound odd. Certainly it is not in the line of what is called fashion. It involves a radical departure from our current socio-economic values. It also means going against the popular current. But both the call of science and that of modern life necessitate the launching of some such step and rephasing our ends and means accordingly. Perhaps this is the only way to save our people, our country and also this earth.

THE EMANCIPATION OF HISTORICAL RESEARCH

By Prof. HARIDAS MUKHERJEE, M.A.

Historical scholarship as embodied at the present moment in the learned bodies and Universities in India is vitiated by some fundamental fallacies. First, it is believed almost as an axiom that for a scientific study of the past a sufficient chronological gap is not only desirable but indispensable. Time, it is argued, can reveal the whole view of a thing or situation only when the heat and passion of contemporary politics have subsided. Just as the view of the mountain can be best obtained only from a distance, so the true import of the past can be correctly understood by posterity alone. But a detached view of things does not necessarily result from a mere chronological gap; it is the outcome of careful mental training and intellectual discipline. An untrained mind, swayed by conservative instincts or racial pride, is often found revelling in the fancied greatness of his race in antique times; but at the same time instances are not wanting when even the contemporary study of stirring events has stood the test of time. The classical example is furnished by the work of Thucydides, the first scientific historian of the world. The works of Benoy Sarkar on the current problems and politics also verify the truth of the contention. Evidently, the chief determinant in the situation is not the time factor but the intellectual and emotional qualities of the researcher himself, his integrity and ability to look at things in a spirit of scientific detachment. But this truth is hardly appreciated by the general run of historical scholars.

Secondly, labouring under this long-cherished delusion, historical researchers in our country seldom undertake or are encouraged by their official guides to undertake the more recent phases of our national development for the purposes of serious historical study. Many factors discourage such an academic venture. The path is perilous. Sources of information are not to be found collected and concentrated in one or two protected places in the Government Archives or Record Rooms, but lie for the most part scattered as widely and extensively as the Book of Nature. Hence a proper scientific research into a more recent historical phase is more painstaking, troublesome and difficult. The withholding of State papers and documents by Government, generally as a principle, from a researcher into the recent past renders the problem of research all the more difficult. The worker in that case has to gather up material from contemporary literature, including journals and newspapers, from the diaries, memoirs and letters of persons having direct experience of the period or the movement concerned, from the published and unpublished records and writings of eye-witnesses to the scene, and from personal interviews or correspondence with the surviving band of workers and leaders in that particular phase of the national evolution. Of the immense value of these unofficial sources the orthodox or traditional research scholars have remained as yet unconscious.

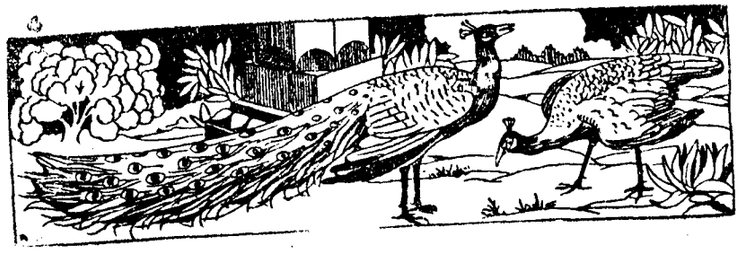
Persons with influence and standing in our academic world have often complained that in our country no proper or adequate arrangement has been made by Government for the collection and preservation of old Records (and by Records they invariably mean Government Records), but even these wise men have not yet felt clearly and sufficiently the supreme significance of careful collection and preservation of non-official source material for our modern national history. Even the best organs of resurgent Indian nationalism such as *New India, Sandhya, Yugantar* as well as *Bande Mataram* (of which Sri Aurobindo was the guiding spirit) are

perishing from cold neglect. True, at the present moment a few stray copies of Bipin Chandra's *New India* are to be found in the National Library, but they cover the years 1901-1902 when it was essentially an organ of moderate politics. After 1905 *New India* became one of the most articulate voices of revolutionary nationalism in the land, and of this strenuous epoch there is not even a single copy at present either in the National Library or any research institute of Calcutta. The Bangiya Sahitya Parishad of Calcutta preserves at present a few stray copies of the old *Yugantar* weekly, the organ of revolutionary terrorism of the Swadeshi Era, but they are too few in number. But not a single copy of *Sandhya* or *Bande Mataram* is to be found at present in the public institutions of Calcutta, whether Government or non-Government. Even the old issues of the *Dawn* which was once a powerful organ of non-political culture-nationalism have also virtually vanished.

It is indeed a pity that no honest or bold attempt has yet been initiated by the Government to recover these extremely precious journals from the possibility of permanent destruction. Research scholars of the orthodox type with their limited intellectual charities have also often gone to the length of doubting the unique importance of these journals in the growth of modern Bengal, nay, India as a whole. The preservation of Government Records is desirable by all means, but to ignore the necessity and importance of this non-official source-material for our new national history is not only blindness but philistinism. A careful study of the Government Records is undoubtedly essential to a proper understanding of the official view of things in relation to a public movement, but for the history of a national movement the nationalist organs, representing the views of the people, are far more important than the Government Records. This little bit of reality is very often lost sight of by our official *gurus* in historical research ('orthodox researchers' as they call themselves with a sort of triumph), and it is they who impart the same sort of intellectual blindness to the pupils working with them. From generation to generation this bias is transmitted and the life of the kept-up fiction is prolonged. But a challenge to this old delusion is long over-due.

The history of a subject nation is not made up of the pious and impious doings of the foreign race ruling over it, but is revealed more truly in the hopes and endeavours, trials and struggle of the people. The temper of a national movement is best reflected in the best organs of the struggling people, not in the secret orders or repressive circulars issued by Government from time to time. The history of a foreign Government in a subject land is essentially different from the story of the subject people itself. Even half-a century ago Rabindranath Tagore could see the correctness of this proposition in his purity of vision, and so pleaded for the necessity of rewriting our history from the Indian point of view. But his appeal has to a large extent gone in vain. Even today, fifty years on, the orthodox historical researchers have not been able to outgrow the old habit of seeking illumination on our national history mainly from the official source. Exclusive or predominant reliance on Government Records, howsoever meritorious on other grounds or whatever be the nature of their authenticity, will never enable us to feel the beat in the heart of the nation, particularly in a subject land as India was circumstanced. The sooner the older generation of scholars are purged of their old-fashioned ways of thinking and get oriented to a more sober and realistic approach to the problem of historical research, the better for them as well as for the country.

Finally, it requires to be remembered that the senior scholars, themselves being interested and also perhaps being experts in their special fields of study, quite understandably discourage their students from taking up such subjects as lie beyond their extremely narrow fields of interest. If in spite of all this official discouragement, an ambitious young scholar, animated by the spirit of free thinking, ventures to read an unbeaten path, he will be at once dubbed a misdirected enthusiast or a horse on the wrong track, not because he is actually wasting his energies in vain pursuits, but simply because he has dared to assert his individuality by breaking open a new line of research. Uncritical belief in authority or unquestioned loyalty to tradition is the irreducible minimum that is normally expected by the academic seniors of their junior partners and collaborators. Free thinking is discouraged, and any sceptical disbelief in authority or tradition is viewed with suspicion and jealousy. Vested interests operate not only in the social, economic or political fields, but are also mightily in evidence in the realm of arts and letters, even in the matter of evaluating a man's real scholarship and literary contributions. Innocent young scholars working under these old-fashioned guides, each representing a vested interest of his own, can hardly expect the material fulfilment of their research dreams or promotion in service if their studies and investigations do not fit in with the set pattern which is only a form of intellectual ingenuity and nothing more. The Romanist spirit of papal infallibility is not yet dead in the modern world. Its survival is to be clearly seen even today in the realm of moral and intellectual values. Themselves the products of a mechanical and stereotyped system of education in which cramming is encouraged, both consciously and unconsciously, and in which the industry in compilation is mistaken for originality and profundity, the intellectual high-brows cannot, as a rule, tolerate the spirit of unbending independence of the low-brows who question the validity of the fixed grooves of thinking. And this is precisely the chief reason why a creative genius like Benoy Sarkar was thought so little of by many of the demi-gods of our academic world. As he clearly stood head and shoulders over most of his contemporaries, he incurred their displeasure, jealousy and hatred. This alone explains the entire omission of his name from Chapters VII and VIII of *Hundred Years of the University of Calcutta* (Vol. I, January, 1957) which deal in part with the researches and publications of the University teachers and scholars during the long period from 1924 to 1956. Unable to carry on researches into modern developments, the orthodox scholars have often conveniently taken shelter in the untenable theory that the events of the distant past alone constitute the worthy themes of historical study and reflection. A scholar who has specialised in Ancient Indian History and Culture generally considers the researcher into the Modern History to be inferior to him and *vice versa*. Another scholar who is an expert in the Medieval Periods of Indian History will treat the work of both these classes as pitifully insignificant compared to his own creation, while all of them will join in a chorus in crying down that researcher as a crank who has dared to carry on studies and investigations into Eur-American developments. Such wilful blindness and lack of tolerance and respect for the other man's deeds are things most damaging to the sanctity and purity of the intellectual world.



GENESIS OF THE PARTITION OF BENGAL (1905)

By Dr. P. C. CHAKRAVARTI,
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Was the Partition of Bengal in 1905 motivated by administrative considerations or by political reasons? Was it just a "measure of administrative redistribution," as Valentine Chirol asserted, or was it a sinister design to curb the growing political consciousness of Bengal?

Opinions have widely differed on this question. By and large, British historians and publicists have maintained the view that the partition of Bengal was conceived and carried through to promote administrative efficiency. By and large, Indian politicians and publicists have held the contrary opinion that the motive behind the partition was political rather than administrative that what Lord Curzon and the British Government really wanted to achieve was to weaken and break the political life of Bengal under the cover of administrative improvement.

It is true that official discussion was going on since 1892 for some sort of administrative redistribution between Bengal and Assam. A proposal was mooted in that year to transfer to Assam the South Lushai hills and the Chittagong division "as soon as the settlement questions there had been completed." There was not much of a difference of opinion regarding the transfer of the Lushai hills, but on the question of the transfer of the Chittagong division official views seemed to be sharply divided.

In January, 1896, the Government of India referred the question to the Governments of Bengal and Assam for opinion.[1] The Government of Bengal sent its reply on the 13th of August, but along with the reply it forwarded a number of memorials, addressed to the Viceroy and Governor-General of India by the residents of Chittagong, Noakhali and Tipperah, and by the British Indian Association, the Indian Association and the East Bengal Association protesting against the proposed change.

In January, 1897, Mr. (later Sir) Henry Cotton, who had succeeded Sir William Ward as the Chief Commissioner of Assam for two months, was asked to give his opinion on this debated question; and in one of the ablest minutes ever written on the subject, Cotton expressed himself unequivocally and unreservedly against the proposed transfer of the Chittagong division to Assam. "He maintained that the administration in Assam was not so advanced as in Bengal; that the constitutional privileges exercised in Bengal are unknown in Assam; that self-government was not on the same footing in Assam as in Bengal; that the deprivation of the franchise for the election of a member in the Bengal Council would be a serious matter, and afford a just cause for complaint on the part of the electing public; that the loss of supervision of the Board of Revenue and the High Court would be a retrograde and mischievous departure; and that the work of the Bengal Government would not be seriously lightened by the transfer of Chittagong, whose capital was in every sense Calcutta, and which would, therefore, lose by its transfer to Assam, with which it was not homogeneous."

Sir James Westland, who had served in Bengal and been for a short time Chief Commissionar of Assam, also opposed the proposal to transfer "the settled territory of Eastern Bengal" to Assam. In his view such a measure would be contrary to the natural and proper course of the development of Indian administration. He testified to the accuracy of Mr. Cotton's statement about the very elementary way in which administration was carried on in Assam and stated that the continuation of such a system of administration, suitable for "a backward province of limited area," would become impossible if Assam were brought into real intimate contact with the outer world by having added to it the interests of such districts as Chittagong or Dacca.

Other highly-placed officials such as Sir Edin Collen also expressed themselves more or less on the same lines. They considered the question entirely from the administrative point of view, and were quite clear in their mind that administratively it would be an impolitic step to link up the more 'advanced' districts of Eastern Bengal with the comparatively 'backward' province of Assam. Faced with this solid volume of opinion, the Government of India determined, by the Council Order of 29 April, 1897, that the South Lushai hills should be transferred to Assam, but not the Chittagong Division.

And here the matter rested till it was revived in 1903 by Sir Andrew Fraser, the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal, in collaboration with Lord Curzon, the Viceroy. The revived proposal, however, took a somewhat different form than the old one; it was not merely the Chittagong Division which was to be transferred to Assam, but Dacca and Mymensingh to boot. And the reasons advanced were much the same as before. Bengal with an area of 189,000 square miles and a population of 78,493,000 inhabitants was too heavy a burden for a Lieutenant Governor. Administrative efficiency demanded a redistribution of its boundaries.

But was that the sole or real reason for the proposed redistribution? In one of his minutes on the subject, Lord Curzon writes:[2] "Sir Andrew Fraser is very strongly in favour of the transfer. He has discussed the matter with me, and his feeling is that the influence of Eastern Bengal in the politics of the Province is out of all proportion to its real political importance, in so much that the Bengali altogether overshadows the Bihari, who is in everything save the use (or abuse) of language immeasurably his superior. Sir Andrew regards it as an object of great political and administrative importance to diminish this influence by separating one of its great centres from others. I understood Mr. Bourdillon, who took part in the discussion, to admit Sir Andrew's premises, but that he was inclined to think that the links between Calcutta and Dacca were so strong, the influence of Dacca so powerful, and the certain opposition so intense that it was doubtful whether separation was practically possible. Mr. Fuller also hesitates; but his hesitation arises from a different consideration. If Sir Andrew Fraser thinks that Dacca is too powerful to be allowed to remain a portion of Bengal, Mr. Fuller wonders whether it is not too powerful to become a portion of Assam. He realises what is probably the fact, that the enlarged transfer would mean that Assam would be annexed to Eastern Bengal rather than Eastern Bengal to Assam . . . . . ".

In course of another note on the same subject, Lord Curzon approvingly refers to the reasons which actuated Sir Andrew Fraser in advocating the partition of Bengal. "There remains", he says, "an argument to which the incoming Lieutenant Governor, Sir A. Fraser, attaches the utmost weight, and which cannot be absent from our consideration. He has represented to me that the advantage of severing these eastern districts of Bengal, which are a hot-bed of the purely Bengali movement, unfriendly if not seditious in character, and dominating the whole tone of Bengal administration, will immeasurably outweigh any possible drawbacks."

That political motives were dominant when the question of partition was revived in 1903 will also be apparent from the following note, dated June 19, 1903, of "A.T.A." (A. T. Arundel), a member of the Viceroy's Council. "I fully concur with the proposal," he writes, "to transfer Chittagong to Assam. It is a change which is essential to the proper development of the Assam Province. The reasons for transferring Mymensingh and Dacca are not so conclusive as in the case of Chittagong as regards development, *but I am impressed with the political reasons for severance* which are similar to those which assign Berar to the Central Provinces and which lead me to demur to the political union of the Uriyas."[3]

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1. Home Department letter, dated 18th January, 1896.

2. Home Department Procs., Dec., 1903, Nos. 149-160.

3. The proposal was to unite the Oriya-speaking peoples, distributed between the three administrations (*viz.*, Madras, Central Provinces and Bengal) into one province, *viz.*, Bengal. Italics mine.

When the plan for partition was virtually decided upon, H. H. Risley, Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department, was called upon to formally communicate it to the Chief Secretary to the Government of Bengal. Risley prepared the draft of that communication on the basis of Lord Curzon's own minute; but the Viceroy almost lost his breath in amazement when it was put up before him for approval. "I regret to say," he wrote, "that if the letter to Bengal were published in its present form, it would create absolute consternation . . . . . When I wrote my minute for the confidential information of my colleagues, it never occurred to me for a moment that its contents could be or would be practically reproduced to be dissected by every newspaper scribe, English or native, in Bengal. What I could safely say in the privacy of the Council Chamber is not necessarily suitable for proclamation on the housetops."

"Secretary, in his anxiety to respect the form as well as the substance of what I wrote," he added, "has produced a draft which even my knowledge of Bengal—so much less than his—is sufficient to tell me would be disastrous. I have, therefore, revised it from beginning to end."

"Neither do I propose," he concluded, "to send a copy of my minute home. . . . . It will be sufficient to send a copy privately to the Secretary of State to explain *the inner meaning of that it has not found altogether advisable to say in the letter to Bengal.*"[4]

Why this hush-hush? This secretiveness? Why this inordinate anxiety to keep back from the public facts regarding the partition scheme mentioned in the original draft of the letter to Bengal as prepared by the Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department, on the basis of Lord Curzon's own minute? Obviously these facts were such—and Lord Curzon himself admits it—as could not be permitted to see the light of the day. Obviously, there was something sinister about the scheme which could not be given out.

The leaders of Bengal were not, therefore, wide off the mark when they interpreted the partition scheme "as a subtle attack upon the growing solidarity of Bengali nationalism." The planners of the partition conceived of a two-pronged *modus operandi* to stem the rising tide of political consciousness in Bengal. First, break the solidarity of the Bengali Hindus, who constituted the vanguard of the national movement, by dividing them into two provinces, and secondly, widen the gulf between Hindus and Mussalmans by holding up before the latter prospects of special advantage and domination in the new province of Eastern Bengal and Assam. Regarding this second prong, there could be no hide-and-seek, for Mussalmans could not be won over unless the new prospects were forcefully placed before them. Hence the famous peroration of Lord Curzon on February 18, 1904, about the old glory of Muslim Dacca and the new glory that she was likely to achieve if the partition plan was carried through.

"Will anyone pretend", Lord Curzon asked, "that Dacca is anything but a shadow of its former self? Is it not notorious that for years it has been lamenting its downfall as compared with the past?" When the new proposal for partition is carried through, he assured, "it would make Dacca the centre and possibly the capital of a new and self-sufficing administration which must give to the people of these districts by reason of their numerical strength and their superior culture the preponderating voice in the province so created, which would invest the Muhammadans in Eastern Bengal with a unity which they have not enjoyed since the days of the old Mussalman Viceroys and Kings, ... and which would go far to revive the traditions which the historical students assure us once attached to the kingdom of Eastern Bengal."[5]

4. Quoted from Lord Curzon's minute, dated 10.11.03. Home Dept. Procs., Dec. 1903, Nos. 149-160. Italics mine.

5. *All About Partition*, ed. by P. Mukherjee, (Calcutta, 1906), p. 39.

A TRIP TO NEPAL

By D. V. REGE, I.C.S. (Retd.)

Nepal was the only kingdom which retained its independence when the rest of the Indian sub-continent came under foreign domination. I had, therefore, a long-standing desire to go there, but the journey to Nepal was until recently a nightmare as it involved tedious journey by rail and road including 18 miles of hill-crossing on foot. Though the recently constructed 80 miles long Tribhuwan Rajpath linking Raxaul on the Indian border with Kathmandu, the capital of Nepal, has made the road journey much easier, the best way to go to Kathmandu is to fly from Patna in 55 minutes. From the cockpit of the plane, one gets a magnificent view in a semi-circle of the Himalayan peaks such as Mt. Everest and Kanchan-junga.

Nepal is 56,000 square miles in area, but the valley which is generally visited by the tourists and is the most interesting part of the State is nearly 300 square miles and is known as Nepal in common parlance. Before the Gorkha conquest in 1769, there were four Newar principalities in the valley with their capitals at Kathmandu or Kantipur, Patan or Lalitpur, Bhadgaon or Bhaktapur and Kirtipur. Kirtipur which offered the stiffest resistance was almost razed to the ground and the noses of its adult inhabitants were cut with the result that the place is known as Naskatpur since then.

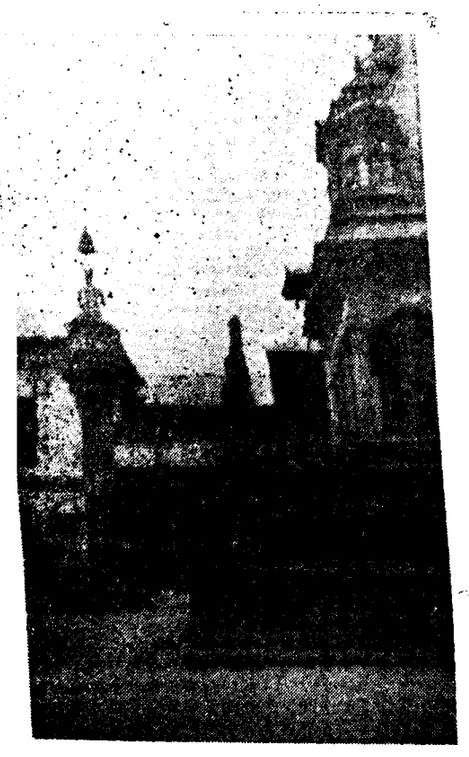


Durbar Square, Patan

Kathmandu derives its name from Kashtha-Mandap, a wooden structure erected by Raja Lakshman Singh Mall in 1597 for housing poor people. The most important place in Kathmandu is the temple of Pashupati Nath. Pashupati Nath, *i.e.*, Lord Shiva, is considered as the real ruler of Nepal and is styled 108 Shree and the King who is Panch Shree, rules as his regent. On the Shivratri Day, cannons are fired from the famous Tundikhel parade-ground in honour of Lord Pashupati and the King visits the shrine on foot in procession. The temple is situated on the river Wagmati and the one great desire of a Hindu is to breathe his last on the steps of the *ghat* with his feet lapped by the water of the sacred stream. The legend says that when the Pandavas went to Kedarnath, Lord Shiva, in order to test their devotion, took the form of a buffalo and stood with his head thrust in the ground. At the importunity of the Pandavas, Shiva remained with his hind portion in Kedarnath and the head appeared in Nepal as Pashupati Nath. The image is lovely and looks resplendent after Puja is performed. Above the three-feet high Linga are four faces facing the four directions. Only the four priests who are selected invariably from the south of the Narmada can enter the sanctum sanctorum. The temple which is double-storied was built about 700 years ago. The walls and floor are of marble, the doors are covered with silver plates and the picturesque pyramidal roof is gilded. In front of the great sanctuary is a huge image of a kneeling bull (Nandi) in heavily gilt copper, and the courts are filled with images and shrines.

The two most famous Buddhist Chaityas in Kathmandu are Swayambhunath and Baudhanath. The former is situated on a hill 400 feet high and is one of the holiest Buddhist shrines in Nepal. After climbing over

500 steps, the first striking object which confronts one at the top is a huge metal thunderbolt of Indra resting on a stone pedestal with representations of 12 animals in bold relief carved round it. They are said to depict the 12 months of the Tibetan year. Beyond, amidst a mass of small structures stands the main temple whose majestic size and simplicity of outline together with its gilded conical spire produce a gorgeous effect. The basement of the spire is covered with plates of metal and



Durbar Chauk, Bhadgaon

has two eyes of Buddha painted in crimson, white and black colours on each of its four sides. Baudhanath is another marvel of simplicity and unadorned beauty. Its main feature is the great pair of impassive enamelled eyes on each face of the square base of the spire. The temple which is one of the most celebrated places of Buddhist pilgrimage outside Tibet is said to have been built even before the incarnation of Lord Buddha. This 'little Tibet' of Nepal is theoretically under the Dalai Lama's administration.

Of the secular buildings in Kathmandu, the most important is Hanuman Dhoka, the old palace of the kings of Nepal. The palace derives its name from the sitting figure of Hanuman covered with vermilion in front of it. There is a big bell in front of the palace which used to be rung in the past for collecting people in times of crises. Now the purpose is served by blowing a bugle from the Bhimsen tower. Coronation of Nepal kings takes place in this place. Inside there are several squares and it was in one of them that the massacre of 1846 took palace. The window from which the then queen directed the massacre is still seen. In another square is the temple of Taleju who is the protecting deity of the ruling family. The temple which is imposing in appearance is opened only on the 9th and 10th day of the Navaratra. Another famous building is the Singh Durbar built by His Highness Chandra Samsherjung, the then Prime Minister of Nepal, for his residence and subsequently sold by him to the State for the Prime Minister's residence. It has about 700 rooms and now houses the secretariat. On the first floor is the Prime Minister's glittering Durbar Hall with a beautiful ceiling, multi-coloured chandeliers and costly wall decorations. Adjacent to this building is the Assembly hall with 24 big gilded pillars and paintings of the Pirme Ministers on the walls.

The museum in Kathmandu is unique in some respects. In one building arms, some seized from the old Newar capitals and some belonging to the various Prime Ministers are artistically arranged in a circular shape on the walls. There are also large life-size paintings of all the Prime Ministers in their ceremonial dress. In the other buildings are kept exquisite samples of Nepalese art including beautiful brass statues of Hindu Gods, Buddhas and Bodhisatvas. The famous Bir Library is located in Trichandra Arts College near the clock-tower. It contains about 24,000 valuable manuscripts in Sanskrit, Pali, Prakrit, etc., which were brought from India during the Muslim invasions. Kathmandu is a city of palaces and there are about 50 palaces of Ranas which are veritable museums as they contain paintings, rare books and various objects *d'art*.

Seven miles from Kathmandu is the famous Pagoda of Changu Narain which is the richest of all the Nepali Pagodas in carving, colour and embossed metal. The entrance to the Central Pagoda which is surrounded by subsidiary shrines built by devotees is "one mass of hammered brass beaten up into angels and devils, reptiles and fishes, winged creatures and floral forms. Two large and imposing stone elephants pose on pedestals in front of this rich colour scheme." From Changu Narain almost the whole expanse of the valley is visible and above the surrounding mountains are seen the soaring peaks of the Himalayas, reminding one of the famous line "Hills peep over hills and Alps on Alps arise." Balaji which is two miles from Kathmandu is known for its fish-ponds and display of fountains. Over 20 dolphin-headed spouts throw out water in a tank beneath. Close by in a small water reservoir is a ten-feet long carved stone figure of Narayan reclining on a nine-hooded Sheshanaga. The steady ripple of water almost suggests the movement of breath. Four stone pillars in the four corners apparently supported a canopy in the past and the image now gazes calmly into the waving tree-tops and the sky. Buddha-Nilkantha, seven miles from Kathmandu, is an enlarged edition of the Narayan image in Balaji. Tradition has it that if ever the ruler of Nepal should visit Buddha-Nilkantha, he will die almost immediately.

Patan which is about three miles from Kathmandu was founded by Emperor Asoka in commemoration of his visit to Nepal and he erected four stupas at four corners of the city. It is a city of conquered Newars and vanquished Buddhism and proclaims the fact that its glory has departed. It is noted for old palaces and temples, wood-carving, sculpture and metal work. In the Durbar square is the famous Krishna Mandir renowned for its architecture. In front of it is a metal statue of the Malla King Joga Narendra on a stone pillar. In the city there is a temple dedicated to Matchindranath, the patron saint of Nepal. In the Mahabuddha temple every brick has an image of Buddha in it, the bricks below being bigger than those above. There are about 15 large Vihars or monasteries in Patan which have now become merely secular establishments solely for the encouragement of trade, though a portion is reserved for the priests in charge of the temple to which the Vihar is attached. The oldest and most interesting Vihar is the Hiranyavarno Maha Vihar. A crowded fantasy of gilded Buddhas, Bodhisatvas, Garudas, rows of metal deities and massive bronze bells strikes one's eyes as soon as one enters the Vihar which is undoubtedly one of the weirdest sights in Nepal.



Golden Gate, Bh

Bhadgaon is seven miles from Kathmandu and is the most picturesque place in Nepal. About the Durbar square and the famous golden door, Mr. Percy Brown writes in his book *Picturesque Nepal*, "On a high stone column surrounded by an immense lotus kneels a magnificent metal effigy of Raja Bhupendra Mall, the greatest of the rulers of Bhadgaon, surmounted by a metal umbrella or a canopy of snakes. Immediately in front of the statue is the entrance to the Durbar, a doorway of brick and embossed copper gilt, the richest

piece of art in the whole kingdom and placed like a jewel flashing innumerable facets in the handsome setting of its surroundings. To adequately describe this feature, either from its artistic or religious aspects, is an impossibility and no reproduction can give an idea of its gorgeous effect owing to the brilliancy of the material in which it is executed. Complete volumes of Hindu and Buddhist thought are embodied in its design. The artificer of this wonderful doorway has proved in his great



Matsendra Nath Temple, Patan

work that he was not only a past master of his craft but a high priest of his cult. This "door of gold"—molten, graven, hammered and rolled —forces the other beautiful and absorbing features on the various buildings in the square into comparative insignifiance by its depth of meaning, richness of design, wealth of material and the excellence of its workmanship. As a specimen of man's handicraft it creates a standard whereby may be measured the intellect, artistic and religious, of, the old Newars."

In an adjacent square is the Nytapol deval or the temple of five stories erected by Raja Bhupendra Mall. It stands on five terraces served by a fine flight of steps. Colossal figures carved in stone stand on each side of the stairway. The lowest of these statues are of two wrestlers, Gog and Magog, who are the historical giants of Newars. On the higher stages in succession are two elephants, two lions, two griffins and two deities, Sitsini and Vyadhini, reputed to be the most powerful of all. A temple of great antiquity in Bhadgaon is that of Shri Dattatreya. The image which has a conch in one hand, a *chakra* in another and two hands on the heart stands between the images of Shankaracharya on the right and Swami Satchitanand Sarasvati on the left.

The bulk of the population in Nepal are Newars who are the original inhabitants. They are carpenters, masons and metal workers but excel in metal and wood carving. Some Newars profess Hinduism while others follow Buddhism. Patan is a stronghold of Newar Buddhists while Bhadgaon is populated mostly by Newar Hindus. The ruling family claims its descent from the Udaipur rulers of the Sisodia clan and its ancestor Dravya Shah conquered Gorkha, a place 50 miles to the West of Kathmandu, in the 12th century and settled there. The term Gorkha is not limited to any particular caste or class and is applied to all those whose ancestors inhabited the country of Gorkha. Brahmo-Buddhism is the religion of Nepal. Being unaffected by Islam, Nepal presents an ideal, though fast-changing, picture of the middle-ages of the East. As has been rightly remarked by Kirkpatric, one of the earliest European historians of Nepal, the valley consists of nearly as many temples as houses and as many idols as inhabitants, there not being a fountain, a river or a hill within its limits that is not consecrated to one or the other of the Hindu or Buddhist deities. It is often necessary to walk carefully in the streets lest one breaks one's shins against an image of Buddha.

As my wife and I were in Nepal during Diwali, we had an opportunity of observing the celebration of the festival which lasts for five days. First day is Kaka-tyohar, *i.e.*, festival of crows when they are worshipped and fed. The second, third and fourth days are observed as Kukkur, Goru and Gai tyohars respectively when dogs, bulls and cows are similarly honoured. Bhai-tika is on the fifth day when sisters invite their brothers to their houses, apply tika on their foreheads and treat them to sumptuous meals.

Nepal has decimal coinage system and our 100 rupees can be exchanged for about 175 rupees of Nepal currency. For entering into Nepal, it is necessary to have a certificate of nationality and character from the District Magistrate concerned and an exit visa which can be obtained from the Indian Embassy is necessary to get out of Nepal. We returned to Gwalior after spending six memorable days in the fascinating vale of Nepal.

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INDIAN HANDICRAFTS : CREATING NEW DESIGNS FOR OLD

Handicrafts continue to be the chief means of livelihood of several million craftsmen in India. In 1947, when India became free, the new Indian State found, among the many immediate problems before it, the problem of putting a stop to the process of disintegration of the handicrafts, of giving them a legitimate place in the national economy and of helping them to organise themselves in a manner capable of meeting changing trends and conditions.



A traditional potter giving shape to new designs in pottery at the New Delhi Design Centre

This required improved equipment and techniques, new training facilities, raw materials in adequate quantities, easy of access and available at reasonable rates, financal support, marketing facilities and a constant supply of new designs. The Government of India set up the All India Handicrafts Board in November 1952 to take up this task.

The fillip given in the last five years to the handicrafts by the All India Handicarfts Board has resulted in a growing demand for handicrafts not only in this country but from all over the world; and to meet this demand emporia have been started all over the country and skilled craftsmen are being employed in large numbers to meet the growing demand. One of the chief considerations is to put in the market quality goods of a certain standard. For this designing is very essential.

Constant supply of new designs is a key problem. What distinguished the old crafts of India was the high artistic standard and excellent workmanship. Beauty and utility were wedded together in all these crafts, whether they were common cooking utensils or a decorative piece of jewellery.

The skill of the craftsmen is still there but many of the old traditional patterns, which they have been creating so far, have, for many reasons, become degenerate and crude. To raise the artistic quality of the crafts and to put in the market highly finished products, it was found necessary to start regional Design Centres under the direction of imaginative and skilled artists.

The object of the Design Centres being not only revival of the traditional forms but also creation of new designs, with emphasis on both the decorative and utility aspects of the craft, the Directors (who are artists also) of the Design Centres are, therefore, expected not only to revive the

old and dying arts and crafts along the right lines but also to introduce original new designs and objects to meet the demands of the present-day markets. It is also necessary that experiments in new techniques and new raw materials should be carried out at these centres and widely circulated so that the present-day craftsmen have at their disposal the advantages of the latest scientific researches.

Four Design Centres

Four such regional Design Centres, started by the All India Handicrafts Board at Delhi, Calcutta, Bangalore and Bombay, are functioning today. Uttar Pradesh Government has started another at Lucknow. The Delhi Design Centre has taken up a number of crafts. Raffia work, so very popular among the refugee women of Faridabad, was taken up first, experimentally, with the idea of helping this craft both from the point of view of improving their skill as well as acquainting them with the present-day needs in designing. Articles like divans, long oval seats, tabletops, waste-paper baskets, pursues, etc., have been designed and executed by these women. Such Raffia works were displayed in exhibitions in Bombay and Delhi and the exhibitions proved very successful.



A traditional craftsman of Delhi shaping utility objects in metal at the New Delhi Design Centre



Copper wall plate—an exquisite metal-ware displayed at the exhibition in Delhi

Metal work, an old traditional craft of Delhi, neglected for a long time, is another craft taken in hand by this Design Centre, and it has already produced a number of utility objects like copper jugs, fruit bowls, flower vases, lamp-stands, tumblers, scent bottles, finger bowls, etc.

The third craft is wood work and articles like fruit bowls, rice bowls, cruet sets, fruit trays, salt and pepper cellars are being designed, some of them decorated with ivory inlay. On the furnishing side, tables, coffee tables, and centre tables have been designed and produced.

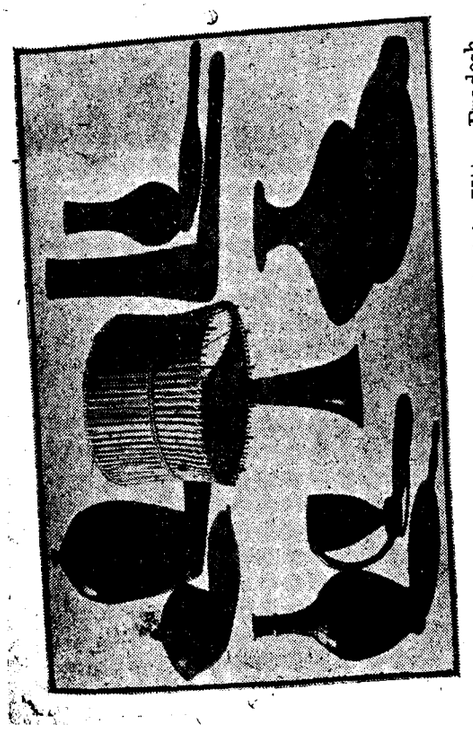
Black pottery typical of Nizamabad in Uttar Pradesh—and pottery as such—is another craft in which the Delhi Design Centre has created a number of useful articles such as lamp-stands, tumblers, surahis and flower vases. To these two more, stone-carving and jewellery, are being added.

The regional Design Centre, Bombay, specialises in metal-carving (embossing and shape-making), batik and print-work, wood carving and terracotta. And the Calcutta Design Centre has taken up, so





In wood-work, the New Delhi Design Centre has created a number of articles, such as fruit trays, cruet sets; rice bowls, etc., some of them decorated with ivory inlay





Black pottery typical of Nizamabad in Uttar Pradesh

far, textiles, earthen pottery and clay-modelling, terracotta, metal-crafts, wood carving and artistic weaves. Similarly, the Bangalore Design Centre has specialised in bronze-casting, wood-carving, decorartive wood-work, glass and lacquer work, pottery and ivory work.

Nearly two lakhs of rupees were spent last year on the Design Centres run by the All India Handicrafts Board. In the current financial year grants amounting to over Rs. 4 lakhs have been sanctioned by the Government of India for maintenance, reorganisation and expansion of these Centres and for providing assistance to Design Centres run by States and other institutions. For the Lucknow Design Centre Uttar Pradesh Government has been given by the Centre a grant of Rs. 2 lakhs.

A fundamental difficulty of the Indian craftsman today is that, while he can turn out an exact replica of any sample of craft that is put before him, he is unable to effect the same result from a paper design or a blue-print. To obviate this disadvantage, it is necessary that demonstration units should periodically visit the villages of the craftsmen and craftsmen's colonies to show to them the nature of the new techniques and the kind of articles that are expected from them.

The regional Design Centres are being linked up with several Production Centres according to the nature of the crafts designed through a suitable machinery being brought into existence by the Marketing Section of the All India Handicrafts Board. Easy and quick marketing of the handicrafts is another essential aspect to be taken care of by the Marketing Section.—*P.I.B.*

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SEVENTY-FIFTH ANNIVERSARY YEAR OF U.S. CIVIL SERVICE

THE United States is giving special recognition this year on the 75th Anniversary of the Civil Service Act to several million Federal employees whose steady work assures efficient operation of the National Government.

Signed into law in 1883, the Act established a merit system that guarantees workers' jobs on the basis of ability without regard to race, religion, national origin or politics.

Of nearly 2,400,000 Federal Government workers, 86 per cent are under Civil Service. Many of the remaining 14 per cent are employed in jobs established by Act of the U.S. Congress and requiring qualifications similar to those in Civil Service. Under Civil Service operation, the Government continues to operate efficiently during changes in administration from one to another major party.

Only several thousand of the more than 2,000,000 total leave the service when administrations change. These are agency heads, their special assistants and a relatively few engaged in formulating policy. The reason for this turnover is due to the fact that during national elections, both major parties make definite promises to the American people. One effective way to fulfil these commitments is to bring to Government service those who will help the elected party officials carry out the promises.

A corps of well-trained Government employees carry on their work regardless of who is making decisions and determining policies. These are the workers in agencies in Washington and throughout the country and employees engaged in services to the people such as delivery of mail, regulation of airplane flights, or completing a long-term health or scientific study.

Under merit system employment, competitive examinations are open to citizens throughout the country to assure selection of the best qualified people available for public service. It requires of these workers high standards of conduct and loyalty as well as competence in their work.

In recognition of aid given in the 19th century by other nations in establishment of the U.S. Civil Service System, the Civil Service Commission has set up a training program for overseas visitors to study the present opera-



Top: An agent of U.S. Department of A.E.S. advises an old farmer; *Lower left*: A meteorologist; *Lower right*: A chemist



Mrs. Mahely Butler, a tabulating machine operator, at the U. S. Bureau of the Census in Washington

ion in various parts of the nation. Since its nauguration in 1953, more than 1,000 persons rom 71 other countries have participated. During 1957, 225 visitors studied at Headquarters in Washington, D.C., and in field offices in other cities.

In courses of study ranging from a single day to a full year, these visitors were given a general orientation of the Federal Government, history of the Commission, and growth of federal employment. They also visited other Government agencies outside Washington.

Civil Service workers are in 16,000 different occupational skills that vitally affect many phases of American life in the United States and overseas. They staff more than 70 departments and agencies operated by the Federal Government throughout the nation and its territories and are U.S. representatives in other countries.

Government workers print and mint money, regulate immigration, collect taxes and duties, help conserve land and revitalize unproductive agricultural areas, extend electricity into rural homes, enforce Federal laws and administer social security. They forecast weather, protect national parks and forests, and conduct research in physics, electronics, meteorology, geology, metallurgy and other scientific fields which have far-reaching effects on the health, welfare, economy and security of the nation.

Also they control the nation's airways, standardize weights and measurements, handle relations with other countries, develop flood control measures and perform hundreds of other services required by the American people.

On the whole, Federal employees are a cross-section of the U.S. population—most could be considered "average Americans" except that they work for the Government instead of private employers.

Vacant positions are filled on the basis of highest grades in competitive Civil Service examinations. The Commission directs recruitment and examination programs but the Government agencies do the actual hiring. A thorough investigation of the character and fitness for



Top: A worker at the central tower of Washington National Airport; *Lower left*: Two forest rangers; *Lower right*: A welder at Navy yard

Government employment is made of each applicant.

After selection of employees on merit, the Government pays and promotes them on the same basis. When jobs in higher grades become vacant, or new ones are set up, the general practice is to fill them by promoting employees in lower grades who are qualified for more difficult duties. The usual Government work-week is 40 hours.

The Government has a liberal retirement system to which employees contribute a percentage of their salaries. The compulsory retirement age after at least 15 years' service is 70 but earlier retirement on a voluntary basis is permitted upon attainment of the age and service requirements specified in the retirement law. Workers also participate voluntarily in a life insurance plan.

An incentive awards program provides recognition for outstanding Government workers and stimulates interest in Federal service. Awards are given to those who contribute notably useful ideas for Government operation and to those employees whose performances are considered superior.—*USIS.*

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A DECADE OF MONETARY DISCIPLINE IN INDIA

By Dr. G. P. GUPTA, ph.d.,
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Ever since the adoption of economic planning as a 'creed' and 'philosophy' of India's national life no other policy has emerged out with greater departures and innovations than monetary management and no other institution has been called upon to shoulder greater and more varied responsibilities than the Reserve Bank of India. It is only during the last ten years, coinciding broadly with the inauguration of a series of development plans, that a relatively active monetary policy has been in operation, and with the task of economic development assuming a new urgency and impetus, in the wake of the Five-Year Plans, the Bank's developmental and promotional activities have assumed great importance, besides the growing significance of traditional functions. Monetary discipline during all these years was governed by the twin considerations of 'assisting a growing economy' and 'restraining inflationary pressures'. A rapidly developing economy like ours would require continuous increase in money supply and bank credit, and in view of the excess demand, which has been lately reflected in the sharp and continuous rise in commodity prices, with a noticeable increase in speculative and hoardng tendencies and also in a heavy deficit in balance of payments, the need for restraining monetary expansion has also been paramount. The monetary discipline has thus been characterised as one of 'controlled expansion'.

Reorientation of Policy

At the time the First Five-Year Plan was set into operation in 1951 immediate remedy of inflationary forces, thanks to the Korean War, was necessitated to embark upon the development programmes. To encounter these forces, besides augmenting domestic supplies by focussing attention on projects yielding results with a minimum time lag, and on increased imports of food and raw materials under American Wheat Loan and Colombo Plan, expansion of purchasing power with the public was prevented through a reorientation of monetary policy. The Reserve Bank in mid-November, 1951, announced the increase in its Bank Rate—a traditional instrument of monetary discipline—to 3½ per cent from 3 per cent, at which level it had remained since November, 1935. Simultaneously with the raising of the Bank Rate, the Bank made an important change in its open market policy: the Bank announced that henceforward it would not, save in exceptional circumstances, purchase Government securities from banks to meet their seasonal requirements of reserves, but that it would, as a normal practice, make advances against Government and other approved securities specified in section 17(4) (a) of the Reserve Bank of India Act.

The new policy, coming as it did at the start of the busy season, put an effective check on credit expansion, the busy season increase in money supply with the public amounting to only Rs. 8 crores. Secondly, it enabled the Bank to influence the pattern of bank advances; since banks had to resort to borrowing from the Reserve Bank to meet their seasonal demands, they had to exercise greater caution in their lending operations. The total borrowings of the scheduled banks from the Reserve Bank decreased by 19 per cent from Rs. 200 crores in 1951-52 to Rs. 163 crores in subsequent year, the outstandings having been reduced by as much as 33 per cent. Thirdly, the new policy put an effective check on monetisation of debt that was going on in the post-war years. Whereas during the period January 1948 to November 1951 the Reserve Bank had bought, on its investment account, securities for a total of Rs. 210 crores, it made net sales of Rs. 46 crores during the period December 1951 to March 1956. The Bank thus acquired a greater measure of control than it ever had over the banking system. The immediate effect was, however, the hardening of the structure of interest rates and a stoppage of the automatic expansion of liquidity in the system by suspending the erstwhile practice of purchases of the Government securities from the banks.

New Device of 'Pseudo' Bills

As a consequence of this, the capacity of scheduled banks to meet trade demands had been unduly strained and it was feared lest the seasonal requirements of the money market should remain unfulfilled. To allay such fears a device of usance bills, called in some quarters as 'Pseudo' bills, for advances to the scheduled banks was introduced in January, 1952 under what has been popularly known as the Bill Market Scheme. Under this arrangement the Reserve Bank undertook to make demand loans to scheduled banks, having deposits of Rs. 10 crores or more, under Section 17(4) (c) of the Reserve Bank of India Act, on the security of usance promissory notes of their constituents. With a view to popularising the scheme, the Bank charged on such advances a concessional rate of 1/2 per cent below the Bank Rate (then 3½ per cent) and, as a further incentive, also undertook to bear half the cost of stamp duty incurred by the borrowing banks in converting demand promissory notes of their borrowers into usance promissory notes. The scheme was subsequently extended by stages and since July 1954, at the recommendation of the Committee on Finance for Private Sector, to all scheduled banks in possession of a license under Section 22 of the Banking Co., Act, 1949 as well as certain approved scheduled banks which are not required to hold a license have become eligible to avail themselves of the facilities under the scheme.

Evidently, the scheme achieved the twin objectives of imparting flexibility to the operations of the Bank, as lender of the last resort, in meeting the seasonal requirements of the money market, and developing the use of bills by popularising the 'usance' paper. In the context of economic planning the former was more important and, as expressed by the Shroff Committee on Finance, 'it has been a welcome addition to the money market and has been of substantial help to the commercial banks. It has succeeded, by and large, in fulfilling the purpose for which it was started.' The maximum outstandings of total borrowings and of borrowings against usance bills during the first 8-month period since the inception of the scheme on January 16, 1952 were respectively Rs. 56 crores and Rs. 30 crores. Even after this banks availed themselves of the arrangement in an increasing manner; during 1955 gross advances against usance bills amounted to Rs. 225 crores as compared to Rs. 148 crores in the previous year. Advances against Government securities totalled Rs. 200 crores during 1955, showing only a nominal increase over the preceding year; while advances

under the scheme showed a substantial increase of Rs. 75 crores, the percentage to total borrowings being about 53. Outstandings at the end of 1955 under the scheme were Rs. 19 crores as against those on Government securities at Rs. 0.32 crore.

Thus, the device of usance bills helped the Bank in imparting greater elasticity and autonomy to the Indian money market without losing control over the inflationary forces. On the other hand, it supported the disinflationary factors that were already in operation internally as well as internationally. The improvement in the supply position at home, the contraction of international demand, following the adoption of dearer money policies in several countries and the easing of tension in international relations together with monetary discipline in the country resulted in the price-fall, and by March 1953, the general index of wholesale prices (Base: August, 1939=100) had fallen precipitously to 385 as against pre-Korean figure of 393 for May 1950. The average index of wholesale prices for 1952-53 was 12.4 per cent lower than the average for 1951-52 and 1.2 per cent below the average for 1949-50.

Towards Disinflationary Goal?

With the continued price-fall traders developed an eagerness to reduce their stocks and improve their liquid position. A lull in the export market and the arrival of large consignments of American and Egyptian Cotton accentuated the price-fall. Also, the slack season set in and money supply started contracting as usual. This combination of circumstances stretched the disinflationary policy a little too far and presented symptoms of disinflation developing into a dangerous recession. To prevent the situation from going out of control fiscal measures were adopted: quotas and destinational restrictions on a variety of exports were abolished and export duties, which had been raised as an anti-inflationary measure, were drastically curtailed; the duty on hessian was cut down from Rs. 1500 to Rs. 750 per ton in February and to Rs. 275 per ton in May 1952 and the duties on raw cotton and jute sacking were halved and those on ground-nut oil, oil-seeds and raw wool were abolished. These measures together with liberal advances by the Reserve Bank against Government securities and usance bills contributed to a reduction in nervousness and the price-fall was arrested. The Economic Adviser's general index of wholesale prices for 1953-54 (Base: Year ended August 1939=100) was at 394 with a rise of 2.3 per cent as compared to a rise of 2 per cent in 1952-53. Similarly, the average for the year recorded a rise of 4.4 per cent as against a decline of 12.4 per cent in the previous year.

But the position did not sustain for long and rising trends in prices were sooner than later overcome in the subsequent year by a downward price movement, which was caused by the increased pressure of supplies resulting from bumper crops and growing industrial output and a larger volume of imports, and accentuated by dishoarding of accumulated stocks consequent upon elimination of controls over a wide sector. Except for a short-lived rise between July-September 1954, when the index number (Base: Year ended August 1939=100) went up from 381.6 to 384.4, prices showed an uninterrupted decline to 342 in May 1955 when they registered the lowest level since April 1948. The fall in prices during the year, as a whole, showed a fall of 10.2 per cent as against 6 per cent in 1953-54 and it was the sharpest in the case of 'food articles' (20 per cent). To a casual reader this would appear that inflation had, by and large, disappeared and that the fall in prices could provide a base for more rapid economic development. But the situation in subsequent months unfolded quite a different and difficult picture.

However, it can be said that the measures of monetary discipline were fairly successful in the First Plan period (1951-56): this is brought out by the fact that as compared to an increase of 18 per cent of national income, the rise in money supply with the public was of the order of 10 per cent and there was a 15 per

cent decline in the general index of wholesale prices. It should be pointed out that the fall in commodity prices represented, besides the judicious monetary and fiscal measures, the working off of the Korean boom and there was also a series of good harvests, particularly of foodgrains.

The Second Stage Sets In

With the commencement of the Second Plan, the economy was subject to rather severe strains mainly because of increased investment outlay in the public and private sectors, budgetary deficit on Government account, rising trend of prices and the heavy deficit in balance of payments. The marked stepping up of the rate of investment in the private sector and the rise in commodity prices (the general index of wholesale prices, with year ended August, 1939 as base, rose by 16.7 per cent from 345 at the end of June 1955 to 402 at the end of June 1956) led to a sharp increase in the demand for credit by the banking system and a phenomenal rise in its borrowing from the Reserve Bank. In these circumstances monetary and credit policy had to be attuned to the objective of 'controlled expansion': while facilities from borrowing from the Reserve Bank were liberalised for those sectors wherein development was being hampered by inadequacy of credit facilities; on the other hand, restraint on credit expansion was also exercised to checking the inflationary pressures generated by a development programme with a substantial amount of deficit financing.

Facility for Deficit Financing

To provide for necessary finance to meet the increasing deficits of the Government caused by the rising scale of investment outlays on development schemes, the Reserve Bank, as a storehouse of currency and credit, was called upon to shoulder additional responsibilities. Plan outlays had moderately risen from Rs. 259 crores in 1951-52 to Rs. 273 crores in 1952-53 and Rs. 340 crores in 1953-54, or a total of Rs. 872 crores in three years. There was a substantial stepping up to Rs. 475 crores in 1954-55 and Rs. 600 crores in 1955-56; the combined deficit of the Central and State Governments during 1951-56, as measured by the actual net addition to the Treasury bill holdings of the Bank and draft on Government cash balances, being about Rs. 400 crores. Developmental outlay in 1956-57, the first year of the Second Plan, was Rs. 635 crores with an actual deficit of Rs. 250 crores against a projected deficit financing of Rs. 500 crores out of an outlay of Rs. 861 crores in 1957-58 and Rs. 1200 crores, or 25 per cent of the total outlay, in the Second Plan period.

Keeping in view the requirements of monetary policy in this context, the Bank assumed for itself, under the Reserve Bank of India (Amendment) Act, 1956, the needed flexibility in note-issue, effective October 6, 1956, which was hitherto seriously hampered by Section 33(2) of the Act requiring the Bank to maintain not less than 40 per cent of the Paper Currency Reserve in the form of gold or foreign securities with gold of not less than Rs. 40 crores in value at Rs. 21.3.10 per tola. The Bank now assumed powers to maintain a minimum holding of Rs. 400 crores in foreign securities, subject to the minimum of Rs. 300 crores in exceptional cincumstances, and of Rs. 115 crores in gold revalued at the rate agreed to by the International Monetary Fund, namely, Rs. 62.50 per tola. This was an enabling measure to the Bank to adapt to the policy of deficit financing, which, according to the Bank, 'was not only desirable but essential for economic stability.'

Subsequently, out of the necessity to withdraw foreign assets from Paper Currency Reserve to meet the yawning gap in balance of payments position, emergency was felt to further relax the condition of minimum foreign currency reserve. The fall in the foreign assets of the Bank in 1956-57 was of the order of Rs. 244 crores, from Rs. 656 crores to Rs. 412 crores, the maximum average weekly rate of loss being Rs. 7.93 crores in July-September, 1957. Further the quantum of foreign assets was reduced to an appalling figure of Rs. 171 crores on the last Friday of March 1958, the lowest level ever held with the

Bank. This led the expert circles to believe that the main purpose of foreign exchange reserves with the Central Bank was not to support the note-issue as to enable the country to meet deficits in the balance of payments, and, according to this belief, the aggregate value of gold and foreign securities held in the Issue Department of the Bank was reduced by an Ordinance, subsequently replaced by legislation, to Rs. 200 crores with a minimum of gold worth Rs. 115 crores at Rs. 62.50 per tola. This was done in keeping with the general trend of central banking legislation in recent times to delink foreign reserves from the note-issue and to adapt to the monetary policy in the framework of Second Five-Year Plan.

This gave a recognition to the policy of deficit financing in the context of economic planning and the Bank got a 'free hand' to 'create' currency to fit in this policy. But the authorities of the Bank were not unaware of the dangers inherent in such a policy. In their Report to the Central Government under Section 53(2) of the Reserve Bank of India Act, they observed, "Deficit financing provides no easy substitute for sustained and substantial efforts to mobilise resources for development. It is a double-edged weapon which may be employed, within limits, to help Government, but may hinder it, if used to excess . . . . In such a context, the essential function of the banking system should be to provide the necessary expansion in bank credit to facilitate the growth in productive activity, while preventing, at any stage, a lapse into undue credit expansion and inflation."

To avert such gloomy possibilities the Bank also assumed powers, under Section 42 of the Act to vary reserve requirements of scheduled banks within the range of 5 to 20 per cent in respect of demand liabilities and 2 to 8 per cent in respect of time liabilities. Though this power has not been used by the Bank so far, this serves as a 'control lever' in the armoury of the Bank to hold in check the possible inflation in bank credit as a result of money supply released in terms of the amendment in Section 33(2) of the Reserve Bank of India Act. The ground was thus well prepared to meet the discipline of controlled expansion to the monetary needs of the Second Plan.

Uptrends in Money, Credit and Prices

In the earlier stages of the Second Plan there became visible the perceptible signs of an all-round expansion of paper currency, money with the public, bank credit and borrowings from the Reserve Bank and the rising prices. This was due to high capital outlay envisaged in the Plan, the larger volume of deficit financing contemplated therein and the increasing tempo of the development schemes started either during the First Plan or undertaken in the current programmes. The paper currency in circulation increased from Rs. 1486 crores in October 1957 (when the Reserve Bank was given a free hand to issue notes on the bare minimum of Rs. 200 crores in gold and foreign securities) to Rs. 1507 crores in December 1957 and with an uninterrupted increase throughout touched the highest level of Rs. 1619 crores in April 1958. Similarly, the money supply with the public during 1956-57, the first year of the Second Plan, was Rs. 2313 crores, an increase by Rs. 129 crores of 5.9 per cent over that of the preceding year, and as compared to Rs. 264 crores or 13.7 per cent in 1955-56 and Rs. 127 crores or 7.1 per cent in 1954-55. The slower growth in money supply in 1956-57, it must be noted, resulted not from any slowing down of the tempo of development—which in fact showed a rise—but from increased investment expenditure abroad on imports, which tended to reduce internal money supply.

The broadening of demand for bank credit to cater to the needs of development was also reflected in the expansion of scheduled bank credit, which excluding inter-bank transactions, increased by Rs. 164 crores over the year (July 1956-June 1957) as compared to Rs. 142 crores in the preceding year. The substantial rise in imports was an important factor in the sharp rise in bank credit. Even during the slack season (May-October 1956) bank credit recorded a small net rise of Rs. 4 crores. The rise in the net deposits of scheduled banks at Rs. 178 crores was, however, much larger than in 1955-56 (Rs. 101 crores), the increase being largely connected with the import of U.S. surplus agricultural commodities under P.L. 480. Though, unlike in 1955-56, the expansion of deposits was as large as rise in bank credit, in view of the already over-extended position of banks at the beginning of the year 1956-57, the pressure on the liquidity of banks and monetary stringency in general were intensified, to meet the demand for credit, the scheduled banks resorted to heavy borrowing from the Reserve Bank, the average of such borrowings for 1956-57 being Rs. 64 crores, more than twice Rs. 25 crores in the preceding year. Total advances taken by scheduled banks from the Reserve Bank both on usance bills and Government and other eligible securities were of the order of Rs. 1017 crores during 1956-57—the highest ever taken by them. The advances against usance bills were the highest—Rs. 560 crores—ever since the introduction of the scheme and so was the case with the advances against the Government securities—Rs. 457 crores; the outstandings being respectively Rs. 72 and Rs. 32 crores.

As a result of increasing money and credit, the price situation was, very naturally, characterised by an almost continuous uptrend, the general index of wholesale prices, with year ended August 1939 as base, rose by 16.7 per cent from 345 at the end of June 1955 to 402 at the end of June 1956. The price situation continued to cause concern and the general index of wholsale prices (Base: 1952-53=100) rose further by 8.3 per cent between June 1956-June 1957, the average index for 1956-57 was higher than in 1955-56 by 12 per cent. The rise in prices was shared by all the major groups but was particularly in 'food articles' (10.4 per cent) and 'raw materials' (7.4 per cent). This price uptrend was due mainly to the rising impact on demand of the incomes generated by the heavy investment under the Plan and the relative shortfall in agricultural [illegible]. The situation was also aggravated by an increased tendency to hold food grains with the help of bank credit.

Measures of Controlled Expansion

To combat such a situation the policy of controlled expansion was adopted: wherein the expansion of money and credit was fully recognised, an excessive expansion to jeopardise the financial stability of the economy was not permitted. The Reserve Bank sought to administer monetary discipline through temporary liberalising the Bill Market Scheme, on the one hand, and by raising the cost of credit together with selective monetary control, on the other.

As the bank credit expanded and the scheme of usance bills became popular, the Bank considered it no longer necessary to continue to allow the concessions granted in respect of advances under the scheme. The Bank, therefore, stepped up in March, 1956 its lending rate under the scheme by 1|4 per cent raising it to 3¼ per cent. The benefit of re-imbursement of a portion of the stamp duty was also withdrawn. In spite of these measures the contraction of scheduled bank credit was unusually small during the slack season of 1956 (Mid-May to Septetmber-end) and, therefore, the Bank further raised its lending rate under the scheme by another 1|4 per cent in November, 1956, bringing it on par with the Bank Rate, which was also the rate of advances against Government and other approved securities. While the cost of borrowing under the scheme was thus increased, the minimum amount that could be borrowed at any time and the minimum amount of a bill were liberalised and reduced from the initial figures of Rs. 25 lakhs and Rs. 1 lakh to Rs. 5 lakhs and Rs. 0.50 lakh respectively. Despite the increase in the cost of borrowing, the popularity of the scheme, it may be noted, went on unabated; the advances under the scheme in 1956-57, being Rs. 560 crores as against Rs. 228 crores in the preceding year and as compared to Rs. 457 crores under advances against Government securities. It is thus clear that the device of usance bills has gone a long way in ensuring

that *bona fide* trade and industry will not suffer for want of adequate assistance from banks.

Bank Rate Redefined

Consequent upon the stepping up of the usance bill rate to 3½ per cent and upon the simultaneous raising of the stamp duty on usance bills to 1|2 per cent, the virtual cost of borrowing under the Bill Market Scheme stepped up from 3½ to 4 per cent, effective February 1, 1957. A Communique was, therefore, issued by the Bank in the evening of January 31, 1957 purporting to increase from 1st February, 1957 its lending rate against Government and other approved securities, under Section 17 (4) (a) of the Reserve Bank of India Act, from 3½ to 4 per cent. Earlier in the day the Bank had announced that the Bank Rate remained unchanged at 3½ per cent. Here is a testimony to the flexibility of a policy of qualitative control as opposed to Bank Rate Policy. This was the first time that a distinction had been made in India between the Bank Rate and the rate of advances against approved securities. Rather, the Bank Rate was redefined as not including the rate of interest on advances against eligible securities. This was done, it must be said, with a purpose of monetary discipline. If scheduled banks had continued to enjoy the option to borrow on Government securities at Bank Rate, *i.e.*, 3½ per cent, when the cost of borrowing against usance bills had been virtually raised to 4 per cent, with the increase of stamp duty, they would have increasing preference for the former mode of replenishing their resources and the Bank would be faced with the risk of being loaded with large blocks of Government securities, as had actually happened in 1951-52; and the Bill Market Scheme would have suffered a setback. Failure to adjust the rates would have put an unhealthy premium on borrowing from the Bank and contributed to the intensification of inflationary pressures.

Subsequently, effective May 16, 1957, the Bank Rate, *i.e.*, the rate at which the Bank was prepared to buy or rediscount bills of exchange or other commercial paper eligible for purchase under the Act, was raised from 3½ to 4 per cent. Immediately then the stamp duty on usance bills was lowered to 0.20 per cent, and with this, the effective rate for borrowing under the Bill Market Scheme has been 4.20 per cent. The raising of the various lending rates of the Bank was mainly by way of realignment with the trend of money market rates and also directed to making the structure of lending rates of the Bank internally more cohesive, both of which are necessary adjuncts to monetary discipline in any country.

Selective Credit in Operation

Another measure of monetary discipline adopted to control the uptrend in prices, especially food-grains, was the selective credit management, designed to regulate the flow of credit into developmental uses by preventing it from going to the illegitimate sectors. With the substantial expansion of money supply and prices tending to rise because production and economic activity are lagging behind, as was perceptible in our economy during early stages of Second Plan, the risk of anti-social use of credit became particularly serious. It became profitable for producers and traders to hold on to their stocks in a rising market and if bank credit was freely available to them for financing such carrying of stocks, hoarding and profiteering would be encouraged and the tendency of prices to rise would be aggravated. In the context of planning and development canalisation of bank credit to socially desirable and economically useful purposes befitting the broad objectives of the Plan was, therefore, particularly important.

A beginning was, thus, made on May 17, 1956 when the Reserve Bank, in exercise of its powers conferred on it under Section 21(2) of the Banking Co. Act, 1949, issued a directive asking all scheduled and two State-associated non-scheduled banks not to increase any credit limit in respect of advances against the security of paddy and rice beyond Rs. 50,000, to raise their existing margins by 10 per cent and to achieve a reduction in their aggregate advances to a level not more than 25 per cent above that of the corresponding week last year. The directive was a monetary approach to arrest the strong uptrend in rice prices which had ascended from 72 in April, 1955 (Base: 1952-53=100) to 92 in April 1956, representing a rise of 28 per cent. The rise in rice prices was, *inter alia*, due to speculative holding of stocks with the help of bank credit: the advances of scheduled banks against paddy and rice being Rs. 26.5 crores in April, 1956, just before the issue of the said directive, as compared to Rs. 11.3 crores in April, 1955, the increase being 135 per cent. The directive had a favourable response and was withdrawn in Noverber, 1956 when the level of advances reached the figure of Rs. 4.4 crores in October, 1956. But the restrictions were re-imposed in February, 1957 when bank advances against paddy and rice again touched the level of Rs. 20 crores.

Similar action was taken on September 13, 1956, against advances on wheat and food-grains, grain and other pulses and cotton textiles including yarn. Although production of most food-grains was lower in 1955-56 than in 1954-55, advances against wheat and other cereals and pulses were higher in 1955-56 by about 50-55 per cent as compared to the corresponding period of the preceding year, the advances in August, 1956, being Rs. 19 crores as against Rs. 12 crores in August, 1955. In June, 1956, advances of scheduled banks against wheat, gram and other pulses were to the tune of Rs. 23 crores—the highest in the past five years. As a consequence, price of wheat was 27 per cent higher in July, 1956, over that in 1955, while prices of jowar, bajra and gram showed increases of about 120 per cent, 24 per cent and 43 per cent, respectively over the year. The sharp rise in prices was, besides a shortfall in production, was accentuated by speculative hoarding of stocks facilitated by the higher level of bank credit; and thus action on bank credit was called for.

The control thus introduced at the appropriate time served its purpose effectively as indicated by the fall in bank advances against food-grains from Rs. 23 crores in June to Rs. 4 crores in October with the result that the restrictions were withdrawn in November to facilitate movement of crops and marketing of harvested grains. But the situation again worsened after April, 1957, when the advances against food-grains reached the level of Rs. 21 crores in May, 1957. In view of this situation a stricter directive was issued on June 7, 1957, designing not only to curb bank finance for speculative bolding of stocks but also to bring down substantially the level of advances against these commodities. On June 29, 1957, the Governor of the Bank had to write a letter to all scheduled banks drawing their attention to certain aspects of the monetary situation arising out of the large-scale expansion of bank credit and seeking their co-operation in achieving a positve reduction in the level of bank credit without diminishing assistance to the essential sectors of the economy. This resulted in the decline of advances, which came down to Rs. 9 crorcs in November, 1957, from Rs. 21 crores in May. Consequently, directive of June was replaced by another on December 11, 1957, relaxing the restrictive conditions from regulation through *margins* to regulation of the *aggregate level* of advances against specified commodities with additional relaxations in the interests of production and trade.

But in view of the resumption of the rising trend of food prices since February, 1958, the Bank decided, early in June, to continue till October-end the restrictions on advances against food-grains; and in view of the rising trend of wheat prices the restrictions were further tightened in September, 1958.

Thus the operation of selective monetary control has been marked by flexibility aimed at assisting the developmental sectors without hindering genuine credit requirements. Though, as admitted by the Governor of the Reserve Bank, 'the administration of the selective credit control has not, in practice, proved an easy task,' but the discipline did have a salutary effect in curbing the forces leading to price-rises with the help of bank credit. Paying a tribute to the role of the Reserve Bank, Shri G. D. Birla, Chairman of the United Commercial Bank Ltd., said in his presidential speech:

> "It is a matter of pride to hear the Indian Central Banking Institution being described as one of the most efficient in the world. This is no exaggeration for the selective monetary control instituted by the Bank has succeeded in keeping at bay the inflationary pressures which the country had to face . . . By timely directives, the Reserve Bank has played a considerable part in imbuing the Indian economy with stability and in preventing the price situation from gttting out of hand."

The Fourth Dimension!

To make selective credit really effective, the Reserve Bank made an innovation in convening the conferences of the bankers and explaining them the efficacy of monetary discipline in an expanding economy. At a Conference of leading bankers convened on August 20, 1957, the Governor of the Bank gave a stern warning to the bankers that "if the banks in the country did not bring down the advances by Rs. 75 crores to Rs. 800 crores by October, 1957, without diminishing the flow of credit to essential sectors, the Reserve Bank would give them less financial assistance than it did in the previous busy seasons." This may be interpreted as the fourth dimension to the three-dimensional policy of monetary management, the three dimensions being the bank rate, open market operations and the directive method. The warning did not go in vain. The bank credit was subsequently brought down to Rs. 840 crores by the middle of November from a level of Rs. 938 crores in early June. The supervention of some developments, such as the bank-employee strike in Calcutta and the increase in advances to the textile industry following the accumulation of stocks with mills prevented a further reduction. The Governor of the Bank, in his Press Conference after a month from the aforesaid bankers' conference, expressed his satisfaction that "the banks were actively giving effect to the directives and a few banks had already reported having reached the levels demanded."

Latest Trends—'A Phase of Contradictions'

As a national consequence to the measures of monetary control adopted during the early period of the Second Plan, the latest trends speak of easy money conditions; the expansion of money supply with the public being Rs. 75 crores as compared to Rs. 129 crores and Rs. 264 crores in the two preceding years. There is a phenomenal growth in the deposits of the scheduled banks, deposits recording a rise of Rs. 276 crores, mostly in time deposits —Rs. 249 crores, four times the rise recorded in 1956-57. As against this sharp rise in deposit resources, bank credit during the year (1957-58) recorded a moderate expansion of Rs. 63 crores, less than half of the rise in the preceding year. The slowing down of investment activity in the private sector, a flagging off in the rate of expansion in industrial production caused by mounting difficulties of foreign exchange leading to severe import restrictions, the declining trend of agricultural production, all have led to a marked slowing down in the demand for credit and the expansion of money supply. Developmental expenditure on Government account, financed through a substantial increase in Reserve Bank credit, was, in fact, stepped up during the year, deficit financing incurred of about Rs. 500 crores in 1957-58, but its impact on monetary expansion was neutralized to a considerable extent by a large external deficit and also by a phenomenal growth of time deposits. Consequently, banks today have a surfeit of funds, their liquid position is very comfortable and, indeed, their problem is to seek avenues of profitable investment of their surplus. In this situation, they have increasingly invested in Government securities, their investments, including Treasury Bills, having gone up from Rs. 332 crores to Rs. 572 crores over the year. In fine, money is prominently easy.

On the other side, private investment and industrial production appear to have touched a plateau after the sustained and substantial increases in the preceding few years, agricultural production, too, has shown a drop, and will further go down in view of the present devastating floods in various parts of the country. The balance of payments is also in serious deficit. Despite the policy of general restraint on bank credit and money there is a perceptible uptrend in prices, the wholesale price index number (Base: 1952-53=100) having gone up to 120 in case of food articles.

In the face of such apparently contradictory developments, there awaits the advancement of plan expenditures in the public sector, thanks to the foreign aid, to be followed by increases in private investments. Deficit financing of Rs. 220 crores in 1958-59, it might be actually more, on the top of Rs. 500 crores of deficit occurred in 1957-58, will surely aggravate the inflationary pressures. To control such a situation the monetary discipline desired will be that of restraint on bank credit and mopping up surplus funds by attracting the savings of the people. As far as selective monetary control is concerned, the Reserve Bank has shown itself to be keenly aware of the manner in which such credit restrictions have to be imposed; the Bank, latest on September 10, 1958, having directed all scheduled banks to tighten credit against the security of wheat to prevent hoarding of this food-grain with the help of bank credit. But what about the surplus purchasing power? Will the selective monetary control be able to mop up the surplus purchasing power that is likely to be released with the acceleration of intensive efforts on development programmes? The Reserve Bank agrees that "when the balance of payments situation will remain a source of concern the tenor of monetary and credit policy would have to be absorption of the available liquid assets for urgent financing of the plan projects and maintenance of stringent control on expansion of credit facilities in general."

Correct Approach

To achieve this objective, it may be cautioned, in a developing economy, high bank rate, as prescribed in some quarters, will prove to be detrimental because it will affect production and restrain gainful investment. The feasibility of high interest rates is probably held out on the assumption that they help in securing austerity in living, higher savings and speedier development through less inflation. Also, that costlier credit presents a disincentive to investment at a time when expenditures, which are not likely to add to production in the short run, are already at a high level. But this is a fallacy. The point precisely is that, in a developing economy, such expenditures are unavoidable and if such productive endeavours are curtailed, the continued lack of sufficient production will itself be accentuating inflation. The cost of production is made higher and the consumer prices are also higher. Besides, a high bank rate has a deleterious effect upon Government borrowings. No gilt-edged market was ever in a cheerful mood during a period of high bank rate. There is, of course, a possibility of gain from the higher interest on the gilt-edged issues, but the capital depreciation in existing issues is more than the gain. So, if market borrowing is resorted to for raising considerable resources, as has been done in the recent past, a high bank rate cannot be sustained. And, in an expanding economy, it is highly essential that market borrowings are maximised, because to the extent additional resources are thus raised the corresponding reliance on deficit financing will be reduced, and, on the other side, the surplus resources in the market will be mopped up, for as Mr. Iyengar has put it, basically, 'The objective is to mop up liquid resources to the maximum extent practicable and thereby to keep down the pressure on any of the goods in relatively scarce supply."

So if the monetary discipline, in the context of developing economy, agrees to selective credit control, let it also consider the question of rate of interest without restraining the productive endeavours.

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ANCIENT NOTICES ON KASMIRA

By BHAWANI SHANKAR SHUKLA, M.A.

THERE is hardly a state in India today which has not undergone considerable changes in its area, shape and population from the ancient days. The states of U.P. and Bihar, for example, were not exactly the same a few centuries ago as these are today. But Kasmira is an exception to it. Situated on high altitudes and surrounded by lofty mountains she has always occupied a unique position in India. Its swiftly flowing streams, hot springs and icy glaciers have given peculiar characteristics to its climate. Its soil produces rice, precious saffron, sweet fruits and fragrant flowers; its ponds grow lotus and lakes yield vegetables. Yet, it is a poor state loved by gods and men alike but despised by the goddess of wealth Lakshmi. Kasmira is the finest place in the world for its scenic beauty to the tourists, the loveliest for the poets and artists and the holiest for the *yogis* for the purpose of meditation. It is for these reasons the goddess of learning has chosen this part of India to be her permanent abode. Kalhana, the greatest of chroniclers of Kasmira, is right when he says: "Kailasa is the best place

in the three worlds; the Himalaya—the best part of Kailasa; and Kasmira, the best part of the Himalaya."

It is a pity that Indian literature has very scanty notices of ancient geography of Kasmira. It may be due to the fact that Kasmira is practically cut off from the Indian soil owing to mountaneous barriers. But we are, however, happy that the indigeneous records of this place provide ample material to study its ancient geography and history. Foreign records too are very helpful for our purpose. As far as the latter source is concerned we naturally expect to get some information from the historians of Alexander who provide for the first time the true geographical notices of north-western Indian States. But the mountain barriers of Kasmira did not permit an outsider to enter the valley, and, therefore, Alexander's historians gave no information regarding Kasmira proper, despite the fact that the great conqueror marched through the neighbourhood of the valley.

Thanks to Ptolemy to indicate the situation of a country called Kaspeiria which is as a matter of fact our own Kasmira. The country of Kaspeiria, as described by Ptolemy, includes a part of Punjab, North-West Frontier Provinces and Central India. It sometimes appears on the basis of Ptolemy's other notices that the city of Kaspeiria was situated on the confluence of Jhelum and Satlej.

Next to Ptolemy were Dionysos and Nonnos who mention Kaspeiroi as a tribe who had fast feet among the Indians. We know that Kasmiris were famous for their fast feet. The undulating ground of their country had made them swift in walking. Both Kalhana and Alberuni mention this characteristic of Kasmirians.

It is also very probable that the great historian Herodotus means Kasmira when he refers to Kaspatyros. Herodotus was the historian of Alexander and as such he accompanied the latter to his Indian campaigns. He mentions the city of Kaspatyros 'as the place at which the expedition under Skylax of Koryanda, sent by Darius to explore the course of Indus, embarked.'[1] Hekataios thought that Kaspatyros was situated in the region where Indus first becomes navigable. The date of Hekataios is considered to be 549—486 B.C. Wilson and later other scholars believed that Kaspatyros is identical to Kasmira. According to him Kaspatyros is a derivative from the Sanskrit name Kasyapapur which he believed to be the ancient name of Kasmira, named after the famous sage Kasyapa. Dr. Stein, however, does not agree to this derivation.

The real information regarding Kasmira is first derived from the Chinese writers who visited India *via* this State. We shall not discuss here what they actually wrote about Kasmira but confine ourselves only to their notices on Kasmira. These Chinese travellers were Buddhist pilgrims who had come to India for pilgrimage and studies. Kasmira was at that time a great centre of learning and a beautiful resting place, as it is today. Kasmira was known to the Chinese as Ki-pin at least in the Wei dynasty. But in the 7th century A.D. during the rule of Tang dynasty Ki-pin signified Kapisa (Kafiristan). The first of such records can be dated in the sixth century A.D. During this period Kasmira had close cultural relations with China. An Indian envoy was present in the court of Tang rulers who has given a description of a country which closely resembles Kasmira. He describes the northern part of India as a country "situated at the foot of the snowy mountains and enveloped by them on all sides like a precious jewel." M. Panthier rightly refers this description to Kasmira.[2]

Yuan Chwang furnishes the best information on this subject. He came to India through Kasmira in the 7th century A.D. He entered the valley from Urasa (modern Hazara district). As he stayed here for two years he could know this country very intimately. He calls this country Kia-shi-mi-lo and informs us that "the kingdom of Kasmira is about 7,000 li in circuit and on all sides it is enclosed by mountains. These mountains are very high. Although the mountains have passes through them, these are narrow and contracted."[3] Here he obviously refers, according to General Cunningham, to the 'extended kingdom of Kasmira, and not to the valley, which is only 300 miles in circuit.'[4] About the capital of Kasmira Yuan Chwang says:

> "The capital of the country on the west side is bordered by a great river. It is from the north to south 12 or 13 li, and from east to west 4 to 5 li. The soil is fit for producing cereals and abounds with fruits and flowers."[5]

Yuan Chwang visited several places in Kasmira, *e.g.*, Ursha, Sinhapura, Parnotsa and Rajapuri, etc. The boundaries of Kasmira had extended far and wide in the seventh century A.D. when Yuan Chwang visited this country. It then included 'the whole of the hilly country between the Indus and the Chenab to the foot of the Salt Range in the south.' The Ravi was probably the eastern boundary of Kasmira.[6] Beyond it was the empire of Harshavardhana, the ruler of Kanyakubja and Thaneshwara. But after the death of Harsha the kingdom of Kasmira extended farther up to the Sutlej.[7] This happened towards the end of the ninth century A.D.

As mentioned above the Tang dynasty of China had ambassadorial relations with Kasmira. We, therefore, find references to Kasmira in its dynastic records. Although these records are based on Yuan Chwang's descriptions, yet, here we are more informed about the capital of Kasmira.

A few years after Yuan Chwang's visit to India another Chinese pilgrim Ou-K'ong also visited the valley of Kasmira. He came to Kasmira in 759 A.D. and stayed here for a long time. He gives a longer description of Kasmira. He also tells us that the kingdom of Kasmira was surrounded by lofty mountains. These muontains are natural fortification-walls of the valley. The valley according to him was accessible only by four roads which were strictly guarded at their gates. One of these roads was opened only for the march of the royal army.

Chinese records are almost silent after Ou-K'ong, though cultural relations between India and China were continued. But on this occasion, of course, after a good number of years, Mohammedan writers came to our help. The early accounts of Al-Mas'udi, Al-Quzwani, Al-Idrisi provide a very brief information about Kasmira. These accounts clearly show that Mahommedan writers did not know much about Kasmira. It was so because they had no access to the valley and Islam was not penetrated into Kasmira. The big rocky barrier of Kasmira did not allow Mohammedan conquerors to enter the valley. It is, however, interesting that in spite of these handicaps Alberuni in the first quarter of eleventh century A.D. (1017-30) gives a vivid description of Kasmira. Alberuni came to India accompanying Mahmud of Ghazni. He was a great scholar and was greatly interested in Hindu sciences. As Kasmira became a big centre of art and science at his time he naturally turned his attention to Kasmira. He tells us that when Mahmud invaded India proper, oppressed Hindus migrated to distant places *e.g.*, Kasmira and Banarasa where Mohammedans still could not reach.[8] However, he had some personal contact wthi Kasmira, probably through Kasmiri pandits. Besides giving geographical situation of Kasmira Alberuni accounts for its political divisions also. He refers to a few Kasmirian forts and cities and describes an important gate to enter Kasmira. He further says that along with Jhelum valley "you enter the plain and reach in two more days Addishtan, the capital of Kasmira, passing on the road the village Ushkara." Dr. Stein believes that by Addishtan Alberuni meant Srinagara.[9]

So far we have discussed only foreign sources. Indian and local notices are still untouched. Indian notices, as already said, do not provide sufficient material for our study. Indians, perhaps, had very little intercourse with Kasmira. The seclusion of Kasmira may be one of the reasons for lack of its relation with India proper. Panini, however, mention

1. M. A. Stein: *Ancient Geography of Kasmira*, p. 9.
2. Quoted from as above, p. 14.
3. *Si-yu-ki* (trans. Beal's), Book III, p. 148.
4. Sir A. Cunningham: *The Ancient Geography of India*, p. 104.
5. *Si-yu-ki* (trans. Beal's), Book III, p. 148.
6. Sir A. Cunningham: *The Anc. Geog. Ind.*, p. 103.
7. Kalhana: *Rajatarangini*, V, 144.
8. Alberuni's *India* (trans. Sachau), p. 22.
9. *Anc. Geog. Kasm.*, p. 25.

he name Kasmira among the names of various Janas in his *Ashtadhyayi*. Patanjali, the commentator of Panini's grammar also refers to this land. The Mahabharata and the Puranas are also generally silent except for a brief mention of the kingdom of Kasmira among the nations situated in the north of India.[10] Indian writers sometimes showed their utter ignorance of even Kasmira's location.[11]

Kasmira's own local accounts are the best source of our subject. India has always lacked historians in the past with the exception of the authors of the Puranas. But this statement does not apply to the case of Kasmira as she can boast of her many historians who kept a continuous record of her history. In their accounts they supply numerous data regarding ancient history and geography of Kasmira. Fortunately these records are still extant. Thanks to the isolated position of Kasmira that saved these precious records from great political upheavals of India.

Among various indigeneous records of Kasmira top priority must be given to *Rajatarangini* the immortal work of Kasmira's greatest historian Kalhana,[12] who wrote it in the middle of 12th century A.D. (1148-49). *Rajatarangini* is an excellent book on Kasmira's history and geography. It was on the basis of this work scholars like Sir Alexander Cunningham and Sir Aurel Stein carried out their great researches on the topography of ancient Kasmira. Information derived from *Rajatarangini* is manifold. Firstly, numerous places have here been referred to as the *Tirths*. "Considering the great attention," writes Dr. Stein, "which the worship of holy places has at all times claimed in Kasmira we may well speak first of the notices which appertain to the *Topographia sacra* of the valley. Kasmira has from early times to the present day been a land abundantly endowed with holy sites and objects of pilgrimages. Kalhana duly emphasizes this fact when he speaks . . . of Kasmira as a country 'where there is not a space as large as a grain of sesamum without a Tirtha.'

"Time and even the conversion to Islam of great majority of the population has changed but little in this respect. For, besides the great Tirtha which retain a fair share of their former renown and popularity, there is scarcely a village which has not its sacred spring or grove for the Hindu and Ziarat for the Mohammedan."[13]

Secondly, several places, famous gates (drangas), roads and forts, etc., have also been referred to in *Rajatarangini*. Thirdly, the work gives the name of those places or rivers where or along which monuments such as temples, viharas, bridges and other buildings were constructed by the rulers of Kasmira. Fortunately, numerous springs and rivers have also been mentioned. Thus we find that in order to have a proper understanding of Kasmira's history and geography *Rajatarangini* is indispensable.

Next to Kalhana's *Rajatarangini* come the works of Jonaraja and Bilhana, Srivara, Prajnabhatta and Suka. These works are of later dates and are inferior to *Rajatarangini* in every respect. However, these works give almost correct information about Kasmira's topography.

Besides the above-mentioned historians great poets of ancient Kasmira have also written about their country. Among the works of such poets *Lokaprakasa* of Kshemendra deserves notice. Kshemendra flourished in the middle of eleventh century A.D. His *Lokaprakasha*, as it is found today, is definitely not genuine for it contains Persian words which were probably added to it in the 17th century A.D. However, some of its passages are really the composition of Kshemendra. *Lokaprakasa* gives a list of Kasmiri parganas. Another work of Kshemendra is *Samayamatrika* which provides the names and topography of various places of Kasmira.

Still going back to olden times we get another important work that provides ample material. This is Nilamata Puranam. Prof. Buhler believes that in its extant form Nilamata Puranam could not be older than the sixth century A.D.[14] This Purana refers to the names of sacred places and springs for pilgrimage. Besides, this Purana provides the remotest glimpses of Kasmira's history.

In absence of epigraphic records in Kasmira, the literary sources, as mentioned above, become very important. But sometimes local traditions fill up the lacunae caused by the absence of epigraphs and literary sources.

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10. *Bhag. Pur.*, XII, 1; also *Vayu Pur.*, XLV, 120; XLII, 45; *Padma Pur.*, I. VI., 48; etc.

11. Varahamihira: *Brihatsamhita*, XIV, 29.

12. Kalhana was a native of Kasmira. *Rajatarangini* gives an authenticated history of Kasmira.

13. Stein, M. A.: *Anc. Geog. Kasm.*, pp. 31-32.

14. Buhler: *Report*, p. 40.

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 acknowleged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

EDITOR, *The Modern Review*

ENGLISH

INDIA'S FIGHT FOR FREEDOM or THE SWADESHI MOVEMENT (1905-1906): *By Haridas Mukherjee and Uma Mukherjee. Published by Firma K. L. Mukhopadhyay. Calcutta. 1958. Pp. 256. Price Rs. 7.50.*

This is another valuable joint literary venture of the two young historians who seem to have specialised in unfolding the history of the glorious part played by Bengal in the early decades of this century for the freedom of our motherland. It deals with the origin and progress (1905-06) of the once-famous Swadeshi Movement in Bengal which, as the authors rightly observe (Preface p. 8, *cf.* pp. 200-06), may be taken as India's first fight for freedom in the sense that it involved the substitution of the goal of complete independence and the method of non-co-operation and passive resistance for the old ideal and technique of the Indian National Congress. The work shows the characteristic qualities of the authors, their complete mastery of material, both primary and secondary (in so far as it is available), their careful sifting of the evidence and their presentation of arguments and conclusions in a lucid style. The scope of the work may be judged from a summary of its contents. After showing how the partition of Bengal was launched by an arbitrary act of Lord Curzon on August 7, 1905 (Chapter I), the authors trace in meticulous detail the stirring history of events in the two Bengals from August 7 to October 16, 1905 (Chapter II called 'The Emergence of the Swadeshi Movement'), from October 16 to December 31, 1905 (Chapter III entitled 'The March of the Movement') and during 1906 (Chapter IV bearing the title 'The Growth of Extremism'). Then follows a concluding summary and estimate (Chapter V entitled 'The Ideas of 1905'). In the course of this survey the authors have done ample justice to the various facets of the movement (political, economic and educational) as well as the very valuable contributions made by its leaders from the start. The critical acumen of the authors is best reflected in the concluding chapter which contains (pp. 206-14) an able refutation of the charge brought by Valentine Chirol and repeated by some of our foremost publicists down to our own times that the movement assumed in course of time the character of a religious reaction. The notes at the end (pp. 215-37) show how well the sources including the Intelligence Branch records in the State Government archives, the issues of contemporary newspapers as well as unpublished diaries and memoirs have been utilised with discrimination by the joint authors. Three valuable appendices containing extracts from the writings of the late Satish Chandra Mukherjee and Aurobindo Ghose and a useful index have added to the value of this work. An appreciative foreword is contributed by Dr. R. C. Majumdar. A chronological statement of events will be very welcome if and when a second edition of this fine work is called for. The second volume of this monograph continuing the history of the movement up to 1911 will be awaited with great interest.

U. N. GHOSHAL

REBELLION, 1857: *A symposium of articles by a number of writers including Shri Talmuz Khaldun, K. M. Ashraf, P. C. Joshi, Gopal Haldar, Benoy Ghosh, P. C. Gupta and others. Published by People's Publishing House, New Delhi. Pages 355. Price Rs. 12.*

The centenary celebrations of the tremendous struggle of 1857 have produced a spate of literature on that eventful chapter of our national history. The above is a new addition to this.

The book is not a finished writing by one author driving at certain conclusions, but a symposium of several articles. According to the publisher also, the book is a "collective effort to probe into the causes, character and effects of that searing outburst of national anger." Therefore, conflicting views on the same question have been expressed by different writers of the book.

The book is divided into three parts—dealing with the character of the revolt in Part I, its effect on literature in Part II, and the reactions in foreign countries in Part III.

Part I of the book is by far the most important. It contains four articles of which the articles by Talmuz Khaldun and P. C. Joshi deserve special mention. These authors belong to what is called Marxist camp. According to them the revolt was not the sporadic outburst of a number of sepoys in different parts of the country, but it symbolised a sort of national outburst for the liberation of the country from 'Firingi Raj', and broad masses of the people participated in this revolt along with the sepoys. They have taken long pains to trace the economic exploitation of the country by the Company, ruin of agriculture, chronic famine and breakdown of social communes—the classical form of Indian village life. The motive power of the revolt was provided by these causes and our countrymen stood behind the sepoys in throwing away the foreign yoke at that early period of our history.

But in delineating the theme, several writers have so much contradicted themselves, that it is difficult for the reader to come to a definite understanding on any aspect of the matter. Take as an instance, the role of the feudal princes who led the revolt. Criticising the views of Nehru that "essentially it was a feudal outburst . . . and not by fighting for a lost cause, the feudal order, would freedom come," and the views of Dr. Sen that the feudal princes "wanted a counter-revolution," P. C. Joshi has commented that "it comes to this that the British Government though alien, was effecting a "social revolution" and the leaders of 1857 were staging a "counter-revolution." He comments further "one wonders then why did the Indian people force the British rulers to quit India, why did not press them to stay on another hundred years to complete the 'social revolution' and build socialism for us" (pages 180-181). But the truth is this that even Karl Marx has admitted that the British rule had a regenerating influence on Indian society in spite of its naked exploitation. Moreover, Joshi should have considered that the question of 'building socialism' at that distant past did not arise at all. So he could refrain from uttering a cheap gibe at the national movement that grew afterwards. Even Gopal Haldar trying to explain why Bengali intelligentsia did not welcome the revolt has said, "An intelligentsia as mature as that we know, could not allow itself to be swerved from its liberal bourgeois policy by what it conceived to be an adventurist, haphazard and spontaneous *feudal-reactionary* military rising" (page 260). So, Gopal Haldar has sided more with the views of Nehru and Sen than Joshi.

In spite of all these defects, the book makes an interesting reading and will be a welcome addition for understanding the significance of one of the most eventful and glorious chapters of our national history.

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THE ILLUSION OF THE EPOCH: *By H. B. Acton. Published by Beacon Press, Boston.*

This book is an exposition of the philosophy of Marxism-Leninism based on the writings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and at the same time it is a detailed criticism of its main tenets. Prof. Acton has eminently succeeded in offering a rational understanding and critical discussion of the difficult subject. He has been critical of Marxism-Leninism but nowhere has he raised his voice in anger. A notable feature of the book is the attempt to compare Marxism-Leninism with other philosophical outlooks. The author has very ably explained and distinguished between the politico-legal superstructure and the ideological superstructure of Marxism. He has pointed out the hollowness of the Marxist view that no one who does not actively promote the proletarian cause has succeeded in gaining a scientific understanding of society. Prof. Acton has given a masterly analysis of Marxist ethics. He concludes that for all that Marxists say about their views being based on observed facts in the capitalist world, in fact, their future Communism is ever more out of touch with human realities than are the speculations of the Utopians whom they criticise. Marxism is Utopianism with Communist Party as a visible and authoritative interpreter of the doctrine striving to obtain supreme power. Young people who cherish Communist ideals will profit from a study of this well-balanced and remarkable book.

D. B.

FRENCH

LES MIGRATIONS DES PEUPLES: ESSAI SUR LA MOBILITE GEOGRAPHIQUE: *By Max Sorre. Flammarion, Paris, 1955. Pp. 261. Price 675 frs.*

"Drop anchor anywhere and the anchor will drag—that is, if your soul is a limitless, fathomless sea, and not a dogpound." Civilization is so new a thing in history that many of man's deepest instincts are still primitive. There is a lurking nomadism in most urban dwellers, a restlessness and a desire to throw off the monotony of a settled life although this migratory impulse sometimes conflicts with the deeply felt need to put down roots, to fix oneself to the soil.

"Migration" covers a variety of things —from the seasonal movement of tourists after the sun to the rural exodus of workers to towns in search of work or a movement of people who wish to effect a permanent change of residence from one State to another. Max Sorre who is a professor at the Sorbonne approaches the subject as a geographer and ecologist; he, therefore, takes as his starting point the classic Greek concept of the "oeukomene" —the space occupied by man. Thus, while he studies in detail migration in all its aspects, permanent and temporary, voluntary and forced, rhythmic and seasonal, his basic thesis is that migration is in effect man's reaction to his material surroundings and at the same time a product of each individual's migratory impulse. However, startling it may sound, in any broad study of mankind the truth seems to be that movement alone is a reality and the impression of a fixed habitat of a community is illusory. There is always a tendency towards disequilibrium between the cohesion of a group and its needs. Needs vary with the standard of living and this itself varies with the aims of the group.

Apart from the vast disorganised panic movements in time of war, invasion, famine, religious proselytism, the motive behind most currents of migration is economic. Before people move, as Sorre emphasizes, the would-be migrants develop an impelling conviction that there is a happier existence elsewhere and their present misery is insupportable.

No doubt, the need to search for food, accentuated in later times by the nomadic form of agricultural practice, just as encouraged in earlier times by the geological conditions of the receding Ice Age, has been the determining cause of migration. Climatic factors have been in the past, as today, one of the factors behind migration. It has often been said that the hordes of nomad Mongols from the deserts and the steppes of Central Asia which swept in waves eastwards and westwards for centuries were set on the move by a progressive drying up of their pastoral lands. Professor Sorre does not find support for the view, either in geography or in history, that changes in climate have caused migrations; he rather believes that climatic factors have merely influenced migrations.

Can population pressure be relieved by migrations? Professor Sorre has found that historically long-term demographic problems have rarely been solved by migration. Ireland is practically the one country where emigration combined with a high fertility rate has actually led to a constant decline in population for a century. Puerto Rico with free immigration into the United States had not succeeded in raising its standards of living as it was burdened by a large and increasing population until very recently when a slow decline in the natural increase became evident.

In spite of the many barriers to it, political and social, migration is taking place all the time. It raises formidable problems, racial, cultural and economic. It has far-reaching effects on the wage-structure in the native as well as in the adopted countries. It has a distinct influence on economic factors such as accumulation of capital. For a proper appreciation of the economic implications one can

o no better than turn to the recent publi-ation *Economics of International Migra-ion* (Proceedings of a Conference held by the International Economic Association) edited by Brinley Thomas. But Professor Sorre has not approached the problem from the standpoint of an economist. He has taken the whole of mankind as his field. The conclusions tend naturally to be broad and on humanistic lines. The object of his book appears to be an impassioned plea for world-wide action to aid international migration.

MARGARET BASU

SANSKRIT

VEDANTA PARIBHASA OF DHARMA-RAJA ADHVARINDRA. *Translated and Annotated By Swami Madhavananda, Second Edition. The Ramakrishna Mission Sarada Pitha, Belur Math, Dt. Howrah. Price, Rs. 3.*

VIVEKA-CHUDAMANI OF SRI SANKARACHARYA. *Text, with English Translation, Notes and Index. By Swami Madhavananda. Advaita Ashrama, Mayavati, Dt. Almora, Himalayas. Price. Rs. 3/-.*

The Ramakrishna Mission in the midst of ts various useful social activities is doing much audable work in popularising important aspects of Indian culture in different ways. One of these is the publication of well-known Sanskrit books especially of a philosophical and spiritual type with text, English translation and Notes. The publications of the Advaita Ashrama deserve special mention in this connection. Some of these have passed through a number of editions indicating their popular appreciation. Among these works of translation we have several including the two under review from the pen of Swami Madhavananda. The Swamiji has taken upon himself the hard task of translating and making accessible to the general reader who does not possess sufficient knowledge of Sanskrit difficult but important philosophical texts composed in the sacred language of India. His translation of the Nyaya-Vaisesika treatise *Bhasa-pariccheda* with the *Siddhantamuktavali* was a valuable contribution in this line. This is followed by the *Vedantaparibhasa* which is a well-known manual very popular among students of Vedanta. The work is rather terse and full of abstruse discussions. The learned translator is to be congratulated on his commendable attempt to make its contents clear to the inquisitive reader as far as possible through translation and notes.

The *Vivekachudamani* which is running through its fifth edition was first published in book form in 1921. Another translation accompanied by the text was published by the Theosophical Publishing House of Adyar, Madras, in 1932 and it was noticed in these pages in January, 1935. The Swamiji's translation is generally lucid and the edition is handsome and useful to the general reader in making acquaintance with an exquisite work containing the gists of the tenets of Advaita Vedanta.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

HINDI

JEEVANA KI PAHELI: *By Annie Besant. Pp. 81. Price 12 annas.*

RAJAYOGA KE MULA TATWA: *By R. S. Bhagawat. Pp. 202. Price Rs. 1-12.*

Both Published by Ananda Prakashana Ltd. Banaras, I.

The first is a new Hindi translation by Shri Jaleshwara Prasada of *The Riddle of Life* by Annie Besant, the great Theosophist. The riddle is "solved" in accordance with the ancient philosophy of theosophy, otherwise known as the Divine Wisdom. Accordingly, Re-incarnation, *Karma*, man and his bodies, etc., such are the basic themes expounded in the book.

The second is a Hindi version, jointly by Shri Mahesh Chandra Sastri and Shri B. Keshawachandra of the author's original, in Marathi, on the subject of the fundamentals of *Yoga* and its practice. The emphasis is rightly laid on *Rajayoga*, as contradistinguished from *Hatha-yoga*.

Both the books are life-chastener and comforter.

G. M.

GUJARATI

BAPUNE PAGLE PAGLE: *By Dr. Rajendra Prasad. Navajivan Prakasan Mandir, Ahmedabad. 1957. Rupees Two and annas eight only.*

This is the Gujarati translation, rendered from Hindi by Karimbhai Borah, a book of reminiscences of Mahatmaji divided into 36 sections. Dr. Rajendra Prasad's reminiscences of Mahatmaji will always carry an importance with it. Tracing the footsteps of Gandhi will therefore be read with interest not only by the adherents of Gandhiji but also by the student of the modern history of India for whom the years 1915-47 are packed with significant facts. Dr. Prasad has already detailed them in his autobiography, but they bear being re-told from this special view-point, in which Gandhiji and his theories have been in more detail than in ordinary.

P. R. SEN

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Indian Periodicals

Science and Human Wisdom

Professor Sidney Hook writes in the *Bulletin of the Ramakrishna Mission Institute of* Culture:

The key words of modern times are 'revolution' and 'crisis'. 'Revolution' signifies transformation; 'crisis' an acute situation requiring choice and resolution. Revolutions are usually the preludes to crisis. Whether we deplore it or welcome it, we are living in the greatest era of revolutionary transformation in human history. This revolutionary transformation is the effect of a convergent series of related revolutions—political, national, economic, and technological.

The political and national revolutions are the most dramatic but not the most fundamental. The political revolution expresses the principle that all adults, who are affected by the decisions of government, should have some voice in influencing those decisions. The national revolution is expressed in the principle of national self-determination. It repudiates the view that any nation has the moral or political authority to be the arbiter of the destinies of another.

The economic revolution of modern times is based upon the conception that the welfare of the entire community is a charge upon the government. It must be planned along certain strategic lines with reference to the available and potential resources. Such planning would be inadequate, and sometimes impossible, without the technological revolution. The technological revolution confronts us at every turn. Yesterday's miracle is today's commonplace. Benjamin Franklin and Karl Marx defined man as a tool-making animal, but the difference between the technology of primitive man and the modern man is that modern technology is based on science and therefore invention is accelerative and cumulative. Invention itself, as Whitehead puts it, becomes institutionalized. Napoleon the Great, in all his pomp and glory, could not travel from Rome to Paris faster than Julius Caesar did almost two thousand years before him. Since Napoleon's day the time has been reduced to an hour.

Growth of Scientific Knowledge

At the basis of all these revolutionary changes is the scientific revolution, by which I mean the reliance upon the pattern of experimental inquiry to discover truths about the nature of Nature, the nature of society, and the nature of the human body and mind. By saying that the scientific revolution is at the basis of all these changes either directly or indirectly, I do not mean to deny reciprocal influences among them. However, an analytical and statistical study of the complex of changes will, I am convinced, establish the fact that the scientific revolution, whose beginnings are found in the seventeenth century, is by far the strongest component in the complicated pattern of modern life.

This scientific revolution has changed man's picture of himself and the conception of his role in the universe. He no longer sees himself as a creature who necessarily must suffer in a world of divine decree. He is no longer a passive, contemplative spirit, whose vocation is to make a survey of all time and all existence. The conception of man, which emerges from modern science, is one of a creator, a maker, and a doer. No longer a pawn of fate, he is a focus of genuine novelty in the world. By virtue of the fact that scientific knowledge is experimental, the universe, in the most literal sense, is changed whenever the frontiers of knowledge are widened. Scientific knowledge is therefore transformative. The increase of knowledge entails increase of power and therefore of objective responsibility. Man acquires the role of a kind of minor deity, capable of changing parts of the physical and social world, by commanding and transforming the natural elements at will. The late Dr. John von Neumann predicted that in the near future man, like the Homeric deities on Mt. Olympus, would be able to control even the weather—a power, which in the long run, may turn out to be of greater fearfulness than any nuclear weapon. A 'cold war' would take on a new meaning if one could design a local 'ice age' in which to cool off a restless enemy.

But for all their power, will men be any wiser than the Homeric gods who acted like Greek children? It is obvious that since the seventeenth century, growth in human power and scientific knowledge has not been commensurate with growth in human wisdom. Will it be any different in the future? Indeed, there are voices, like those of Aldous Huxley, who prophesy that it will be worse. They assert that all knowledge does is to add to human power and that scientific knowledge of man's body and mind, combined with our knowledge of the physical world, will merely extend the power of man over man. They predict that the scientific revolution will result in a most terrible tyranny over man, because it puts into unwise hands the power to condition, recondition, and 'brain-wash' the human mind. By the use of chemicals, of subconscious and subliminal persuaders, as well as by overt propaganda, mankind can be manipulated like sheep. It is argued by some critics of science, whose eloquence borders on hysteria, that a civilization based upon science and which views scientific knowledge as the most reliable kind of knowledge, must be one of ruthless exploitation, in which all humane values are doomed to disappear.

This raises the crucial question, can the logic and ethics of scientific method itself develop an attitude of reasonableness, which will enable men to solve the human and social problems created by the impact of scientific knowledge on the world? Can the same generic *pattern* of solving problems, that has proved so successful in the solution of technical scientific questions, be applied to human affairs? I propose to answer these questions affirmatively. In passing, however, I wish to point out that until now we have not made a unified effort to approach these problems scientifically and that the methods which have been used—revelation, intuition, authority, metaphysical speculation—have not been conspicuously successful. Indeed, we face the problem because all of these alternative methods have failed.

Let us begin by examining the claim that science can give only knowledge of fact and that some other discipline—custom, religion and metaphysics—is the source of wisdom.

The Nature of Human Wisdom

There is a difference between knowledge and wisdom which we all recognize. We know that a man can be a learned fool, and we sometimes meet a sage who is by no means a scholar. It is not so easy to state the precise difference between knowledge and wisdom, however. Wisdom, we are tempted to say, is found in the *use* of knowledge. Yes, but there is a wise use of knowledge and an unwise use. We must be knowledgeable about *something* in order to tell when use is wise or not. I conclude, therefore, that wisdom is a kind of knowledge, after all. It is knowledge about the nature of human values. A man is wise who knows what is of most worth in human experience, who knows the ways of the human heart—what gives it enduring satisfactions, the costs and consequences of its choice in happiness for himself and others. A man is wise who knows what we are likely to regret, what is better overlooked and what should never be overlooked. A man is wise who knows when to fight, when to avoid fighting, and above all, how to remove the conditions which provoke conflict and to create those which give human beings a vested interest in preserving peace.

If this is what we understand by wisdom, then the basic questions are whether value is an affair of knowledge, and if it is, whether that knowledge can be achieved by methods comparable with the methods pursued so successfully in other fields. The technological developments of recent times make these questions more momentous. They do not raise new questions of principle.

For obvious reasons, we cannot hand the gift of technology back to anyone or stem its further advance. Yet its further advance is Janus-faced—one face encourages hope of greater survival, quantitatively and qualitatively—the other face threatens human survival absolutely. No matter how ingenious the mechanism of any invention, it will never have a built-in governor or regulator guaranteeing its

use rather than abuse. Indeed, both 'use' and 'abuse' in this context are, strictly speaking, not terms applicable to technology at all. They are moral terms.

No intelligent moral judgement about the use or abuse of technology today can be made without the relevant knowledge, which only the technologist or natural scientist can supply. However, it would be a gross mistake to believe that this necessary condition is a sufficient one. To be knowledgeable about the ways of matter —about the ways of things—is not the same thing as being wise about the ways of men, their emotions and fears, their behaviour in crowds and as creatures with historical memories.

How Scientific Knowledge May Influence Human Judgement

There are some who go from the true proposition that wise statesmanship in the modern world is impossible without informed awareness of the discoveries of modern science, to the false proposition that scientists must be considered the chief 'advisers to humanity', invested with authority and responsibility in judging the human affairs affected by their discoveries. This is a dangerous error and based on a false conception of scientific method. The *pattern* of scientific thinking is the same in every field, but we know that there is no automatic transfer of training or power from one field to another, that not only are subject-matters and techniques different in different fields but specific criteria of evidence. Scientists, who have no preparation in politics and history, are hardly more qualified to discuss what Churchill once called the secret of Soviet policy (or the secret of Middle Eastern or Far Eastern policy) than historians and lawyers as such to discuss the secrets of the atom.

There is sometimes a hidden premise behind this assumption that the thinking of the natural scientist gives us the paradigm of rationality in human affairs. This is made explicit in an article by the gentle Max Born, a Noble Prize-winning physicist. Natural scientists, he claims, should be used in politics and administration because they are 'less dogmatic and more open to argument than people trained in law or classics.' The evidence he offers, as well as the evidence he ignores, betrays the unscientific char of his generalizations. Not only is it true that, as a rule, scientists in the past have rarely been in more agreement with each other about questions of foreign policy than others; the record shows that with respect to *some* questions on which they were pretty much agreed—for example, their expectation of Soviet behaviour after the war—they have been demonstrably wrong. With respect to the nature of Communism and developments in foreign affairs involving Communism, the record shows that the leaders of American labour have been far wiser, by and large, than the leaders of American science, of whom (with some notable exceptions) Einstein was representative. The leaders of labour had a double advantage. They knew something about the subject and they also had some first-hand experience in dealing with Communist duplicity. Workers' freedom is freedom to strike—workers realize that they are subjected to forced labour or slavery under Communism.

Again, with some exceptions, scientists tend to exhibit the defects of their virtues when they go from the field of scientific research to the field of politics, which requires decisions and rarely permits the luxury of suspended judgement, until the decisive evidence is at hand. The initial assumption which the scientist makes of integrity and good faith in accepting a report in order to check it he cannot always make in politics. It is true that lawyers professionally are not interested in establishing the truth but in winning a case, and they care little which side of the case it is. However, as judges and jurists, lawyers have shown great wisdom in reconciling the inescapable conflict of legitimate claims. The nature of the juridical concern—its sensitiveness to history, to intent and motive, to individualization whether of judgement or punishment, to the dual values of justice in the individual case and certainly in the community—brings law closer to politics than physical science. Law as a system of thought and decision is open to argument and change, as its history shows, but for obvious reasons it cannot abandon a principle as readily as a scientist can discard a theory. Whether scholars trained in the classics or humanities are less open to argument and less tolerant of intellectual difference

ıan scientists would be hard to establish, nless we specified more carefully in what elds and on what questions.

In the quest of wisdom, it seems to ıe absurd to fall victim to vocational or rofessional imperialism and to make inidious distinctions between the different isciplines. In every field of knowledge, ve can distinguish between good and bad hinking, between scientific and unscientiic thinking. Wisdom is found in the recognition and solution of life's problems. It s the bearing it has on these problems which determines whether the knowledge of a field is relevant to its solution or not. Our best hope of gaining wisdom is to bring the clearest thinking from every relevant field of knowledge to bear on the problem at hand. If this is true, it is just as mistaken to believe that statesmen by themselves can solve the great questions of war, peace, and human welfare in this age of explosive technoloby, without consulting technologists, scientists, jurists and psychologists, as it is to believe that scientists can go off by themselves in a special huddle and return with Jove-like pronouncements about what mankind must believe or practise in order to be saved.

Systematic Inquiry in the Solution of Human Problems

It is a commonplace of formal logic that we cannot deduce what should be from premises which describe only what is. However, it is a fact of experience that our value commitments are embedded in the problems which we are called upon to solve; part of the solution consists in discovering what those commitments really are, whether we can induce others to share them, and whether they are worth sustaining in particular situations. Wisdom consists not in being wise only about means, or only about ends, but about ends-and-means in their togetherness, whenever we are asked or ask ourselves, 'What should we do'? When we ask such a question in a concrete historical context, then the only way we can answer it is by inquiry into the probable consequences of alternative modes of action. Facts alone do not determine policy because value commitments are involved in every policy. Once this is recognized, what else can or should 'determine' policy if not the facts in the case? Can a reasonable man uphold a policy including the consequences of holding the policy, no matter what the facts are? ('Determine' here of course, does not mean 'logically entail.')

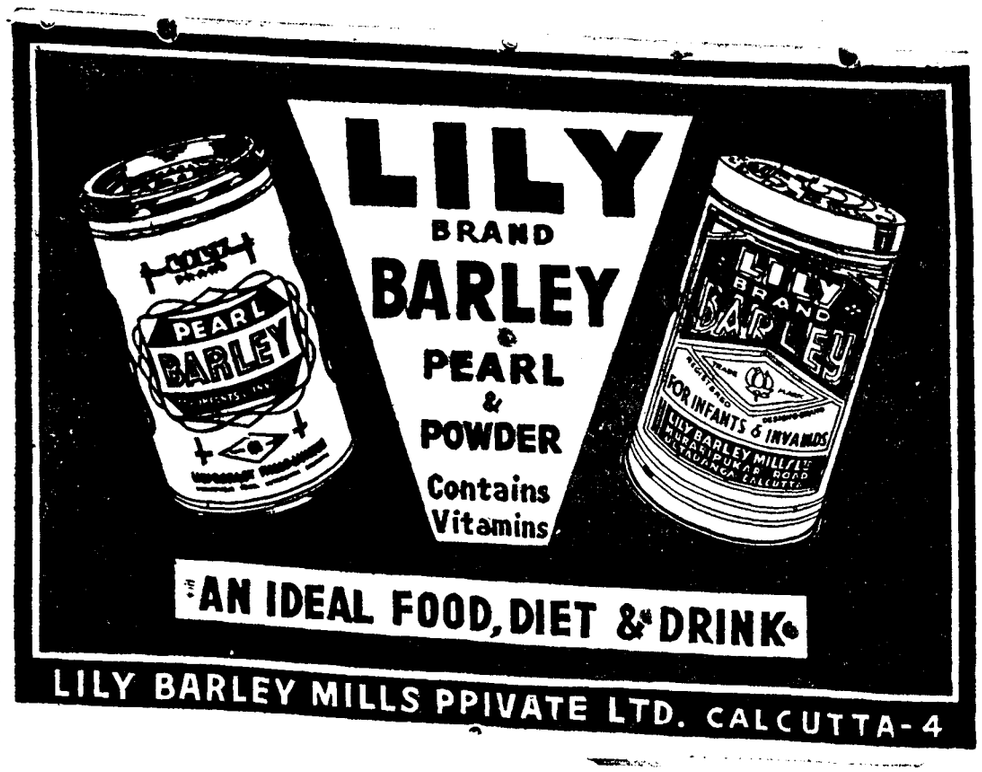
The basic challenge to this view comes from those who deny that we can be wise or intelligent or even rational about our ends. 'There is no such thing,' says Bertrand Russell, 'as an irrational end except in the sense of one that is impossible of realization.' Surely not all ends that are possible of realization are therefore rational! Is there no wise or foolish choice among ends all of which are possible of realization? Why is it necessarily irrational to pursue an end that is impossible of realization? This assumes that in normal circumstances, once we understand that we cannot get what we want, it is not worth pursuing. This is not a strictly logical proposition. It is not self-contradictory to pursue an impossible end, but we may discover that the pursuit of an unrealizable end is not worthwhile, because it is too time-consuming and frustrating. We then abandon our aim. Let us suppose our end is possible of achievement and we discover that the effort necessary to achieve it costs us too much, hurts us too much, bores us too much, in short, gets in the way of our other ends whose desirability we had taken for granted. Would it not then become as irrational to pursue as the end which is impossible of realization? Is it not perfectly natural way of speaking to assert sometimes that a man's ideal is an illusion, his goal mistaken, his desire undesirable? Russell mistakes a purely logical point for one of ethics. However, where there is no **summum bonum,** where there is no one all-sanctifying and final end, the logic does not apply. If we recognize that we are committed to plural ends, that we take our problems one at a time, that the situations in which we make decisions are located within a historical process, we can be rational or intelligent about ends as well as about means.

If we cannot be intelligent about our ends, there is neither wisdom nor foolishness. If we are unwise about our ends then more often than not we will regret our choices and make those we love regret them, too.

One thing seems to be unquestionable. There are no total solutions. A great piec

of foolishness may end life in this world once and for all, but there can be no corresponding great piece of wisdom which will save us the trouble of further thinking. So long as vision outstrips reach, ambition capacity, desires resources, so long as men find greater satisfactions in commanding and controlling men, than in co-operationg to create and discover new occasions for shared joys, men will have troubles and problems. They will need to be solved daily not so much by inherited or revealed wisdom as by earned wisdom, which is won only by scientific inquiry.

What does it mean to be scientific or rational about the subject-matter of wisdom? It means that we must first locate our moral problems in relation to specific and concrete situations of moral choice. It means that we must relate our ends to the consequences of the means used. We must in turn test these consequences by their relevance to human interests. We must approach the problems which call for wisdom on at a time. There is no guarantee that universal agreement will be reached in every case. However, a solution may be objective and relative even if it is not universal. Because human beings are alike, or want to be alike, or have compatible differences within a common human nature, shared experiences may lead to commonly-accepted conclusions. Whether such conclusions are universal or not they are justifiably considered scientific, if they are won by following the underlying pattern of inquiry described above.



FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Sputnik's Questions

Stewart Meacham writes in *Unity*, November-December, 1958:

Univac, the electronic brain, and Sputnik, the man-made satellite, come from opposite sides of the Iron Curtain, but they have much in common. Both represent great technological achievement. Both are portents of change in human society.

Univac promises the automation age, when factories, offices, and transportation systems, staffed only by a few skilled technicians, will operate by push button. Sputnik promises the outer space age, when space platforms, trips to the moon, journeys to Mars, and no one knows what else, will be commonplace. Univac answers the most difficult questions at lightning speed. Sputnik asks the most difficult questions at 18,000 miles per hour.

Some of Sputnik's more obvious questions reflect our own frustration. Why did Russia "beat us to the punch"? Was it because of rivalry among the armed forces? Is this the price we must pay for belittling and harassing scientists as eggheads and subversives? Is more money needed for research and experimentation? How much political hay will the Democrats make at the expense of the Republicans, and *vice versa*?

Other questions are less obvious, but possibly more important. We are told that we must be prepared for economic sacrifice and belt-tightening if we are to "catch up." If this is true, who will sacrifice what? Will airplane, rocket and munitions makers sacrifice some of their cost-plus profit margins? Will the steel industry, the automobile manufacturers, the appliance companies, and the food processors sacrifice their skyrocketing prices? Will the oil companies sacrifice their special tax concessions? Will the loan companies and the banks sacrifice their recent rate increases on mortgages?

Or is the sacrificing all to come from the working people, some of whom already are being forced to sacrifice jobs and savings until new defense appropriations are made, or rockets replace aircraft on the assembly lines, and they are rescued from the ranks of the unemployed? Or is the sacrificing to be done by the people with fixed incomes whose small salaries and pensions shrink as prices spiral upward?

What about diplomacy and our friends overseas? Will winning the race to the moon solve Asia's economic problems? Will it feed Pakistan's landless villagers? Will it build hydro-electric dams in India? Will it bring self-government to the people of Kenya or the Belgian Congo? Will it end the terror in Algeria? Will it solve the question of Middle East oil? Will it set the slaves of Saudi Arabia free, bring free trade unions to Spain, protect freedom of press in Formosa, or provide security from the police to the legislators of South Korea? Just who will be remembered and who forgotten as we race Russia into outer space?

During the days of our supposed preeminence in weapons, we felt that our "position of strength" made diplomacy unimportant. We became masters of "brinkmanship" which is another word for bluff and bluster with a loaded gun. Today, in the period of our supposed deficiency in weapons (it would take us all of three hours to wipe out every city in Russia!) our "position of weakness" makes diplomacy impossible. We must play it tough until we can catch up.

At this rate when does diplomacy become possible? One day we are so strong we do not have to bargain. The next day we are so weak we cannot afford to. Where does this process lead?

And what about that troublesome word "morals"? What kind of morality is it where right and wrong are decided by the fastest rockets and the biggest warheads? If this is morality, what is immorality?

These are Sputnik's questions. But Sputnik, a man-made thing, can do no more than pose them, fling them far out into space and fly on. The answers must come from man himself, reached in terms

of faith in God and belief in humanity and justice, which alone can provide the freedom and security for which the people of the world are hungry today.

Germany's Largest Industrial City

Dr. Wilhelm Borner, President of the Chamber of Commerce and Industry, Berlin, observes the following in the special Berlin issue of *The Magazine of the German Federal Republic*:

More than 300,000 men and women work in West Berlin's industries. Seen in terms of employment figures, West Berlin is the largest industrial city of Germany. The diverse manufacturing programme of its industries enables it to offer a wide variety of investment and consumer goods. Berlin has always specialized in supplying products of high quality. The city is interested more than ever in sending these products to all parts of the world, for it is from these that it must earn its living. As a result of the partition of Germany, Berlin no longer receives the reward of its services in her capacity as Germany's capital, so that industry is to-day her principal basis of existence. The success of the reconstruction drive after the war, and which was greatly assisted by American credit aid, can best be expressed by the trend of West Berlin's industry which, after attaining a turnover of 1,800 million DM in 1950 will probably amount to 7,000 million DM in 1958. Exports, of which industrial sales accounted for 11 per cent last year, rose from 100 million DM in 1950 to 850 million DM in 1957. There are numerous firms in West Berlin which export a very considerable part of their production and are, in fact, specially equipped for operating in the export field.

Electrical engineering is the most important of West Berlin's industries and is primarily devoted to the supply of investment goods. Its programme ranges on one hand from heavy turbines and generators to the finest of measuring devices, and on the other, from deep-sea cables to high-quality communications equipment. Since the steel and metal-working trades account for more than half of West Berlin's industrial turnover and about three-fifths of all industrially employed persons work in capital goods, these products take first place in exports. The extensive programme of the machine-building industry includes machine tools, office machinery, conveyors, motors, printing machinery, machines for the food industry and paper working and also includes many interesting new developments which have had remarkable success. Precision mechanics and optics, surgical and hospital apparatus, microscopes, photographic requirements, control and measuring equipment as well as laboratory furnishings have also been able to report good export results. The pharmaceutical industry is another important exporter. Paper products, musical instruments, glass and ceramics, costume jewellery, confectionery, beer and spirits are evidence of the fact that West Berlin can offer a very wide variety of consumer goods. West Berlin has once again become the leading fashion centre. With its fashionable creations, the ladies' ready-to-wear garment industry is making great efforts to win its place in foreign markets. The fact that a large number of local firms have been able to plan and erect complete production plants abroad has been of great significance for the development of exports generally.

Whoever wishes to know what West Berlin can supply and be informed about the products of individual firms is invited to call on the Berlin Marketing Council. This is a non-profit organisation set up jointly by business people and the authorities with the object of facilitating contact with West Berlin's manufacturers. The Berlin Marketing Council (Berliner Absatz Organisation—BAO), which is affiliated with the Berlin Chamber of Industry and Commerce, charges no fees for its services. The numerous enquiries from German and foreign customers are passed on to suitable firms for appropriate action. The Suppliers Directory Service of the BAO with its wide-experience has proved of great value to foreign businessmen as well as to Berlin manufacturers. If a foreign Company should wish to take up representation of one of West Berlin's firms, the BAO will gladly act as go-between. A number of efficient West Berlin companies are as yet without representation in certain countries and are still able to add exclusive agents to their network of distributors.

West Berlin itself is an interesting market. 2.2 million people live here, of whom 1 million are gainfully employed. Direct imports during the past year amounted to 640 million DM. The purchasing power of West Berlin's population is considerably strengthened by subsidies granted by the Federal Republic, a net amount of about 1,500 million DM of purchasing power being directed annually to West Berlin. This fact is of major importance in the economic life of the city. As a result of this added purchasing power, West Berlin is in a position to buy more goods than it sells to West Germany and other countries. The assistance rendered by the Federal Republic is contributed by West German taxpayers, thus helping Berlin to fulfill its political role. Whoever buys in West Berlin does his share in strengthening the economy of the city which is the only metropolis cut off entirely from its hinterland. West Berlin is intended to be the show-window of the Western world. For this reason particular emphasis is placed on the exhibitions which are held there, especially the German Industries Exhibition as well as the Agricultural Exhibition. Foreign exhibitors are always well represented at these events.

Hours of Work in Agriculture

The following extract is taken from the *International Labour Review*, June, 1958:

Over the past quarter of a century, hours of works in agriculture have tended to fall, partly because of the technical revolution and the changed outlook in the countryside, and partly also because of statutory regulation in an increasing number of countries. Today there are over 40 countries with regulations which in one way or another curtail hours of work either for all wage earners in farming or for certain classes only.

It is also interesting and significant that the practice of regulating hours of work in agriculture should have continued to spread steadily in recent years. Thus, restrictions were imposed in 1948 in Austria, Bulgaria, France, Haiti, Norway and Yugoslavia; in 1949 in the German Democratic Republic and Hungary; in 1950 in Rumania; in 1951 in India (plantations), Indonesia and Israel; in 1952 in Belgium; in 1953 in Viet-Nam; and in 1956 in Tunisia.

Some countries have also tightened up their existing regulations, *e.g.*, Belgium, where the maximum of 2,850 hours per year, which had been fixed in 1952, was lowered to 2,700 by order of the appropriate joint committee on 3 February 1954; Bulgaria, where normal hours of work, which under the 1948 ordinance had been fixed at ten a day, were lowered to eight under the 1951 Act, although a decree was issued in 1952 permitting a normal ten-hours day during certain peak periods; Sweden, where the new regulations passed in 1957 stated that the total annual maximum will be reduced to 2,350 hours in 1958 (from 2,420 previously), to 2,300 hours in 1959 and to only 2,250 in 1960;



Poland, where the annual total for workers on state farms was recently lowered from 2,850 hours to 2,400; and lastly Yugoslavia, where a decree was issued in December 1957 establishing an upper limit of 2,400 hours as against 2,750 hours laid down in the 1949 regulations.

The extent of these regulations proves that it is now very often possible to reduce the number of hours worked in agriculture subject, however, to various qualifications discussed earlier, namely natural and particularly climatic conditions, which circumscribe farming everywhere; the state of the employment market and the labour supply, which may make it necessary to work longer hours if labour is scarce; the size and type of holdings, which have a direct influence on the distribution of work over the year; mechanisation and modernisation, which can cut the time needed for any given operation; economic conditions, variations in which lead to rises or falls in hours of work; and finally social conditions, for a people who are satisfied with a low standard of living will not exert themselves as much as a people with greater needs.

Although the regulations only apply to wage earners, independent farmers also feel their effect because they and their families also try to find room for some leisure, if only to counteract the tendency of family members to leave the farm, and in practice their hours of work are therefore shorter than they used to be.

To sum up, modern techniques when properly applied make farming less time-absorbing than in the past and hours of work are becoming more or less comparable with those expected in other occupations.

Agriculture is feeling the impact—though with a considerable timelag—of the world-wide social upheavals brought about by progress in all its forms. As a result, it can no longer be looked upon as a way of life but rather as an occupation, which cannot be allowed to fall behind in the advance of social evolution.

The shortening of working hours will certainly not be enough to make farming either a prosperous or a sought-after occupation, but it will certainly be a major factor in keeping enough people on the land to supply the world's vital needs.

U. S. Specialists in India

American Labour Review, April, 1959 writes:

A group of American business specialists in the production and marketing of consumer goods was invited by the Indian Government to visit the country. The invitation was issued at the recommendation of the U.S. Trade Mission to India in 1957.

The Indian Government has been responsive to suggestions on a broader American market, and has wasted little time in acting upon informed and valid recommendations.

At the Indian General Consulate in New York early in 1958, Egil E. Krogh, a prominent American retailer, suggested to the Consul General that Indian trade with the United States might be substantially increased if Indian handloom and handicrafts makers could get on-the-spot advice, in India, on producing and marketing goods for American consumers.

Mr. Krogh was an active member of the U.S. 1957 Trade Mission to India and his suggestion developed from his earlier experience with Indian trade. He observed that retailers, importers and manufacturers—individuals who had solved U.S. marketing problems in connection with the products of other nations—would be able to get down to the barest marketing essenitals, such as product specifications, sales organization, and market potential of specific items.

The Indian Government acted quickly on Mr. Krogh's recommendation, and chose Amos Parrish & Co., to organize a consumer goods trade mission and report on its activities. Members of the mission were chosen, and under the chairmanship of Mr. Krogh and the administrative direction of consultant Bert Kaiser, toured India for 5 weeks in October and November 1958.

In Delhi, Agra, Srinagar, Hyderabad, Bangolore, Mysore, Madras, Bombay, Calcutta, and Banaras, the American group worked closely with manufacturers, designers, merchants, and exporters. The group completed its tour impressed with the tremendous variety and considerable potential of Indian handicrafts and handlooms for American consumption, but also aware of significant distribution and production problems.

Greater stress will be laid upon the realities of selling to Americans in a forthcoming report. The opinion of all Mission members is that Indian producers and exporters are almost totally unaware of the tremendous sales effort which must be made to successfully market new products in such a complex and competitive market as the United States. The report, soon to be completed by Amos Parrish & Co., will recommend ways and means of familiarizing American buyers with Indian products, improving relations with importers, and encouraging aggressive promotion and selling by Indian firms.



Main building of the Indian Institute of Science, Bangalore



General view of the chariot-like monument at Konarak Temple



Prabasi Press, Calcutta

FROM THE WELL OF LIFE
By R. K. Sharma

THE MODERN REVIEW

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NOTES

The Tagore Centenary

The date line for the completion of the programmes, Central and Statewise, for the Centenary Celebrations in memory of Rabindranath, is approaching fast. And with it comes the idea in our mind that the call to the public, particularly to those who have had a long and close association with the departed Poet and Sage, to take part and to prepare to celebrate the centenary, is a superfluous and purely routine gesture. The elements that are always "on the wake," in cash or otherwise, in all official or semi-official occasions, have already deeply infiltrated into the official organisation. We mean that they have managed to implant their ideas into the minds of the Powers-that-be, at New Delhi and in Calcutta. We do not know how far the other "Centres of Culture" in India have proceeded in the matter. In any case the official mind proceeds to function in stereotyped fashion all over India and we do not believe there would be any new departure from the programmes set-out in New Delhi.

Tagore's memory is going to be perpetuated in the terms of bricks and mortar or ferro-concrete and steel. Naturally, for otherwise how could those who procure and secure contracts cash-in, and how else could the kith and kin and the satellites of the Great be provided with useless but juicy jobs?

We have seen the design of the Memorial at New Delhi and we are reproducing it elsewhere in this issue of the review. Likewise we are giving the announcement of the West Bengal Government plans for the centenary. And all we would like to say at this juncture is that we are not impressed—indeed on the contrary.

We say that Rabindranath was an Immortal, but today there are thousands who are actively engaged, here in India, in proving beyond doubt that he and his works were but transiently mortal and therefore capable of decay and distortion.

Rabindranath's music, like his literature, was based on a foundation of classics. He was trained in his early youth by the great Yadu Bhatta and other masters of Dhrupad and Khayyal. Some of his devotional songs are on pure classical model, as was publicly acknowledged by great masters of the day. Even the great Vishnu Digambar Paluskar took down the words and the notations of twenty-six of them as brilliant examples of modern composition in pure classical form. Today, thanks to the A.I.R., and hundreds of self-styled Rabindra-Sangeet teachers—some of them in Santiniketan itself—his music is being debased and bowdlerised to such an extent that even an ignoramus could impugn it freely and copiously in a premier daily. Yet there is no attempt to tape-record the pure music from the few that still treasure the originals in purity.

His literary works are being distorted in the translations and selections. There is no attempt at setting up of a real Authority in this matter. His paintings, dance-dramas and the manifold expressions of his genius, all are being subjected to a process of decomposition. And we are going hasten this process by setting up "memorials."

Public Versus the Private Sector

As India has adopted socialism in a democratic set up, difficulty has naturally risen as to what should be the relationship between the private sector and the public sector. Prime Minister Nehru the other day extolled the virtues of public sector and affirmed that notwithstanding all faults, the public sector was superior to the private sector. The supporters of the private sector will no doubt grudge this statement of the Prime Minister. But a dispassionate view will convince them that there can be no other conclusion to the controversy that is raging in this country between the respective scope of the public sector and the private sector. The controversy lacks proper appreciation of the real situation in the country and it is that under the avowed goal of socialism, the existence of the private sector is by the sufferance of the public sector. For the story of the private sector since independence is the story mostly of black-marketing, profiteering, tax evasion, sending development finance underground, cheating foreign importers and the like. Certainly, there are good and honest industrialists and businessmen in the private sector, but their number is insignificant and they wield little or no influence over the private sector. Hence this conclusion.

Those who are the mightiest today in the private sector do not always pursue the national interest and honesty goes with them at a discount. Whether it is tea or sugar or cotton textiles, the consumers will vouchasafe to the truth that profiteering is the basis of all private trade today. Quality tea today is just a memory, although price is so high that it may be likened to a penalty for drinking tea. Leadership in industrial field has been sacrificed for temporary personal gain and the concept of social good is almost Greek to the industrialists. Therefore those who fight for the private sector will fight for a lost cause. They fail to read the red light in the political horizon of the world where State socialism in some form or other is inevitably, though slowly, bound to appear.

The private sector today lacks initiative and enterprise in nation-building industries and other activities. The initiative and leadership has naturally passed to the public sector which is embodied in the State. The State today has command over manifold resources and it can mobilise such resources from inside and outside the country. It can mobilise the unifying, morale-building achievements of a national programme of economic development. The public sector, that is, the State will provide the binding link to the people fragmented by diverse interests and bewildered by the conflicts of ideologies. When the State has assumed the responsibility for economic upliftment of the people it will have more powers and its sphere of activities is bound to be all-embracing. The lovers of individual liberty may mourn the loss of liberty of the people, but the powers of the State will continue to widen and the sphere of individualism will continue to shrink.

It is no use pitting private enterprises against the State ones. The public enterprises to-day are not faultless, they do not in any way stand for efficiency. But the public enterprises are needed for the welfare of the people and that is the only criterion by which their utility will be judged. The State will carry out the basic investments which are beyond the scope and resources of the private enterprises. Such basic investments include housing, water-supply, power and transport and generally such investments cannot all be made by private individuals since their yields spread through the community and do not readily take the form of income to the investor.

But there is another side to the question. Does Socialism then mean the total extinction of private enterprise as in the Communist World?

Pandit Nehru must be clear on this point as he has indirectly supported the totally unjustifiable campaign that is now being carried on by his myrmidons against the smaller enterprises. The campaign of course is primarily to extort bribes.

Oil Policy

Explaining the broad policy of the Government of India in the matter of mineral oils Shri Nehru said on May 14 that primary importance would be accorded to the State participation in the field of oil exploration. The Government was not yet in a position to shoulder the entire responsibility for exploration and would, therefore, concentrate work on the best fields. In other fields, private firms might be allowed to operate provided their terms were attractive enough. The Government had also decided to set up a State undertaking for the distribution of oil to be produced in the public sector refineries in Gauhati and Barauni. He added that the Government had no intention of nationalising the system of distribution of oil and the proposed State organization would chiefly provide for Government requirements or those of specified areas. The idea of a further extension of State participation in distribution was not however altogether ruled out. The very fact that the Government had decided to enter the field was of some importance because ten per cent could become thirty, forty or even hundred per cent in course of time, the Prime Minister said. He added that a new statutory oil commission would soon be constituted with wider powers than those enjoyed by the existing Oil and Natural Gas Commission. In the meanwhile, the existing Commission would be vested with much greater authority within the limits of law to look after the work of the State-owned refineries and the distribution system.

The Government's decision will be widely welcomed because it promises to make the first breach in the foreign monopoly over the production and distribution of oil in India. The price of oil charged by these companies has little relation to the cost of production. The price is calculated upon the cost of production in America though the oil comes from the areas bordering the Gulf of Persia where the cost of production is much lower. Last year the oil companies operating in India agreed to certain *ad hoc* reductions in their selling prices of certain major petroleum products. Simultaneously, the Chief Cost Accounts officer of the Government of India started an examination on the quantum and propriety of all charges included by the companies in thei selling prices of each product in the past, witl a view to evolving a new price formula to cove all petroleum products marketed in, or from this country and to arriving at an agreed breal up of the items to be included in that new pric formula, and the quantum of each such item The significance of this examination can b measured by the fact that consumers in Indi have to pay almost two times the landed cos of imported oil and oil products which is esti mated to be Rs. 95 crores. Freight, excis duties and income-tax (amounting to Rs. 4 crores) and distribution charges and com panies' profit (amounting to Rs. 50 crores account for this increase. It is the second sla (distribution charges and profits) that th official accountant was asked to examine. Th report of the officer, which was to have bee submitted to the Government by the end o March last, should be greatly helpful in pro viding a firm basis for fixing up a mor rational price schedule for petroleum product in India.

Underwriting by Commercial Banks

The proposal that commercial banks in India should undertake to underwrite shares and debentures of industrial concerns may be traced to the recommendations of the Shroff Committee in 1954 Although the matter has not progressed from the stage of proposal, the issue being important often raises its head as to its possible realisation in no distant future Recently the matter was discussed in the Indian Parliament. The proposal to set up a combine of banks to underwrite shares and debentures of industries in the private sector is reported to have been rejected by the Union Finance Minister at a meeting of the Consultative Committee of members of Parliament on April 28.

The Union Finance Minister is understood to have pointed out to the meeting that the proposal had originally been mooted by the Shroff Commission under different circumstances. At present, besides the Industrial Finance Corporations, financing of industries is also being done by the Life Insurance Corporation of India

and the Industrial credit and Investment Corporation of India. In view of all these institutions there is no need, nor is it considered desirable by the Government to allow banks directly or indirectly to underwrite shares or debentures beyond limits which they are now permitted to do. The progress of the Refinance Corporation was also reviewed at the meeting. The Finance Minister is reported to have told the members that the financing of medium-sized industries which have been licensed and approved by the Government, would be done by the Refinance Corporation.

It may be recalled that the Shroff Committee on Finance for the Private sector recommended in April 1954 the formation of a consortium of commercial banks for the purpose of underwriting or investing in new issues of shares and debentures of industrial concerns. The consortium is to be formed under the leadership of the Imperial Bank of India (now the State Bank). It further recommended that banks should be encouraged to invest about 5 per cent of their deposits in such shares and debentures. At that time the Reserve Bank of India was in favour of forming such a consortium with a view to augmenting the resources of the country for the purpose of financing new industrial concerns.

To further examine the proposal of the Shroff Committee, another committee was appointed consisting of the representatives from several leading banks of the country under the chairmanship of Mr. Handoo, the then Managing Director of the Imperial Bank of India. It was reported at that time that with the memory of the disaster that befell the Tata Industrial Bank during the years of the first world war, the commercial banks did not support the idea of undertaking the underwriting business. As a result, the State Bank was entrusted with some pilot scheme on an experimental basis of providing finance to some small-scale industries in the country. The matter practically lapsed in 1954 as commercial banks did not show their enthusiasm and support over the proposal of what may be termed as mixed banking.

This time the Government rejected the idea of underwriting business by commercial banks. The Government view is that since the recommendation of the Shroff Committee in 1954 many developments have taken place which now dispense with the need of underwriting business by commercial banks. The most important development is that the Life Insurance Corporation today has come forward to underwrite shares and debentures of industrial concerns. In conjunction with the Industrial Credit and Investment Corporation of India and also the Industrial Finance Corporation of India, the LIC last year underwrote shares of some industrial concerns. The position of underwriting business has further improved recently with the establishment of the Refinance Corporation. As regards investment in shares by commercial banks, it is reported that the Reserve Bank now does not favour such a move. Its general view is that it is neither necessary nor desirable in the existing circumstances to induce or encourage commercial banks to invest to any large extent in the debentures and shares of joint stock companies.

That Government decision in not allowing commercial banks to underwrite on a larger scale will be widely regretted both by the banking world as well as by the industries. The argument put forward by the Union Finance Minister in support of his decision is hardly tenable. The establishment of the Refinance Corporation does not in any way obviate the necessity of underwriting business on a larger scale. The scope of the Refinance Corporation is quite limited to medium-sized industries and it has nothing to do with large-scale industries that are now being set up in the private sector. India today needs large-scale industrial finance. The authorities often accuse the private sector in not being able to develop large industrial concerns. But they forget that finance—that is, development finance, is the life-blood of industries and unless that

can be arranged, industrial development will remain handicapped.

Germany in the post war years has made remarkable progress in industrial development and that has been possible on account of the development of mixed banking system in that country. Indian private industrial concerns require about Rs. 300 to 400 crores a year as development finance. For lack of institutions which are in a position to supply this amount, the pace of industrial development has slowed down in the country. Under the Third Five-Year Plan greater burden would be imposed on the private sector for the development of industries. But adequate measures for augmenting the financial resources of the country are not being taken by the authorities.

The Life Insurance Corporation undertakes underwriting as a side business and in that respect underwriting of shares and dvbentures of industrial concerns is a mere subsidiary business of the Corporation. Its achievement in the field of underwriting is none too encouraging. It is however a happy augury that it has stepped into this new venture which, if followed vigorously, will remove a gap in the financial need of the country. But neither the Life Insurance Corporation nor the Industrial credit and Investment Corporation is sufficient enough to meet the requirements of finance for the industries in the private sector. Their resources are limited and their performance is also bound to be inadequate. To rely on them and also on the Finance Corporations will not solve the problem of lack of industrial finance in the country.

The combined resources of the commercial banks will provide a huge amount and the collective risk taking on a consortium basis will minimise the risk that is involved in mixed banking. A consortium of commercial banks can easily provide Rs. 100 crores a year as development finance which will accelerate the pace of industrial development in the country. The Banking Companies Act allows underwriting business and there is no reason why this should not be followed in practice within limits. Up till now the achievements of the Industrial Finance Corporation, the Life Insurance Corporation and the Industrial Credit and Investment Corporation are none too encouraging. Practically mixed banking has been allowed in India on an institutional basis. The participation in the share capital of the Industrial Finance Corporation of India and also the Refinance Corporation by commercial banks involves mixed banking, although in an indirect way. But that does not matter. It is mixed banking in reality and there cannot be any objection to such type of banking on a larger scale on the basis of collective risk taking through the formation of a syndicate or consortium.

Ours is an under-developed economy and for the purpose of development new ideas should be put into operation for quick action. The objection against mixed banking is based on the tradition of British banking which does not allow mixed banking.

Balance of Payments in 1958

The figures compiled by the Reserve Bank of India relating to India's balance of payments in 1958 reveal that India's external payments position improved in 1958 after the strains of 1957. The current account deficit has narrowed down from Rs. 452 crores in 1957 to Rs. 355 crores in 1958. In 1958 total imports stood at Rs. 1045 crores as against Rs. 1217 crores in 1957. As there had been a fall in imports in 1958 as compared to 1957, so there had also been a fall in exports in 1958 as against that in 1957. In 1958 the exports amounted to Rs. 565 crores as compared with Rs. 622 crores in 1957. Actual trade deficits thus amounted to Rs. 479 crores in 1958 as compared with Rs. 595 crores in the preceding year. The official donations aggregated to Rs. 40 crores in 1958 as against Rs. 37.2 crores in 1957.

The improvement in the balance of payments position is mainly on account of a drastic cut in imports. But although there had been a fall in imports to the extent of nearly Rs. 200 crores in 1958 as compared with the preceding year, there had also been a drop in exports to

the extent of about Rs. 57 crores. The lower exports are not at all desirable in view of the facts that India has adopted a vigorous policy of export promotion. The Reserve Bank observes that in 1957, the utilisation of external assistance [Rs. 269 crores including the IMF credit and the draft on foreign exchange reserve (Rs. 235 crores)]—the two major elements of financing—were more or less of equal importance. In 1958, external assistance of Rs. 244 crores was by far the more important element and this substantially eased the drain on the reserves (Rs. 104 crores).

Notwithstanding export promotion arrangements recently made by the Central Government, the exports have not recorded any appreciable improvements. Moreover, India still has to depend on her traditional commodities, namely, tea, jute manufactures, cotton textiles and manganese ores and these constitute the sheet-anchor of India's export trade. Any difficulty that may overtake any of these commodities will adversely affect India's fortune in her balance of payments position. The tea exports still heads the exportable commodities and it is the foremost earner of foreign exchanges. The year 1956 was the peak year for tea export from India and in that year India exported tea worth Rs. 145 crores. The tea exports declined to Rs. 129 crores in 1957. There was however some improvements in tea exports and in 1958 India's tea exports amounted to Rs. 135 crores. It is no mean achievement for the Indian tea to maintain its position of pre-eminence in the country's export trade against stiff competition from foreign countries. Next to tea, come jute manufactures which occupy the second position in India's export trade with an export value of Rs. 106 crores in 1958 as against Rs. 125 crores in the preceding year. The fall in the export of jute manufactures is to the extent of Rs. 20 crores and this has not only affected the balance of payments position of the country, but it has also affected the industry. The export of cotton manufactures comes third with export earnings of Rs. 62 crores in 1958 as against Rs. 92 crores in 1957. In the case of cotton manufactures, the drop in earnings is to the extent of Rs. 20 crores. The exports of jute and cotton manufactures alone recorded a decline of 40 crores in 1958 as compared with that of in 1957. Similarly the export of manganese ores recorded a decline from Rs. 29 crores in 1957 to Rs. 18 crores in 1958.

The year 1958 is thus the year that tells the story of declining exports. It also tells that India has acquired no new markets to any appreciable extent nor has she developed new commodities for exports. The decline in cotton textile exports is not however an exception to India, During the last year there was a decline in the export of cotton textiles among all the major exporting countries of the world. In 1958 the decline in exports of cotton textiles was about 13 per cent as compared with 1957. France and Switzerland were the only countries to gain much ground in the export of cotton cloth. The U.K., the U.S.A., Japan and India experienced decline in the export of cotton goods. In 1958 India exported 468 million yards of cotton textiles as against 870 million yards in the preceding year. In order to maintain the overseas markets India is required to export quality goods at cheaper prices. It has been said that "quality represented by regular grade and staple becomes once more a very important selling factor." The cotton textile industry today is the largest organised industry in the country with a block capital of Rs. 127 crores. India cannot afford to remain indifferent over the fate of this all-important industry. Any vicissitude that may overtake the cotton textile industry of India will have adverse effect on other sectors of industrial structure. In order to face the competition, some relief in export duty is called for.

Import restrictions are mere temporary measures and they cannot be regarded as a permanent feature of our foreign trade. In view of the increasing amount of deficit financing free inflow of consumer goods is necessary to stave off the inflationary spiral. India's internal production of consumer goods are lacking the productive investment and in consequence prices are going up. In this context import cuts should not be regarded as a permanent remedy for imbalance in our balance of payments position.

In the foreign trade of the country, the most vulnerable point is our trade with the OEEC countries. Chronic deficits have become a feature of trade with these countries. In 1958, the deficits however were lower at Rs. 178 crores as against Rs. 250 crores in 1957. The main cause of this huge deficit is India's large-scale import of capital goods from this area, particularly from West Germany. These countries however do not import from India to the same extent as they export to India. The inevitable result of this type of trade is deficit and nearly 50 per cent of India's trade deficit occurs in our trade with these countries.

The formation of the European Common Market has further provided a barricade against the import of goods from outside the common market and the imposition of high tariff rates has further caused deterioration in India's exports to this area. To counter the adverse effect of the European common market on the export trade of India suggestion was made to form an Afro-Asian market where goods of the countries of Asia and Africa will get preference as against goods frfom European countries. This suggestion deserves more consideration now in view of the formation of the European common market.

As in political affairs, so also in economic affairs the UNO and its diverse organizations are now being by-passed by the bigger and powerful nations of Europe. The formation of the European common market may be regarded as the economic counterpart of the political blocks formed by big powers. The formation of an Asian common market will favourably place Indian exports in the market of Asian countries. In India's trade with the dollar area, it is gratifying to note that India's deficit with this area has also come down from Rs. 104 crores in 1957 to Rs. 65 crores in 1958. India's imports from the dollar area in 1957 stood at Rs. 271 crores and this came down to Rs. 225 crores in 1958. But exports also registered a fall as they are lower at Rs. 103 crores in 1958 as against Rs. 120 crores in 1957. Similarly India imported less from the OEEC countries in 1958 than in 1957. During 1958 India imported from the OEEC countries goods valued at Rs. 227 crores as compared with Rs. 311 crores in 1957. But exports to these countries also fell from Rs. 61 crores in 1957 to Rs. 51 crores in 1958.

India's imports from the sterling area recorded a decline from Rs. 443 crores in 1957 to Rs. 393 crores in 1958. India's exports also came down from Rs. 316 crores in 1957 to Rs. 293 crores in 1958. It is with the rest of non-sterling areas that India's imports increased from Rs. 192 crores in 1957 to Rs. 199 crores in 1958 while exports declined from 125 crores in 1957 to 119 crores in 1958.

Among the private imports, the cost of importing vehicles (excluding railway locomotives) went down by Rs. 16 crores from Rs. 39 crores in 1957 to Rs. 23 crores in 1958. The cost of importing food, drink and tobacco on private accounts came down from Rs. 30 crores in 1957 to Rs. 20 crores in 1958. It is a pity that while the import of essential drugs and medicines has been restricted, India allows the import of vehicles and food, drink and tobacco on private accounts for an aggregate amount of Rs. 43 crores a year.

During 1958, receipts from official loans amounted to Rs. 183 crores as against Rs. 96 crores in 1957. The larger drawings in 1958 were due to the speedier utilization of existing loans as well as the commencement of operations of fresh loans. Loan receipts from the IBRD during 1958 were Rs. 68 crores. The credits arranged for three steel plants, namely, Bhilai, Rourkela and Durgapur, accounted for Rs. 80 crores. The balance amount constitutes receipts on account of Canadian wheat loan, the loan components of the TCA and the PL 480 assistance and the United States Export-Import Bank loan. Other

capital transactions resulted in a net receipt of Rs. 75.4 crores in 1958 as against the net receipt of Rs. 137.7 crores in 1957 (including the IMF credit of Rs. 95 crores).

According to the Reserve Bank's estimates, capital transactions as a whole (excluding official reserves) resulted in a net receipt of Rs. 258.6 crores. This together with the deficit on current account of Rs. 354.8 crores and unidentifiable transactions of Rs. 8 crores led to a net withdrawal of Rs. 104 crores from the foreign exchange reserves. There was thus a current account gap of Rs. 355 crores in India's external transactions during 1958. This gap was financed by drawing down reserves to the extent of Rs. 104 crores and through a net capital inflow of roughly Rs. 259 crores. Although the deficit gap in 1958 narrowed down as compared with 1957, this was more on account of import restrictions rather than export expansion. The draft on reserves in 1957 was Rs. 235 crores (after taking into account the IMF credit of Rs. 95 crores) and in 1956 it was Rs. 205 crores. The reduction in the current account deficit is the combined result of a signifcant cut in private imports and slightly larger official grants.

Technical Education

In this age of technological development the importance of having an adequate number of properly-trained technical personnel of different categories needs no elaboration. The need for the expansion of the facilities for technical education, which were kept unduly restricted by the foreign rulers, have been emphasized by successive Commissions and Committees. There has no doubt been remarkable progress in the spread of technical education as will be evident from comparative statistics of students in various technical institutions at different periods since Independence. The in-take of higher technical institutes and colleges in the country has gone up from less than 3,000 annually in 1947 to 9,200 and is expected to touch 11,150 by 1961. There has been comparable improvement in the number of students taking the diplomas which has registered an increase from less than 4,000 at the time of Independence to nearly 16,000.

Early last year the All India Council for Technical Education accorded its approval to a scheme for the eight Centrally-sponsored regional engineering colleges and twenty-seven polytechnics. The scheme received the approval of the Central Government in January of this year and has now been endorsed on May 13, by the conference of the Chief Ministers of States.

Under the scheme the Central Government will provide the entire non-recurring expenditure on college buildings and equipments as grants-in-aid to the colleges to be established at Nagpur, Bhopal, Allahabad, Jamshedpur, Durgapur; Mangalore, Warangal and Srinagar and will also provide half of the recurring expenditure as grant-in-aid to the above colleges for a period of five years. Half of the cost of the construction of staff quarters will also be borne by the Central Government. The Central Government will provide similar aid for the establishment of polytechnics. The college in Delhi will be run by the Central Government alone while the other colleges will be run as joint enterprise of the Central and State Governments. The colleges will function as regional colleges and will admit students from all over India about 50 per cent of the seats being reserved for the students of coming from the State within which the college will be situated. Teachers for these regional colleges will be recruited on an All-India basis. To attract really-talented persons to the technical field it has also been decided to raise the scales of pay of various grades of technical teachers. The additional cost involved in the implementation of this scheme will be entirely borne by the Central Government for five years after which the position will be reviewed.

The implementation of this plan will undoubtedly go a long way toward easing the problem of the non-availability of technical personnel in adequate numbers and thus facilitate industrialisation. In this context it is impossible not to refer to the role of the industries. In many Western countries technical and research institutes run by various industries have made valuable contribution to the progress of science and technology. Unfortunately a comparable trend has not been evident in this country.

The Ganga Bridge

The opening of the Ganga Bridge at Hathidah near Mokameh in Bihar on May 1 linking the broadgauge system of the Eastern Railway on the south bank of the river with the metre gauge system of the Northeastern Railway at Barauni on the north bank and replacing the old and uncertain ferry service, marks the fulfilment of a dream cherished by the people of Bihar for more than half a century. The Ganga cuts the State of Bihar into two parts. This has not only meant a physical division of the State, but also an economic division having profound political, social and psychological repercussions. South Bihar with its rich mineral deposits is industrially well developed and is linked with the nerve-centres of economic activity of the country. North Bihar on the other hand, cut off as it is from the rest of eastern India by the Ganga, has remained preponderantly an agricultural region—deriving little, if any, benefit from the industrial development in the southern part because of the extremely unsatisfactory communication system. The peculiar geographical situation of the northern part of the State subjected it also to the ravages of frequent floods and droughts—a state of affairs which is being sought to be remedied through the construction of the Kosi Barrage.

The proposal for the construction of a bridge over the Ganga near Mokameh was first mooted in 1907 in the Report of the Ganges Bridge Committee and was endorsed by the East India Railway Company in 1909. The work of construction could not be taken in hand on account of the opposition of the B.N.W. Railway Company. The matter remained in a floating stage until in 1925 it was shelved for all practical puposes. Nearly twenty years passed before it could again attract the attention of the authorities. The Railway Board authorized a survey to be made of the area for the construction of a bridge. In 1948 the cabinet sanctioned the proposal and the work of construction began in 1953 —although the foundation stone was formally laid only in 1956. The bridge which now connects the two parts of Bihar is a moot modern, cantilever bridge having the deepest foundations of any rail-bridge in the world.

The bridge carries a single-track railway line, while it may not therefore be able to provide adequate transport facilities to meet all the needs of communication between the two regions of the State, its importance in putting an end to the isolation of North Bihar from the rest of the country can hardly be overemphasized. It links the region with the part of Calcutta and the industrial and mining areas of East India and opens out bright prospects of industrialisation, and the diversification of the economy of the region.

The Issues in Kerala

The *National Herald*, in a lengthy editorial article on May 14, writes with reference to the current unrest in Kerala that if the tensions in the State are attributed partly to the presence of powerful vested interests and of an almost permanent triangular communal pattern, the issue is whether the Kerala Communists are playing the game to the extent that they have the initiative in the State. The secretary of the state Communist Party and the State Chief Minister have made allegations of *mala fide* opposition against the Congress and the other parties which have come together and the national executive of the Communist Party has decided to meet in Kerala at the end of this month, when school managements are to start *satyagraha*. The Communists, unfortunately, cannot talk of principles to other political parties, particularly the Congress, because they have themselves observed none and they have always worked in party interest. If the Communists had wanted to give a chance to constitutionalism, they should have accepted it not only in Kerala but in the rest of the country. They have, however, been observing different principles and different programmes in different states, and after their

ecent record in Punjab, the should not be surprised that the opposition parties in Kerala are borrowing from Communist tactics. The Communists have observed no code of conduct, and after rejecting at the Amritsar session of the party congress Mr. Namboodiripad's plea for a consistent all-India policy of responsive co-operation, they should expect no quarter from non-Communist opposition when they are prepared to give no quarter to any non-Communist Government.

Rewriting History

One of the distinctive marks of Communist rule in certain countries has been the constant rewriting of history—in which not only interpretations but even facts also tend to change with time. The factual changes in most cases have not been determined by any lack of information about particular events and personalities but by the bias of persons who happen to occupy the position of leadership in the respective Communist parties. This phenomenon is of recent origin dating back to the thirties of this century when Stalin initiated the process in the Soviet Union by rewriting the history of the Russian Revolution and of the Soviet Communist Party to eulogize his own role. The falsification went to such an extent that even books recommended by no less a person than Lenin himself were also proscribed in the Soviet Union. In a one-party State that was, perhaps, not unnatural. What, however, was definitely unnatural was the ape-like behaviour of the non-Russian Communist parties who did not show the slightest compunction of conscience to digest and to uphold this falsification as the only "objective" history. Great names in the history of the international working-class movement were thus vilified for no other reason than the glorification of Stalin and the U.S.S.R. It was thus that Stalin's books on the Russian Revolution and the Soviet Communist Party came to be treated as historical classics. At the twentieth Congress of the Communist Party of the U.S.S.R. this edifice of his was shaken to its foundations. And now a new history of the Soviet Communist Party has been published to supersede the one which was for nearly twenty years paraded as the only reliable history of the C.P.S.U. The new history has not yet reached this country so that nothing can be said about its contents, but from related announcements of the past five years there can be little doubt that it will provide far-reaching modification of facts and interpretations of the previous volume. Consequently almost all the non-Russian Communist parties of the world will also have to change their views about many historical facts and personalities. The Communists would not have to face this predicament of having constantly to revise their opinions if they had not abjured their objectivity in the altar of what they like to call "proletarian internationalism" but which is nothing but blind subservience to foreign interests. Internationalism cannot and does not require a man or a political party to give up its judgment and to uphold all the stupidities perpetrated by another party or government.

Mau Mau

Though the meaning of the term *Mau Mau* is obscure it provided an excuse for the arrest of nearly two lakhs of people in Kenya and the screening of many more. If in their enthusiasm to curry favour with a government which could go so far as to announce special prizes on the number of Africans killed by each officer (this large-hearted offer was later on withdrawn upon strong protests from the people of Great Britain) some officers had lost their head, the blame could by no means wholly lie with them. It was not again unnatural that detainees should have been beaten up by some warders—sometimes fatally—a fact which has now been confirmed beyond the shadow of any doubt by the verdict of the coroner, Mr. W. H. Goudie which was made public in the first week of May. The mere trial of a few warders, though it may have some deterrent effect upon the future conduct of other exuberant warders, cannot remove the basic causes of African discontent nor can it fully meet the ends of justice, because the warders are only part of a great machine which is weighing heavily upon the shoulders of the Kenyan people.

Right to Search

An interesting point of Constitutional Law touching upon the freedom of the individual in the USA was clarified when on May 4, 1959 the Supreme Court of the United States of America held by 5 votes to 4 that health inspectors might enter a private home during the day-time without a warrant to search for unsanitary conditions, and that such a search did not contravene the provisions of the Fourth and the Fourteenth Amendments to the Constitution which prohibit "unreasonable searches and seizures." Justice Frankfurter, delivering the majority judgment, said that the aim of the Constitutional Amendment was to protect a man's home against indiscriminate searches "for evidence to be used in criminal prosecution" or for illegal goods such as smuggled merchandise; but in the sanitary inspection there was no search for criminal evidence. In his dissenting opinion Justice Douglas, supported by Chief Justice Warren and two other judges, said that he disagreed with the view that the Fourth Amendment was aimed primarily at searches for evidence in criminal cases. In his view it was designed to protect the privacy of the home against any official intrusion without a warrant. He therefore characterised the majority decision as "rather sad one" taking "a long backward step in Constitutional Law."

Third Term Again?

George Washington, the first President of the United States of America, had declined the offer to elect him to the presidency for the third time on the ground that such re-election tended to nullify the merits of the elective principle. Since then there had been no proposal for the re-election of any person for more than two terms until the convention was broken by the late President Franklin Delano Roosevelt in 1940, when he successfully sought re-election for the third term. His critics were completely scandalized when he stood for the Presidency for the fourth time in 1944 and still came out successful. Their political impotence only heightened their wrath and after his death when the Republicans obtained a majority in the Congress they lost no time in rushing through the Twenty-second Amendment to the Constitution limiting Presidential tenure to no more than two four-year terms. The Amendment was passed during President Truman's tenure of office, but he was specifically exempted from the operation of the Amendment so that the first 'lame duck' President to be hamstrung by this Amendment is one of the Republican's own—President Eisenhower. It appears that American politicians are now having second thoughts over this Constitutional difficulty. The U.S. Senate's Constitutional Amendments Sub-Committee held a special meeting during the first week of May, and invited former President Truman to give his opinion on the matter. In unmistakable terms Mr. Truman said: "My position on this question is a very simple one, this is a bad Amendment and it ought to be repealed." After Mr. Truman's testimony the Republicans' Senate Leader, Mr. Everett Mckiney Dirksen hinted that they might move the Congress for an early repeal of the 22nd Amendment.

Report on East Pakistan

Last September riotous scenes were witnessed in the hall of the East Pakistan Assembly which resulted in the death of the Deputy Speaker, Mr. Shahed Ali. Shortly thereafter Martial Law was promulgated throughout Pakistan and the Constitution was abrogated. The Martial Law Administration set up a one-man Commission of Enquiry to report on the affair. The finding of Mr. Justice Mohammad Asir, who constituted that Commission was released in Dacca on May 12.

The Commission said that the Parliamentary system of Government in the province had collapsed under unremitting stress of political feuds and scramble for power and that in the process it had undermined the machinery of administration. According to the Commission everybody, the Governor, the Chief Minister, the Speaker, the Deputy Speaker, the District Magistrate, the Inspector-General of Police and other officers who had been requisitioned to deal with the situation had failed to perform their duties on that occasion. The responsibility of course lay with the Government of the day.

The report says:

"The Chief Minister could not keep him-

self above party interest and failed to keep a detached view where law was to take its own course, as he was persuaded in his capacity as Home Minister to interfere with the statutory functions of the magistrate and other officers"

"The policemen and officers who were utilised to serve the cause of the ruling party, though initially respectful to the representatives of the country, dealt with the members of the opposition vigorously and severely quite unmindful of their status when stirred at the instance of the Chief Minister."

References are also made in the report of "the part played by Mr. H. S. Suhrawardy and Mr. Sultanuddin Ahmed in by passing the then election commission and overriding its authority and verdict with regard to disqualification of six members of the provincial assembly belonging to the Awami League ruling coalition, as well as the part played by Sheikh Mujibar Rahman (general secretary of now-defunct Awami League) in aggravating an already tense situation, in addition to what was being done in that respect by other stalwarts of Awami League and those of the opposition party."

The report quotes a telegram sent by the then Speaker, Mr. Abdul Hakim, to Mr. Iskander Mirza which stated, *inter alia*: "Mr. Mujibar Rahman over the telephone several times threatened me with violence of the worst sort saying that I will not be allowed to enter the Assembly House, will be bodily removed, adding that no police will be of help to me."

Summing up his findings, Mr. Justice Asir says that each party seems to have vied with each other in breaking all democratic principles and that good faith of the Speaker or of the Deputy Speaker could hardly be assumed. "The opposition as minority had reasons to feel that they were oppressed. The Government side, which claimed to be in majority, being nervous about its stability and certainty of position, tried to carry off its policy with too high a hand and was, therefore, riding for a fall."

Commenting upon the publication of the report, especially its timing, the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, May 14, writes:

"The only ostensible purpose of releasing the report of Mr. Justice Mohammed Asir of Dacca High Court at this hour is to discredit democracy in Pakistan. 'Dissension and distrust, suspicion and dissension' might have ruled in the minds of individual members of the East Pakistan Assembly on the eve of the fateful Budget session for 1958-59. But is it not also a fact that Karachi was all the time pulling the strings from a distance of 1,200 miles? Democracy never got a reasonable chance in any of the two wings of Pakistan and today it lies smothered by a ruthless military dictatorship. The leaders of the political parties of Pakistan did not certainly play fair to the people but nothing better could be expected from a set of men who were mostly brought into limelight by the British bureaucracy. In the event of a free and fair election throughout the country most of them would have been pushed aside and a new, self-respecting leadership would have emerged."

China's New Chairman

The list of the new State-functionaries in China dose not offer any surprise. The world outside China was most interested in the name of the successor to Mao Tse-tung in the position of the head of the Chinese State—the Chairman of the People's Republic of China. By choosing Liu Shao-chi for the post the members of the newly-elected National People's Congress (the Chinese equivalent of a Parliament) have made the most natural selection. Because Liu was not only the second most important figure in the Chinese Communist Party leadership; as the Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress he was also the secondmost important figure in the State hierarchy. In both the positions he came next only to Mao. Though less well-known outside China than Mao Tse-tung, Chou En-lai and Chu Seh, Liu Shao-chi became prominent in the party quite early in its history. He was named Chief of the Labour Bureau of the Chinese Communist Party at its sixth Congress held in Moscow in 1928. He

took a leading part in the Party Reform Movement of the early forties, in the amendment of the party constitution during the seventh Congress held in 1945 and in the anti-Yugoslav campaign in 1949. On the formation of the People's Republic of China in 1949 he was named one of the six Vice-Chairmen of the Central People's Government and after the promulgation of the Constitution in 1954 became the Chairman of the Standing Committee—the post which has now been given to Chu Teh, who was until now Vice-Chairman of the Republic. The Constitution provided for one Vice-Chairman but now two Vice-Chairmen have been elected. They are Mme. Soong Ching-ling and Tung Pi-we. Significantly, the Dalai Lama still remains a Vice-Chairman of the Standing Committee In view of the fact that there has been no change in the composition of the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party which sets the line for the Government to follow, the changes in the relative position of the personnel in the State hierarchy do not seem to indicate any basic shift in the policy of the State either at home and abroad.

Liu Shao-chi

The New York Times of May 3, gives the following details about Mao's successor:

Mao's Successor: Among Chinese Communists, Liu Shao-chi (pronounced Lyoo Shah-oh Chee) has an almost unequalled reputation for hard drive and devotion to the party. There is a story that when the Communists were still underground, his wife tried to kill herself at the party's secret headquarters in Shanghai and that Liu hired a rickshaw to take her to the doctor. When some of his comrades criticized him for not taking a taxi in such an emergency, his answer was that a taxi might have drawn attention to the headquarters and endangered the party's operations. Since the Communists took over China, Liu has been considered the second most important party leader in the country—after Mao Tse-tung and ahead of Premier Chou En-lai. Last December Mao announced he would resign the job of Chairman of the Chinese People's Republic—in effect, President of China—in order to concentrate on his work as Communist Party chief. Last week the National People's Congress elected Liu to succeed Mao as Chairman. So far as the West could tell, the change at the helm in Peiping involved no rivalry or factionalism such as has marked major changes in the Kremlin.

The Algerian Question

The fight for independence continues in Algeria. The world had hoped that President de Gaulle would find some solution to this terrible war. *The New York Times* of May 3, sums up the position as follows:

These are some major statements French President Charles de Gaulle has made about his Algerian policy during the past year:

May 19, 1958: "I will carry out arbitration" of the Algerian-French dispute.

June 4: "France considers that in all Algeria there is only one sort of inhabitant. There are only Frenchmen of the same sort, with the same rights."

June 5: "We must gather together, here (in Algeria) the representatives belonging to the public bodies of tomorrow. This should be done here by the 10,000,000 Frenchmen of Algeria (both Europeans and Moslems) without distinction . . . . After that we shall have to see, with the representatives, what remains to be done in order that things may be what I have said they ought to be."

Jan. 13, 1959: "The pacification and transformation of Algeria . . . are, of course, the indispensable conditions of a political solution which can only proceed from universal suffrage."

March 25: "I believe that (Algeria's) destiny . . . depends upon . . . the efforts of a whole generation. France has taken her resolve . . . . and has made a clear and firm plan (for) the transformation of Algeria . . . This transformation . . . . France has begun to accomplish."

The big question left unanswered in these statements has been: Precisely what status would de Gaulle give to Algeria? The Algerian nationalists, spearheaded by the rebel army, demand full independence. The European settlers in Algeria—1 million of Algeria's 10 million population—demand the "integration" of Algeria into France, meaning that Algeria

would be treated exactly as, for example, Normandy or Provence. The advantage of integration, from the European settlers' viewpoint, is that Algeria would, in effect, be swallowed up by France and Algeria's majority of 9,000,000 Moslems would become a small minority of 50,000,000 Frenchmen.

De Gaulle's own spokesman, Andre Malraux, has implied that de Gaulle would compromise the nationalists' and the settlers' demands. Last summer Malraux said de Gaulle envisaged a large degree of autonomy for Algeria within a union with France and perhaps with Tunisia and Morocco. The Europeans in Algeria protested strongly and have put increasing pressure on de Gaulle to come out for integration.

Last Wednesday de Gaulle told a delegation of Algerians he had always stood for integration. He had avoided using the word because there had been attempts to "impose" it on him, he said, "but what have I done since I have been in power?" His program of political rights for Moslems equal to those for "other Frenchmen," his social and economic reforms, his efforts to bring Moslems into the Algerian administration and educate them, he said, added up to a policy of integration.

The Africa Bloc

The New York Times of April 19, had the following editorial paragraph on the Africa Bloc. It is worthy of record:

Africa, second largest of the six continents, has an area of 11.5 million square miles and a population of 224 million. Nine of its ten sovereign nations—the United Arab Republic, Sudan, Libya, Tunisia, Morocco, Ethiopia, Liberia, Ghana and Guinea (area 3.3 million sq. mi., pop. 77.6 million)—are members of the Conference of Independent African States, one of whose aims is independence for the colonial territories of Africa. The Union of South Africa, dedicated to strict racial segregation, is outside the movement.

Formation of the conference in Ghana a year ago marked emergence of an African bloc as a force in international affairs. Last Wednesday, Africa Freedom Day was celebrated throughout Africa. In Johannesburg, South Africa, where demonstrators were denied a permit for speeches, a silent demonstration was held on the city hall steps. In New York, Tom Mboya of Kenya, chairman of the All-Africa People's Conference, spoke at a Carnegie Hall rally. He derided concern over communism in Black Africa, saying if those who voice such concern "spent all their time in practising the democracy they preach they would have nothing to fear."

The Africa bloc members held a cocktail party at the Waldorf-Astoria and invited all U. N. members except Israel. An Israeli spokesman blamed the Arab members of the bloc which he said follow "an intransigent policy of boycott against Israel." The South Africans were there. So was Henry Cabot Lodge, U. S. delegate to the U. N. But Mayor Wagner and Governor Rockefeller, who attended the Carnegie Hall meeting, stayed away from the Waldorf reception.

"Invasion" and Panama

The New York Times of May 3, gives the following details about a "liberation" attempt on this small republic:

The Republic of Panama is 480 miles long, between 37 and 110 miles wide, covers 28,752 square miles (five-eighths of them uninhabited jungle) and has 960,000 people, the smallest population of the twenty-one American republics. The country is strategically situated on the Isthmus of Panama connecting Central and South America and is bisected by the Panama Canal and the ten-mile wide Canal Zone held "in perpetuity" by the United States under treaty with Panama. The country has a history of political instability, with an oligarchy of families manoeuvering against one another for power. In 1955 one President was assassinated, another impeached. The following year Ernesto de la Guardia Jr., a moderate, was elected to a four-year term as President.

A fortnight ago a story of conspiracy against President de la Guardia began to unfold. The Government accused Dr. Robert Arias, the son of a former President and the husband of the British ballerina Dame Margot Fonteyn, of plotting an armed revolt. Dr. Arias took sanctuary in the Brazilian Embassy in Panama City (he is still there); his wife was expelled (she flew to London).

A week ago yesterday Panama was invaded. Eighty-seven armed men landed and established a beach-head at a town called Nombre de Dios (Name of God), on Panama's Caribbean coast under the leadership of Cesar Vega, a Cuban adventurer. Three were drowned during the landing; three captured; one defected. The prisoners claimed that the invaders were mostly Cubans, had sailed from Cuba and that Premier Castro had sent the force to "liberate" Panama.

Panama appealed to the Organization of American States for help. The O.A.S. held an emergency session in Washington Tuesday and unanimously agreed (1) to call a meeting of the hemisphere's foreign ministers; (2) to "look favorably" on Panama's request for arms for self-defense; (3) to curtaill any activity of Panamanian rebels on their soil; and (4) to send a mission of inquiry to Panama. Washington announced that it was sending Panama weapons and would put planes and ships at the disposal of the O.A.S. mission.

As for Cuba, Premier Fidel Castro was visibly embarrassed. His delegate to the O.A.S. meeting denounced the invasion as "a clear case of aggression against democracy." On Tuesday, in Houston, Texas, in the course of a hemispheric good-will tour, the Premier conferred with his brother Raul, the commander of Cuba's revolutionary army, and afterward declared, "This incident is . . . inopportune. It puts us in a disagreeable situation. It has no justification."

Economic Vs. Military Aid

The New York Times of May 3, has the following letter. It shows that all thinking Americans have not been misled and bedevilled by the Dulles programme.

The writer of the following letter is a former United States Ambassador to the Dominican Republic and was the first Civilian Governor of American Samoa:

In introducing proposals to take the Development Loan Fund out of the annual political battle over foreign aid Senator Fulbright has performed an outstanding service to the cause of developing world peace through economic improvement of underdeveloped areas. Likewise, his action highlights the difference in approach, not in principles or objectives, between the Eisenhower Administration and Senators on the Foreign Relations Committee.

The basic criticisms of the Eisenhower policy on mutual security are that it operates on a piecemeal basis, does not provide for long-range planning and couples economic aid with military aid.

Speaking to the Senate, Senator Fulbright admitted the importance of military aid and added, "The philosophy of the program is founded too much on the idea that the danger to the United States is largely a military one, and that the threat from communism is largely a military threat." He went on to state that in many areas of the world the chief problems arise from the economic and social revolutions in Africa and Asia and we must tailor our program to meet the needs of these vital areas.

I have long felt that we place too much emphasis on military aid which neutrals do not want, can't afford and are afraid of because it might involve them in the "cold war." Furthermore, weapons in irresponsible hands have a way of being used against people desiring freedom or social justice. Likewise, there is a great need for long-range planning in economic aid, especially where loans are made for definite projects which take a long time to construct. These countries need long-term, low-interest loans—a method successfully used by the English and Germans to win markets in Latin America before the war. If the Development Loan Fund does not know how much money it will have, how can it make commitments to these underdeveloped areas?

May I also state emphatically that charity does not make friends. The work of the Development Loan Fund is to make loans for economically and technologically approved projects which will help the economy of the underdeveloped country

and for projects which can be seen and understood by the very people we are trying to help.

In urging support of the Fulbright proposals, I think all Americans should heed the predictions of Karl Marx, Stalin and Khrushchev that communism will triumph over capitalism through economic means.

In 1955 Khrushchev said, "We value trade least for economic reasons and most for political reasons." In 1957 he shouted, "We declare war on you . . . . in the peaceful fields of trade. We will win over the United States. The threat to the United States is not the intercontinental ballistic missiles but in the field of peaceful production. We are relentless in this and it will prove the superiority of our system."

To Russia the "cold war" is total war. Let us stop fighting our enemy with single cylinder weapons and use our vast economic resources and highly trained manpower to help people to help themselves to provide decent living and health standards.

Support of the Fulbright proposals is an important stelp in that direction as well as in meeting the challenge of atheistic Communist all-out war. As Americans we can do no less.

Phelps Phelps

The Trade Union in U.S.

We give the following extract from the *American Labor Review* of May 1959, as an example of what Labour Unions should stand for:

There are any number of yardsticks by which people can judge the worth of the trade union movement. It can be measured in terms of better wages and working conditions for millions of wage-earners; in terms of improved social welfare legislation, won in part through the efforts of trade unions.

But best of all, it seems to me, is the yardstick of community endeavor—the job done by labor to help make the community a better place in which to live.

When the AFL-CIO was founded on December 5, 1955 in New York City, one of its first acts was to establish a Community Services Committee.

"The union member is first and foremost a citizen of his community." That was the basic principle adopted by the Committee. We said then, the union member has a responsibility to his community. He must co-operate with his fellow citizens in making his community a good place in which to live, to work, to raise children. He must be concerned about the availability of adequate health, welfare and recreational services for the whole community.

Adhering to this principle, union members have been taking an increasing part in community activities. Some have served as Community Drive chairmen, as members of the board of education, as city councilmen, as members of the legislature. But most have done their part by just being good citizens and good neighbors.

It is a record which can be measured, I suppose, by the $145 million donated last year by AFL-CIO members to the Community Chest drives around America.

And it is not only big cities where unions help build a stronger community. Take Udall, Kansas, for example. That town now has a new fire-station and city office building—the gift of trade union members. The former building was destroyed by a tornado. To replace it, more than 500 union craftsmen donated their weekends and spare time, and members of 19 other unions contributed the necessary funds. The new structure houses the town's two fire trucks, the city clerk's office, a library, and a workroom for city maintenance employees.

Or it is the good work done in memory of a union labour leader who has passed on. Ten years ago, for example, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers Union established the Sidney Hillman Foundation as a memorial to one of the great men in the labor movement. In that decade, grants of almost $450,000 have been made. More than 350 young men and women have been given scholarships to colleges and universities; health and medical centres have been aided, and men and women have been honored for meritorious public service.

Labor's roll of honor is long—for I have only reported a fraction of what union men and women have done for their neighbors.

The C.P.I. and Tibet

The *Janata* of the same date has the following note on the position of the Communist Party of India *vis-a-vis* the Tibetan question:

The Communist spokesman in Rajya Sabha, Shri Bhupesh Gupta, tried in vain to create an impression that the Communist Party enjoyed the support of the vast majority of the people in India for their policy regarding the happenings in Tibet. According to the Communists what happened in Tibet was an armed rebellion of some people, vested interests and reactionary circles with a view to preventing the march of history and social reforms. Of course, it is beyond their comprehension that there may be more ways than one to fight obscurantism and that communist method of doing it is by no means the best. It hardly enters their regimented mind that all opposition to the communist way of thinking and acting is not necessarily considered by some people as counter-revolutionary and that these people have a right to react according to their best light to any clash of wills or arms like the one that has taken place in Tibet.

The Communists in India are in a desperate position. They are thoroughly isolated on the Tibetan issue and they have to make the best of a very bad situation. They are in search of some formula that can help them in directing the attention of the people away from their doings and thinking. They are, therefore, trying to create an impression that it is not the Communist Party but the PSP which is isolated on this issue.

This note goes on to expose thoroughly the hollowness of the C.P.I. stand that the Chinese vituperation was aimed at the P.S.P. and not the Government of India.

Armed Forces Fight

The news of the clash between the personnel of the Manipur State Police and the men of the Assam Rifles which took place at Kwairambazar in Imphal, the capital town of Manipur, on May 10 and in which eight persons were injured—three of them seriously—will be received with the greatest anxiety by all. The function of the police force is to protect the life and property of the citizens. If they forget that duty and begin to fight among themselves, the result is bound to be anarchy and insecurity. Moreover, the members of the police force are under strict discipline and are not supposed to beat anyone except in self-defence or in defence of public property. In the present case both the contending parties belonged to the police force of Assam and Manipur. It is, therefore, a very pertinent question as to how they came about fighting each other. Whatever might have been the cause of this unfortunate incident a most thorough-going enquiry is called for into the matter with a view to bringing the guilty persons to book. Even the faintest suggestion of any laxity of discipline among the public forces will be pregnant with the most dangerous potentialities for the future of the country. The fact that incidents of this kind have shown an unfortunate tendency to repeat themselves only heightens this fear.

Co-operation or Coercion?

Prime Minister Nehru has the habit of being airy and indefinite in expressing his opinion even on serious matters. This had led to the misuse of powers by officials on a very large-scale against the defenceless public. Below is an extract from the *Janata* of May 10, to illustrate the possibilities of such an expression of opinion:

Intervening recently in a seminar held in New Delhi on co-operative farming, Shri Nehru is reported to have said that there was no question of providing the same facilities to the co-operative and the private sector as it was the declared policy of the Government of India to encourage co-operative farming. This idea needs a little examination. It is true that the Second Five-Year Plan itself lists some of

the facilities which can be legitimately given to the co-operatives in order to encourage the farmers to combine themselves in co-operatives.

These facilities relate to items which can be more fruitfully utilised by the co-operatives than by individual farmers whose holdings may be small or medium-sized. There cannot, therefore, be any objection to these facilities being given only to the co-operatives. Those who oppose the idea of co-operative farming vehemently would be the first to agree that some distinction has to be made between the fair-sized and more solvent units, and those whose sizes are very small and who are not in a position to absorb the facilities provided.

At the same time, it must be conceded that this question of discriminatory treatment has to be considered with great care and circumspection. One will have to define in very clear terms what may be considered legitimate inducements and incentives to the farmers to join in a superior form of organisation, which the co-operative organisation really is, and what would amount to preventive measures against those who refuse to fall in line and accept the programme of co-operative farming. The Prime Minister, Shri Nehru, has brushed aside more than once the contention of those who feel that co-operative farming would soon degenerate into collective farming in which State compulsion will be used openly or covertly. He has assured the people of India that the Government would only use persuasive methods and democratic procedures in making the programme of co-operation successful. If this promise is to be kept, the line demarcating the inducements and incentives from preventive measures in the matter of providing State facilities to the agricultural sector must be clearly and firmly drawn.

The Madras Experiment

We give the following extract from Sri Sivaraman's article, on the question of stepping up soil fertility, in the *Weekly West Bengal*:

As Director of Agriculture, Madras, I arranged in 1952 for distribution of 4 oz. seed packets of sesbania each costing an anna. In the previous year these plants were established in all the Government Research Stations and in the lands of select cultivators in different areas so that the cultivator could see for himself the potentialities of this plant. The quantity of seeds was limited but whatever was available was distributed in villages in the shape of packets through the help of leading cultivators who undertook to supply the seedlings they could spare to such of the other cultivators who wanted to grow them. The enthusiasm of the cultivators was created by systematic publicity in the villages.

Wherever cultivators congregated—in fairs, festivals, village shaddies—the advantage of growing these plants and the need for growing them were fully explained to them. The plants were raised in all prominent places, in schools, office compounds, along Railway lines and roadways. School children took an active part in raising slogans about green manure and also in planting the seedlings along the margins of fields at the time of transplantation. Magic lantern slides were also shown wherever possible with the assistance of leading cultivators. There was no expenditure to Government in this campaign as the cost of the seed was fully recovered in the shape of packets and all the propaganda was done by the village leaders and the materials for propaganda including printed leaflets were mostly contributed by the cultivators. The result of this campaign for marginal planting started in 1952 all over Madras and more particularly in Tanjore district could be seen from this that though it was a new idea the sesbania plants were planted in over a million acres—in fact, in every field in Tanjore district by 1955.

In the Agriculture Research Station, Aduthurai, the crop production went up from 1.07-lakh pounds in 1948 to 2.23-lakh pounds in 1952-53 while the production of green manure rose from 20 tons to 400 tons.

The results obtained in Madras are applicable to other parts of India also. In Orissa, West Bengal, Assam, Bihar and U.P. the total extent of green manure in 1957-58 was hardly 50,000 acres though the paddy area is over 40 million acres. In Orissa the green manure area was 10,000 acres in 1957. Systematic attempts are being made in these States to develop the idea and in Orissa nearly 6 lakhs of packets of dhaincha of 2 oz. each were distributed in 1957. In spite of the drought in 1957 the dhaincha grew well in some places and the area of green manure rose from 10,000 acres in 1957 to over one lakh acres in 1958. It is confidently expected that over two million acres will be green manured in 1959 and there will be no shortage of seeds for any one who wants to raise the manure in that State. In some of the paddy areas in Orissa paddy is not transplanted but even here the green manure is raised by sowing the seeds along with paddy. The green manure plants are pulled out after a month and trampled into the field.

I have so far dealt with paddy cultivation. In the wheat areas the problem is even simpler. When as in most areas of rainfed wheat there is no crop on the field during season, dhaincha can be raised in July and incorporated into the field by the third week of August and the land brought to condition before the sowing of wheat in October. Dhaincha is preferable to sunn-hemp in U.P. and Bihar as seed production of sunn-hemp is uncertain and sunn-hemp does not withstand heavy rains. Dhaincha has to be grown for seed production on the borders of the field during the kharif season.

The Tagore University

The Weekly West Bengal of April 9, gave the following news:

A University of Dance, Drama and Music named after Rabindranath will be set up by the Government of West Bengal on the occasion of Tagore's 100th birth anniversary. The University is to be located in the campus of Rabindra Bharati and the ancestral residence of the Poet in Calcutta where the Academy of Dance, Drama and Music is already functioning.

This announcement was made by Dr. B. C. Roy, Chief Minister, West Bengal, in the State Assembly on March 28.

Dr. Roy also expressed the hope that a National Theatre would be built in West Bengal during the Third Five-Year Plan period.

Dr. Roy announced that the Government hoped to finalise soon the Rs. 18-lakh scheme for the construction of a National Theatre. The delay was due to the fact that the Government had to pay Rs. 4-lakh towards the purchase of the property in Calcutta of Abanindranath and Gaganendranath. A new building had been constructed there, he said, at a cost of Rs. 7-lakh to house the Academy of Dance, Drama and Music.

India and Pakistan

The two following extacts from the special news items in the *Statesman* of May 16, would show the present relations between India and Pakistan in bold relief.

New Delhi, May 15.—The World Bank team's final round of talks today with Indian leaders and officials was unusually brief.

The Bank's Chairman, Mr. Eugene Black, and his deputy, Mr. W.A.B. Iliff, first met Mr. Nehru, and later the Finance Minister, Mr. Morarji Desai. Each meeting lasted barely half an hour.

No further formal meeting is scheduled to be held before the five-member team leaves for Karachi tomorrow morning to begin its parleys with the Pakistan Government.

By and large, Mr. Black is now seized of India's stand on the vexed question of canal waters. India's views on the Bank's latest proposals, it is learnt, were expressed in a manner which left little room for ambiguity. Its case for an early withdrawal of supplies from Pakistan was argued with considerable force.

P.T.I. adds: India is understood to have informed Mr. Black that the Bank's latest proposals are unacceptable to her.

Both during yesterday's and today's discussions Mr. Morarji Desai is understood to have pointed out to Mr. Black that Pakistan owed India about Rs. 22 crores for canal development. This

amount should be adjusted against any amount that India might have to pay in the future for the construction of link canals in Pakistan.

Karachi, May 15.—The Indian protest on the shooting down by Pakistani Sabre-jets of a Canberra bomber on April 10, near Rawalpindi, has been rejected by the Pakistani Government. The reply to the protest was handed to Mr. Padmanabhan, the Indian Deputy High Commissioner, by the Foreign Office this morning.

The reply also rejected the Indian demand for compensation for the loss of the aircraft and for injuries to both crew members.

According to informed sources, the shooting down was described by Pakistan as an "unfortunate accident." Owing to the circumstances in which the plane was shot down, it was felt that there could be no case for compensation.

Foreign Office sources said the Canberra had violated Pakistan's air space and was there "on a highly objectionable photographic mission. In spite of warnings the bomber did not land and the Pakistani fighter had no alternative but to bring it down."

Pakistan's reply has been forwarded to Delhi.

P.T.I. adds: Informed Indian sources here described Pakistan's reply as "more apologetic" than a genuine effort to answer the specific points raised in the Indian protest.

Manmathanath Ghosh

Manmathanath Ghosh, an eminent scholar and litterateur of modern Bengal died on April 7 last at the age of seventy-five. He was a great biographer and as such he may be said to be a pioneer in this department of Bengali literature. The late Sri Ghosh was the grandson of Girish Chandra Ghosh, the famous editor and founder of the *Hindu Patriot* and the *Bengalee*. After taking his Master's degree in Mathematics in 1905, he served the Government in various capacities until his retirement in 1937, but he never neglected the real object and purpose of his life. He had written about twenty-two books, mostly biographies. He was a prolific writer and his numerous essays, scattered over the pages of many first-class Bengali magazines should be published in book form.

Barindra Kumar Ghosh

Barindra Kumar Ghosh, one of the distinguished sons of India, passed away at a Calcutta hospital on Saturday, April 18. The late Sri Ghosh's life is so familiar in the country that the achievement of his life deserves hardly any speeial mention. Born at Croydon in England in 1880, educated academically up to the Intermediate standard and inspired by the ideas of his brother Sri Aurobindo Ghosh (later called Sri Aurobindo) Sri Ghosh organized the Yugantar Party in March, 1906. He was the founder-editor of the Bengali newspaper *Bijali* and the English newspaper *Dawn of India*. He became the chief editor of *Daily Basumati* after the death of the then editor Upendranath Bandopadhyay, one of his collaborators during the days of his youthful revolutionary activities.

Sir Ushanath Sen

Sir Ushanath Sen, a veteran journalist of India who died in New Delhi on April 20 last, was born in October 6, 1880. After graduating from the Calcutta University Mr. Sen joined the *A.P.I.* under K. C. Roy and through prolonged and continued perseverance became the managing editor of the News Agency (now *P.T.I.*). A silent worker remaining far away from the tumult of self-propaganda, Sri Sen had really an Indian bent of mind worthy to be followed by his successors.

Matilal Roy

Matilal Roy, a renowned revolutionary leader of Bengali died on 10th April. Sri Roy born in 1882 was a native of Chandernagore. In 1905, he was an active revolutionary in association with the late Kanailal Dutt and Rashbehari Bose. He met Sri Aurobindo Ghosh in 1910 and founded in 1916 the Prabartak Sangha, a monastery, the member-sanyasins of which served the country not only in the familiar type of social service but also in different branches of commerce and industry for the economic upliftment of the people.

THE ROLE OF COMMITTEES IN THE UNION PARLIAMENT

By Prof. Dr. RAMESH NARAIN MATHUR, M.A., Ph.D., LL.B.

India has adopted the Parliamentary form of Government on the pattern of the United Kingdom. The Parliament of India as it is constituted at present cannot on its own effectively exercise control over the Executive. It must have sufficient time to discuss and deliberate on important issues of policy and details of general business should be scrutinized by Parliamentary Committees. Wheare mentions six types of Committees—Committees to inquire, to advise, to negotiate, to legislate, to a administer, and to scrutinize and control.* These Committees save a good deal of time of Parliament and enable Parliament to devote its time to discussions on policy and principles and to provide a forum for the ventilation of grievances.

Committees in India and in England derive their powers from Parliament and work under its direction and control. Committees in the U.S.A. and France exercise effective control on the policy of the Government. The comparative role of Committees in different countries has been beautifully summed up by Finer in these words: "In England, the Government, in France the Government and the Commissions . . . . . in the U.S.A. the party leaders and the Committee decide the debate, the rest is advertisement, explanation, electoral strategy, the joy of talking and sealing wax."

Committees of the Indian Parliament at Work

Apart from Select Committees† there are Standing Committees in the Indian Parliament which deal with particular subjects. They can be divided into three broad categories: (1) Committees of a general nature concerned primarily with the organization and powers of the House, such as Rules Committee, Committee of Privileges, the House Committee, and Business Advisory Committee, (2) Legislative Committees, *e.g.*, Committee on Subordinate Legislation, Committee on Petitions, Committee on Assurances and Committees on Private Members' Bills, and (3) Committees for Financial Business, *e.g.*, the Estimate Committee and the Public Accounts Committee.

Rules Committee

The Rules Committee of the Lok Sabha consists of 15 members nominated by the Speaker with the Speaker himself as the ex-officio Chairman. The Committee so nominated holds office until a new Committee is appointed. The function of the Committee is 'to consider matters of procedure and conduct of business in the House and to recommend any amendments or additions (to the Rules of Procedure and Conduct of Business in the Lok Sabha) that may be necessary.' Till 1954, amendments to the Rules of Procedure and Conduct of Business in Lok Sabha were made by the Speaker on the recommendations of the Rules Committee. The Rules Committee, at their sitting held on 20th September 1954, however, decided that their recommendations should be approved by the House before any amendment to the Rules or Procedure was carried out. The new procedure was brought into force with effect from 15th October, 1954.

The House Committee consists of twelve members and is constituted for one year, after the expiry of which the Speaker nominates the Committee afresh. This Committee looks after the allotment of rtsidential accommodation and provision of other allied facilities to Members of Parliament during their stay at Delhi.

The Business Advisory Committee consists of 15 members. It was first set up in 1952. It meets under the Chairmanship of the

* *Government by Committee*: K. C. Wheare.

† The Select Committees are apppointed by the House in proportion to the party strength in the House. The Speaker nominates the Chairman of each Committee. Bills are referred to such Committees.

Speaker three or four times in a Session and decides on the expeditious disposal of business before the House. All items of Government business for transaction by the House are referred to the Committee for allocation of time. The Committee may on its own initiative request the Government to discuss certain matters in the House as Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy, Economic Policy of the Government, Press Commission Report, etc. The decisions made by the Committee are unanimous and its recommendations are generally accepted by the House.

Committee on Privileges

Members of the House enjoy individually and collectively certain rights and immunities in order to maintain their freedom, status and dignity. These are governed by Art. 105(3) of the Constitution. Any breach of Privileges of Parliament is referred to the Committee of Privileges which reports to the House with recommendations for action. The Committee of Privileges was first set up on 26th May, 1952, during the life of the First Parliament. It consists of 15 members. The Committee holds the following as breach of privilege *e.g.*, (1) Disrespect to any Member of the House by a non-member, (2) Disrespect to the House collectively by a Member, (3) Disobedience to orders of the House or interference with its procedure.

Committee on Subordinate Legislation

Delegated legislation or subordinate legislation is inevitable at the present time. The modern state has perforce to embark on socialistic type of legislation which requires the enactment of elaborate laws. Parliament has neither time nor competence to frame laws over every field of activity in every detail. It therefore lays down the broad principles of any legislation, leaving the procedural details to the Executive. However, such rules and regulations issued by the Executive should be subject to the scrutiny and control of the Parliament. In the United Kingdom, Australia, New Zealand and Ireland scrutiny Committees of the Lower House have been set up to ascertoin whether statutory rules (a) are in accordance with the present statute, (b) do not trespass unduly upon personal rights and liberties, (c) do not unduly make the rights and liberties of citizens dependent upon administrative and not judicial decisions and (d) are concerned with administrative detail and do not amount to substantial legislation which should be a matter for Parliamentary enactment. India has accepted the practice of delegated legislation but at the same time has taken care to secure for Parliament effective control over the Rules and Regulations issued by Government Departments which put the rights of private individuals and associations in jeopardy. The Speaker of the House of People appointed on December 1, 1953 a Committee of fifteen members of Parliament known as the Committee on Subordinate Legislation. The function of the Committee was to review several laws enacted by the Indian Legislative Assembly of the pre-partition days and others passed by the Indian Parliament. It recommended that the Acts authorizing delegation of rule-making powers in future should contain express provisions that rules made thereunder should be subject to modification by the House. Such rules were also to be laid before the House within a couple of days after their publication. In the session 1954-55 the Committee held seven meetings and scrutinized 131 orders. In 1955-56 it held three meetings and scrutinized 233 orders, drawing attention to more than 50 cases of delay in laying orders before Parliament. In 1956-57 it held six meetings, scrutinized 336 orders and drew attention to 54 cases of delay in laying orders before Parliament. Judged from the nature of the work done by it, it appears to be a vigorous and independent body.

Committee on Petitions

In India the right of presentation of a petition was recognised as early as 1926, although this right was confined only to Bills pending before the House. On October 6, 1953 the question of enlarging the scope of the petitions to include mattres other than Bills was raised and the matter was referred to the Rules Committee. The Rules Committee decided to enlarge the scope of petitions on matters of gene-

al public interest and this decision was accepted. The Committee consists of 15 members ne of whom is to act as Chairman. Since the nforcement of the new rules in January, 1954, he Committee admitted 57 petitions upto the nd of 1955. The first Report September 9, 957, examined ten petitions. The petitions reated to grievances of displaced persons, sugestions to amendment of Post Office Rules, equesting grant of railway concessions to hildren and their escorts appearing for competitive examinations and asking for discontinuance of scholarship to students on a community basis. The Committee admits also petitions to Bills pending before the House and directs the circulation of the petition to the members before the Bill is taken up in the House. Such petitions are useful because they enable the members to gauge public opinion on important matters and also to suggest appropriate measures.

Committee on Assurance

The question hour provides opportunities to members to bring up grievances and ask for their redress. During 1950-57, 71,907 notices of questions were received out of which 43,350 questions, *i.e.*, 61 per cent were admitted. The Government members in replying to questions give assurances, promises and undertakings from time to time and a Committee of Assurances was set up towards the end of 1953 to scrutinize such assurances and to report on the extent to which such promises have been implemented. The Committee has insisted that assurances should be normally implemented within two months but where it is not possible to do so, circumstances should be explained to the House why it was not done. The Committee consists of 15 members and during 1953-56 it held 23 sittings and presented three Reports to the Lok Sabha.

Committee on Private Members' Bills and Resolutions

It performs the same functions in relation to Private Members' Bills and Resolutions as the Business Advisory Committee does in regard to Government Business. The functions of the Committee are to allot time to Private Members' Bills seeking to amend the Constitution before their introduction to Lok Sabha, to classify Private Members' Bills according to their nature, urgency and importance and to examine such Bills where legislative competence of the House is challenged. The Committee was set up on 1st December 1953 and consists of 15 members. Between 1953-56 the Committee held 72 sittings and presented 67 reports.

Estimates Committee

There are two Committees in Parliament which exercise responsibilities of financial control. They are the Estimates Committee and the Public Accounts Committee. The former is concerned with scrutinizing the annual budget estimates of the Government and the latter with scrutinizing the final accounts of the Government.

The Estimates Committee consists of 30 members and its members are elected by the House of People annually from its members according to the principle of proportional representation. It was set up on 10th April, 1950. In the very first year of its inception, the Committee complained that its scrutiny was restricted and its usefulness curtailed by the exclusion of examination of policy from its terms of reference. In mid-summer 1953 the rule was amended to expand the scope of Committee's examination 'to suggest alternative policies in order to bring about efficiency and economy in administration.' This amplification encouraged the Committee to assume the functions of recommending improvements in organization of suggesting measures of efficiency in administration as well. The Speaker issued a directive explaining the meaning of the term 'policy.' Policy as explained by him related only to policies laid down by Parliament by statute. The Committee was permitted to commend a particular policy, if it was evident that the approved policy of the Government was not fulfilling its purpose or that it was leading to a waste of public funds.

Estimates Committee at Work

During 7 years (1950-57) the Committee held 296 sittings of 788 hours and presented 68 reports. In the course of sittings 788 witnesses were examined and 20,092 pages of material was studied by the Committee. During 1956-57 it held 63 sittings of 141 hours and presented 35 reports. In the course of its work, the Committee has placed a liberal interpretation of its terms of reference in accordance with the Speaker's directive. Usually it takes up two or three Ministries each year and recommends economies in expenditure, suggesting the form in which the estimates should be presented to Parliament. It devotes a great deal of attention to the organizational aspect and to measures which would, in its opinion, provide that the money voted by Parliament was better spent. In its very first Report, it touched upon the efficiency and organization of the Ministry which it had taken up for examination. The Second Report was devoted to the reorganization of the Secretariat of the Departments of Government. The subsequent reports also touched upon questions of efficiency and administrative reorganization. The Ninth Report was entirely devoted to question of administration, financial and other reforms. Similarly the 16th report dealt with the organization and administration of nationalised undertakings.

The Public Accounts Committee

It was first set up in India in 1923. It consists of 22 members, fifteen from Lok Sabha and seven from Rajya Sabha. The Chairman of the Committee is appointed by the Speaker from amongst the Members of the Committee. So far the Chairman of the Committee has belonged to the party in power unlike in the U.K., where, by long tradition, the post is filled in by a member of the Opposition party.

Functions of the Committee

The function of the Committee is to examine the accounts of the Government of India and to see if they have been spent in accordance with appropriations sanctioned by Parliament and that no unauthorised expenditure has been incurred. The Appropriation Accounts and the Audit Report presented by the Controller and Auditor-General form mostly the basis for the examination of the Committee. It is not possible for the Public Accounts Committee to examine the accounts of all Departments of the Government of India and consequently it examines the accounts of only one or two departments every year. It also examines the accounts of Government enterprises or semi-Government enterprises, such as Bhakra Dam or the Damodar Valley Corporation, Trading and Manufacturing Schemes, etc. Its work is usually of a retrospective nature. Its existence and reports are a great restraint upon the Government and its report is discussed in the Lok Sabha and action is taken on its recommendations.

The Public Accounts Committee at Work

During 1950-57 the Committee presented 26 reports. In 1956-57 the Committee held 21 sittings of 40 hours and presented five reports. The Committee examined departmental witnesses who had to answer the criticism which the Auditor-General brought against the working of their departments in their annual reports. In the 13th session of the Lok Sabha (1956) when Government approached Parliament for regularisation of excesses relating to the year 1951-52, the consensus of opinion was that a procedure be adopted for expeditious regularisation of such excesses so as to ensure that the time lay between the detection of the excesses and the regularisation by Parliament is reduced to the minimum. The Public Accounts Committee decided that as soon as excesses in accounts relating to a year which had just closed came to its notice, the Controller and Auditor-General, will, in advance of his main Report on the Appropriation Accounts, report these excesses to Parliament in the prescribed manner. The Committee in accordance with procedure in the United Kingdom would proceed to examine with reference to the facts of each case, the circumstances leading to the excess and present a separate report to the Parliament, making these recommendations on these excesses. The Committee also advised the Government not to incur expenditure in any year more than the sums authorised by Parliament for that year and introduce new techniques in budgeting so as to ensure that the expenditure does not exceed the sum authorised by Parliament and any excess over allotment gets prior rather than an *expost facto* approval of Parliament. The Public Accounts Committee brought to light financial irregularities in the Hirakud Dam Project and exposed the Jeep Deal Scandal. In its reports it emphasised that Ministries concerned should furnish to the Lok Sabha within a period of four weeks from the date of presentation to the House of the Report of the Comptroller and Auditor-General on the excesses over grants, appropriation, stating the reason and circumstances dealing with such excesses for the consideration of the Committee. It asked the Ministry of Finance to put more emphasis on realistic budgeting and discourage the tendency of Ministries to err on the safe side, *i.e.*, in the Appropriation Accounts, 1952-53, examined by the Committee which showed that there was a saving of 31 crores on final grants in the Ministry of Finance, Food, Agriculture, Transport, Works, Housing and Supply. In the same report the Committee referred to a serious irregularity. A building was rented in a foreign country at substantial cost for housing the staff of an Embassy which was not appointed even till 6 years after. The Cabinet decision to open to this Embassy was not referred by the External Affairs Ministry to the Standing Finance Committee who should have considered it earlier. The Committee warned that this should be avoided. The Public Accounts Committee in its 25th Report (1956-57) asked the Government to hold a judicial inquiry and fix the responsibility for handling the Important Sale of Japanese Cloth transaction resulting in a loss of 55 lakhs to the Public Exchequer. The Government decided not to hold such an inquiry as it was satisfied that such inquiry would not reveal any fresh facts. The Committee sought the advice of the Speaker on this matter who issued a directive to all the Ministries of the Government of India laying down that the cases where Government were not in a position to implement a recommendation of P.A.C., or Estimates Committee and Government had reasons to disagree with the recommendations of the Committee, the Ministries concerned should place their views before the Committee who may present a further report to the House after considering the views of the Government in the matter.

Conclusion

It would appear from the above short survey that Parliament is able to exercise effective supervision and control on the work of the executive only through its Parliamentary Committees. In the absence of an effective organised opposition in the Parliament, the work of scrutiny of Government policies and administration has devolved on Parliamentary Committees. Sri Ashok Chanda in his book *Indian Administration* maintains that the Estimate Committee is 'fast acquiring the inquisitional attributes of congressional Committees in the U.S.A., and becoming a fault-finding, rather than a fact-finding, mechanism.'* He holds that Parliamentary Committees encroach indirectly on the policy-making functions of the Government and its reproaches undermine the public confidence in the administration. It is not possible to agree with Sri Chanda on this point. In a Parliamentary Government effective checks on executive arbitrariness and national finances consistent with efficient administration are desirable. This will keep the administration vigilant and alert. The great need of the hour is to entrust more work of scrutiny and control to Committees, so that there may be economy of time and Parliament may be able to discuss and debate only matters of general policy.

* *Indian Administration*, page 192.

SOME ASPECTS OF OUR CONSTITUTION

(XVIII) Fundamental Rights: Right to Constitutional Remedies

By D. N. BANERJEE,
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I

We shall now deal with the last category of our Fundamental Rights, namely, the Right to Constitutional Remedies in case of the violation of any such fundamental right. This right has been guaranteed to us by Article 32 and Article 226 of our Constitution. Thus we find in Article 32:

"32. (1) The right to move the Supreme Court by appropriate proceedings for the enforcement of the rights conferred by this Part (i.e., Part III[1] of the Constitution of India) is guaranteed.

"(2) The Supreme Court shall have power to issue directions or orders or writs, including writs in the nature of *habeas corpus*, *mandamus*, prohibition, *quo warranto and certiorari*,[2] whichever may be appropriate, for the enforcement of any of the rights conferred by this Part.

"(3) Without prejudice to the powers conferred on the Supreme Court by Clauses (1) and (2), Parliament may by law empower any other court to exercise within the local limits of its jurisdiction all or any of the powers exercisable by the Supreme Court under Clause (2).[3]

"(4) The right guaranteed by this Article shall not be suspended except as otherwise[4] provided for by this Constitution."

And Article 226 of the Constitution lays down:

"226. (1) Notwithstanding anything in Article 32, every High Court shall have power, throughout the territories in relation to which it exercises jurisdiction, to issue to any person or authority, including in appropriate cases any Government, within those territories directions, orders or writs, including writs in the nature of *habeas corpus, mandamus*, prohibition, *quo warranto* and *certiorari*, or any of them, for the enforcement of any of the rights conferred by Part III (of the Constitution) and for any other purpose.

"The power conferred on a High Court by Clause (1) shall not be in derogation of the power conferred on the Supreme Court by Clause (2) of Article 32."

It may be noted here that, under Article 141 of the Constitution, the law declared by the Supreme Court is "binding on all Courts within the territory of India," and that, under Article 144 thereof, all authorities, civil and judicial, must "act in aid of the Supreme Court." Further, notwithstanding anything in Chapter IV of Part V of the Constitution, which deals with the Union Judiciary, under Clause (1) of Article 136 of the same, the Supreme Court "may, in its discretion, grant special leave to appeal from any judgment, decree, determination, sentence or order in any cause or matter passed or made by any court or tribunal in the territory of India," subject, however, to the condition that nothing in this Clause (1) "shall apply to any judgment, determination, sentence or order passed or made by any court or tribunal constituted by or under any law relating to the Armed Forces" (of India).

It may also be noted in this connexion that, under Article 227 of the Constitution, every High Court in India has the power of "superintendence over all courts and tribunals throughout the territories in relation to which it exercises jurisdiction" and may, among other things, "call for returns from such courts," but that it has no power "of superintendence over any court or tribunal constituted by or under any law relating to the Armed Forces" of the country. Further, under Article 228 of the Constitution, if any High Court is satisfied that a case pending in a court subordinate to it involves a substantial question of law as to the interpretation of the Constitution the determination of which is necessary for the disposal of the case, then it must withdraw the case from the court in question "and may—

"(a) either dispose of the case itself, or (b) determine the said question of law and return the case to the court from which the case has been withdrawn together with a copy of its judgment on such question, and the said court shall on receipt thereof proceed to dispose of the case in conformity with such judgment."

II

We have stated above the law relating to our constitutional remedies for the violation of any of our Fundamental Rights. We may now refer to some of the views which have been expressed by our Supreme Court or by its individual Judges from time to time, in connexion with the question of our Fundamental Right to Constitutional Remedies. In what is known as *Romesh Thappar* V. *The State of Madras*, the petitioner, Romesh Thappar, who was the printer, publisher and editor of a weekly journal in English called *Cross Roads*, printed and published in Bombay, had submitted an application directly to the Supreme Court, under Article 32 of the Constitution, for a writ of prohibition and *certiorari* against an order of the Government of Madras, the respondents in the case, dated 1st March, 1950, "whereby they (had) imposed a ban upon the entry and circulation of the journal in that State."[5] The Advocate-General of Madras appearing before the Supreme Court on behalf of the respondents had "raised a preliminary objection, not indeed to the jurisdiction of this Court (i.e., the Supreme Court) to entertain the application under Article 32, but to the petitioner resorting to this Court directly for . . . . relief in the first instance." He had "contended that, as a matter of orderly procedure, the petitioner should first resort to the High Court at Madras which under Article 226 of the Constitution has concurrent jurisdiction to deal with the matter." He referred in this connexion to certain American decisions, among other things. Overruling this preliminary objection, the Supreme Court declared unanimously[6] on 26th May, 1950:

"Under the Constitution the Supreme Court is constituted the protector and guarantor of fundamental rights, and it cannot, consistently with the responsibility so laid upon it, refuse to entertain applications seeking protection against infringement of such rights, although such applications are made to the Court in the first instance without resort to a High Court having a concurrent jurisdiction in the matter." Thus, although, as we have seen before,[7] there was a difference of opinion amongst the Judges of the Supreme Court in regard to some other points in what we may call the *Romesh Thappar* case, they were unanimous in their rejection of the contention put forward by the Advocate-General of Madras. Delivering the judgment of the majority in this case Patanjali Sastri J. also observed[8] that

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1. Part III of the *Constitution of India* deals with our Fundamental Rights.

2. For the meanings of these technical terms, see any standard Law Dictionary or any standard treatise on English Constitutional Law; also the relevant pages in D. Basu's *Commentary on the Constitution of India*.

3. In its application to the State of Jammu and Kashmir, Clause (3) of Article 32 is to be omitted; and after Clause (2), the following new Clause is to be inserted:-

"(2A) Without prejudice to the powers conferred by Clauses (1) and (2), the High Court shall have power throughout the territories in relation to which it exercises jurisdiction to issue to any person or authority, including in appropriate cases any Government within those territories, directions or orders or writs, including writs in the nature of *habeas corpus, mandamus*, prohibition, *quo warranto* and *certiorari*, or any of them, for the enforcement of any of the rights conferred by this Part" (*i.e.*, Part III of the Constitution).

4. See in this connexion Articles 358 and 359 of the *Constitution of India*.

5. For details, see *The Supreme Court Reports*, 1950, Vol. 1, Part VI, August; 1950; pp. 594-605.

6. See *ibid*. p. 594.

7. See our Article in *The Modern Review* for July, 1955.

8. See *The Supreme Court Reports*, referred to in foot-note 5 above, p. 597.

"Article 32 provides a 'guaranteed' remedy for the enforcement" of the rights conferred by Part III of the Constitution, and that "this remedial right is itself made a fundamental right by being included in Part III." His Lordship added:[9]

"This (Supreme) Court is thus constituted the protector and guarantor of fundamental rights, and it cannot, consistently with the responsibility so laid upon it, refuse to entertain applications seeking protection against infringements of such rights. No similar provision is to be found in the Canstitution of the United States (of America) and we do not consider that the American decisions are in point."[10]

We may next refer to expressions of judicial opinion on Article 32 in connexion with the case known as *Chiranjit Lal Chowdhuri* V. *The Union of India and Others*, to be referred to hereinafter as the *Chiranjit Lal* case. In the course of his judgment in this case Mukherjea J. of the Supreme Court stated on 4th December, 1950[11].

"Article 32 (1) of the Constitution guarantees to everybody the right to move this court, by appropriate proceeding, for (the) enforcement of the fundamental rights which are enumerated in Part III of the Constitution. (Clause (2) of Article 32 is quoted here). Thus anybody who complains of infraction of any of the fundamental rights guaranteed by the Constitution is at liberty to move the Supreme Court for the enforcement of such rights and this court has been given the power to make orders and issue directions or writs similar in nature to the prerogative writs of English law as might be considered appropriate in particular cases. The fundamental rights guaranteed by the Constitution are available not merely to individual citizens but to corporate bodies except where the language of the provision or the nature of the right compels the inference that they are applicable only to natural persons. An incorporated company, therefore, can come up to this Court for (the) enforcement of its fundamental rights and so may the individual shareholders to enforce their own; but it would not be open to an individual shareholder to complain of an Act which affects the fundamental rights of the Company except to the extent that it constitutes an infraction of his own rights as well. This follows logically from the rule of law that a corporation has a distinct legal personality of its own with rights and capacities, duties and obligations separate from those of its individual members. As the rights are different and inhere in different legal entities, it is not competent to one person to seek to enforce the rights of another except where the law permits him to do so. A well-known illustration of such exception is furnished by the procedure that is sanctioned in an application for a writ of *habeas corpus*. Not only the man who is imprisoned or detained in confinement but any person, provided he is not an absolute stranger,[12] can institute proceedings to obtain a writ of *habeas corpus* for the purpose of liberating anothes from an illegal imprisonment."

Further, His Lordship observed :[13]

"Article 32, as its provisions show, is

9. *Ibid.*, p. 597.

10. Reference here is to the limited nature and extent of the original jurisdiction of the Supreme Court of the United States—See Section 2 of Article III of the Constitution of the United States.

11. See *The Supreme Court Reports*, 1950, Vol. 1, Parts IX & X, December, 1950; pp. 897-901.

12. In England the corresponding law seems to be somewhat different. Thus we find Lord Justice Denning of the Court of Appeal in England observing with reference to the writ of *Habeas Corpus* there:

"Whenever any man in England is detained against his will, not by sentence of the King's Courts, but by anyone else, then he or *anyone on his behalf* is entitled to apply to any of the judges of the High Court to determine whether his detention is lawful or not." (The italics are ours).

See Denning, *Freedom Under the Law* 1949, p. 6.

13. *The Supreme Court Reports*, 1950 Vol. 1, Parts IX & X, December, 1950; pp 899-901.

not directly concerned with the determination of constitutional validity of particular legislative enactments. What it aims at is the enforcing of fundamental rights guaranteed by the Constitution, no matter whether the necessity for such enforcement arises out of an action of the executive or of the legislature. To make out a case under this Article it is incumbent upon the petitioner (Chiranjit Lal Chowdhuri) to establish not merely that the law[14] complained of is beyond the competence of the particular legislature as not being covered by any of the items in the legislative lists, but that it affects or invades his fundamental rights guaranteed by the Constitution, of which he could seek enforcement by an appropriate writ or order. The rights that could be enforced under Article 32 must ordinarily be the rights of the petitioner himself who complains of infraction of such rights and approaches the court for relief . . . . it would appear from the language of Article 32 of the Constitution that the sole object of the Article is the enforcement of fundamental rights guaranteed by the Constitution. A proceeding under this Article cannot really have any affinity to what is known as a declaratory suit . . . . Any way, Article 32 of the Constitution gives us very wide discretion in the matter of framing our writs to suit the exigencies of particular cases, and the application of the petitioner cannot be thrown out simply on the ground that the proper writ or direction has not been prayed for."[15]

It may be noted here that Fazl Ali and Das JJ. of the Supreme Court agreed* with Mukherjea J. in the view that "except in the matter of writs in the nature of *habeas corpus* no one but those whose rights are directly affected by a law can raise the question of the constitutionality of a law and can claim relief under Article 32. A corporation being a different entity from the shareholders, a shareholder cannot complain on the ground that the rights of the Company under Articles (19) (1) (f) or 31 (of the Constitution) are infringed."

Further, we find[16] in the judgment of Das J. in the *Chiranjit Lal* case:

"Article 32 can only be invoked for the purpose of the enforcement of the fundamental rights. Article 32 does not permit an application merely for the purpose of agitating the competence of the appropriate legislature in passing any particular enactment unless the enactment also infringes any of the fundamental rights."

We also find[17] in the same judgment:

"It is well settled in the United States that no one but those whose rights are directly affected by a law can raise the question of the constitutionality of that law . . . . It is, therefore, clear that the constitutional validity of a law can be challenged only by a person whose interest is directly affected by the law . . . . The proceedings for a writ in the nature of a writ of *habeas corpus* appear to be somewhat different for the rules governing those proceedings permit, besides the person imprisoned, any person, provided he is not an utter stranger,[18] but is at least a friend or relation of the imprisoned person, to apply for that particular writ. But that special rule does not appear to be applicable to the other writs which require a direct and tangible interest in the applicant to support his application. This

14. Reference here is to the Sholapur Spinning and Weaving Company (Emergency Provisions) Act, 1950—See *ibid.*, p. 869.

15. We also find in the unanimous judgment, dated 19th May, 1950, of the Supreme Court in *Rashid Ahmed* V. *The Municipal Board, Kairana*:—"The powers given to this Court under Article 32 (of the Constitution) are much wider and are not confined to issuing prerogative writs only."

The Supreme Court Reports, 1950, Vol. 1, Part VI, August, 1950, p. 572.

* See *The Supreme Court Reports*, 1950, Vol. 1, Parts IX & X, December, 1950; pp. 873-74.

16. See *ibid.*, p. 918.

17. See *ibid.*, Pp. 928-31.

18. See in this connexion foot-note 12 above.

must also be the case where the applicant seeks to raise the question of the constitutionality of a law under Articles 14, 19 and 31."

Moreover, we find[19] in the judgment of Kania C. J. of the Supreme Court in *A. K. Gopalan* V. *The State of Madras*, to be referred to hereinafter as the A. K. Gopalan case:

"The wording of Article 32 shows that the Supreme Court can be moved to grant a suitable relief, mentioned in Article 32 (2), only in respect of the Fundamental Rights mentioned in Part III of the Constitution."

Thus the Supreme Court consisting of Kania C.J., Fazl Ali, Patanjali Sastri, Mahajan, Mukherjea and Das JJ., unanimously held, on 19th May, 1950, Section 14 of the Preventive Detention Act, 1950, enacted by the Parliament of India, to be "*ultra vires* and void" as it contravened the provisions of Article 22(5) of the Constitution of India insofar as it prohibited a person detained under the Preventive Detention Act from disclosing to the Court the grounds on which his detention order had been "made or the representation made by him against the order of detention."[19a] The observations made by Mahajan J. with regard to Section 14 of the Preventive Detention Act, 1950, are particularly worthy of note here. "This section", His Lordship observed,[19b] "is in the nature of an iron curtain around the acts of the authority making the order of the preventive detention. The Constitution has guaranteed to the detained person the right to be told the grounds of detention. He has been given a right to make a representation (*vide* Article 22(5) of the Constitution), yet Section 14 prohibits the disclosure of the grounds furnished to him or the contents of the representation made by him in a Court of law and makes a breach of this injunction punishable with imprisonment. [Clauses (1) and (4) of Article 32 are quoted here]. Now it is quite clear that if an authority passes an order of preventive detention for reasons not connected with any of the six subjects[19c] mentioned in the 7th Schedule (to the Constitution), this Court can always declare the detention illegal and release the detenu, but it is not possible for this Court to function if there is a prohibition against disclosing the grounds which have been served upon him. It is only by an examination of the grounds that it is possible to say whether the grounds fall within the ambit of the legislative power contained in the Constitution or are outside its scope. Again, something may be served on the detenu as being grounds which are not grounds at all. In this contingency it is the right of the detained person under Article 32 to move this Court for enforcing the right under Article 22 (5) that he be given the real grounds on which the detention order is based. This Court would be disabled from exercising its functions under Article 32 and adjudicating on the point that the grounds given satisfy the requirements of the sub-clause [Clause (5) of Article 22?] if it is not open to it to see the grounds that have been furnished. It is a guaranteed right of the person detained to have the very grounds which are the basis of the order of detention. This Court would be entitled to examine the matter and to see whether the grounds furnished are the grounds on the basis of which he has been detained or they contain some other vague or irrelevant material. The whole purpose of furnishing a detained person with the grounds is to enable him to make a representation refuting these grounds and of proving his innocence (*sic*). In order that this Court may be able to safeguard this fundamental right and to grant him relief it is absolutely essential that the detenu is not prohibited under penalty of punishment to disclose the grounds to the Court and no injunction by law can be issued to this Court disabling it from having a look at the grounds. Section 14 creates a substantive offence if the grounds are disclosed and it lays a duty on the Court not to permit the disclosure of such grounds. It virtually amounts to a suspension of a guaranteed right provided by the Constitution inasmuch as it indirectly by a stringent provision makes administration of the law by this Court impossible and at the same time it deprives a detained person from (of ?) obtaining justice from this Court. In my opinion, therefore, this section when it prohibits the disclosure of the grounds contravenes or abridges the rights given by Part III (of the Constitution) to a citizen and is *ultra vires* the powers of Parliament to that extent."

Again, when in connexion with the case known as *Chintaman Rao* V. *The State of Madhya Pradesh*,[20] Mr. S. M. Sikri, Counsel for the respondent, the State of Madhya Pradesh, contended before the Supreme Court, with reference to (the original) Clause (6) of Article 19, of our Constitution that "the legislature of Madhya Pradesh was the proper judge of the reasonableness of the restrictions imposed by the Statute," the Central Provinces and Berar Regulation of Manufacture of Bidis (Agricultural Purposes) Act, 1948;[21] that "that legislature alone knew the conditions prevailing in the State (of Madhya Pradesh) 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 (Supreme) Court sitting at this great distance (New Delhi) could not judge by its own yard-stick of reason whether the restrictions imposed in the circumstances of the case were reasonable or not," the Supreme Court unanimously declared[22] on 8th November, 1950:

"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 (*sic*) 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 guaranteed by the Constitution. We are therefore of opinion that the impugned statute [i.e., the Central Provinces and Berar Regulation of Manufacture of Bidis (Agricultural Purposes) Act, 1948] does not stand the test of reasonableness and is therefore void."

III

We have indicated above, with reference to some authoritative judicial pronouncements, some aspects of the nature and extent of our Fundamental Right to Constitutional Remedies and also, incidentally, the position of our Supreme Court in relation to our Fundamental Rights in general so far as its *original* jurisdiction is concerned. We may now refer to the position of our High Courts in respect of our Fundamental Rights as set forth in Article 226 of our Constitution, read along with Articles 227 and 228 thereof, as shown before. As will appear from what follows, there are, fortunately, some judicial pronouncements on the question of jurisdiction of our High Courts in the matter of the issuing of writs under Article 226 of the Constitution.

In the course of its judgment in Election Commission, *India* V. *Saka Venkata Subba Rao* to be referred to hereinafter as the *Election Commission* case, the Supreme Court consisting of Patanjali Sastri C. J. and Mukherjea, Vivian Bose,

19. See *The Supreme Court Reports*, 1950, Vol. 1, Parts II & III, April & May, 1950. p. 97.

19a. See *ibid.*, pp. 89-94.

19b. See *ibid.*, pp. 241-44.

19c. See Entry 9 of the Union List and Entry 3 of the Concurrent List of the 7th Schedule to the Constitution of India.

20. The full name of the case was *Chintaman Rao* V. *The State of Madhya Pradesh* and *Ram Krishna* V. *The State of Madhya Pradesh*.—See in this connexion our article in *The Modern Review* for January, 1956; also *The Supreme Court Reports*, 1950, Vol. 1, Part VIII, October and November, 1950, pp. 759-66.

21. For further details, see *ibid.*

22. See *ibid.*

Ghulam Hasan and Bhagbati JJ. declared[23] unanimously on February 27th, 1953:

"It will be noticed that Article 225 (of the Constitution) continues to the existing High Courts the same jurisdiction and powers as they possessed immediately before the commencement of the Constitution . . . . . it was authoritatively decided by the Privy Council in the *Parlakimedi* case (70 I.A. 129) that the High Court of Madras—the High Courts of Bombay and Calcutta were in the same position—had no power to issue what were known as high prerogative writs beyond the local limits of its original civil jurisdiction, and the power to issue such writs within those limits was derived by the (High) Court as (the) successor of the Supreme Court which had been exercising jurisdiction over the Presidency Town of Madras and was replaced by the High Court established in pursuance of the Charter Act[24] of 1861. The other High Courts in India had no power to issue such writs at all. In that situation, the makers of the Constitution, having decided to provide for certain basic safeguards for the people in the new set-up, which they called fundamental rights, evidently thought it necessary to provide also a quick and inexpensive remedy for the enforcement of such rights and, finding that the prerogative writs which the Courts in England had developed and used whenever urgent necessity demanded immediate and decisive interposition, were peculiarly suited for the purpose, they conferred, in the States' sphere, new and wide powers on the High Courts of issuing directions, orders, or writs primarily for the enforcement of fundamental rights, the power to issue such directions, etc., 'for any other purpose' being also included with a view apparently to place all the High Courts in this country in somewhat the same position as the Court of King's Bench in England. But wide as were the powers thus conferred, a two-fold limitation was placed upon their exercise. In the first place, the power is to be exercised 'throughout the territories in relation to which it exercises jurisdiction,' that is to say, the writs issued by the court cannot run beyond the territories subject to its jurisdiction. Secondly, the person or authority to whom the High Court is empowered to issue such writs, must be 'within those territories,' which clearly implies that they must be amenable to its jurisdiction either by residence or location within those territories.

Thus the Supreme Court held in the *Election Commission* case that "the power of the High Court to issue writs under Article 226 of the Constitution is subject to the two-fold limitation that such writs cannot run beyond the territories subject to its jurisdiction and the person or authority to whom the High Court is empowered to issue such writs must be amenable to the jurisdiction of the High Court either by residence or location within the territories subject to its jurisdiction."[24a]

This view was later on reiterated by the Supreme Court in another case. In the course of its judgment in *K. S. Rashid and Son* V. *The Income-Tax Investigation Commission*, etc., the Supreme Court consisting this time of Mehr Chand Mahajan C.J., Mukherjea, S. R. Das, Vivian Bose and Ghulam Hasan JJ., again unanimously declared[25] on 22nd January, 1954:

"Prior to the commencement of the Constitution the powers of issuing prerogative writs could be exercised in India only by the High Courts of Calcutta, Madras and Bombay and that also within very rigid and defined limits. The writs could be issued only to the extent that the power in that respect was not taken away

23. See *The Supreme Court Reports*, 1953, Vol. IV, Part X, December, 1953, pp. 1150-1151. The judgment of the Supreme Court in the case in question was delivered by Patanjali Sastri C.J.

24. *I.e.*, The Indian High Courts Act, 1861 (24 and 25 Vict. c. 104).

24a. See *The Supreme Court Reports* referred to in foot-note 23 above, pp. 1144-1145.

25. See *The Supreme Court Reports*, 1954, Vol. V, Parts VI and VII, June and July, 1954, pp. 744-45. The judgment of the Supreme Court in the case in question was delivered by Mukherjea J.

by the Codes of Civil and Criminal Procedure (vide *Besant* V. *The Advocate-General of Madras*: 46 I.A. 176) and they could be directed only to persons and authorities within the original civil jurisdiction of these High Courts. The Constitution (of India) introduced a fundamental change of law in this respect . . . While Article 225 of the Constitution preserves to the existing High Courts the powers and jurisdictions which they had previously, Article 226 confers, on all the High Courts, new and very wide powers in the matter of issuing writs which they never possessed before. (An extract is quoted here from the judgment of the Supreme Court in the *Election Commission* case referred to before). There are only two limitations placed upon the exercise of these powers by a High Court under Article 226 of the Constitution; one is that the power is to be exercised 'throughout the territories in relation to which it exercises jurisdiction,' that is to say, the writs issued by the court cannot run beyond the territories subject to its jurisdiction. The other limitation is that the person or authority to whom the High Court is empowered to issue writs 'must be within those territories' and this implies that they must be amenable to its jurisdiction either by residence or location within those territories. It is with reference to these two conditions thus mentioned that the jurisdiction of the High Courts to issue writs under Article 226 of the Constitution is to be determined."

The Supreme Court added,[26] however:

"The remedy provided for in Article 226 of the Constitution is a discretionary remedy and the High Court has always the discretion to refuse to grant any writ if it is satisfied that the aggrieved party can have an adequate or suitable relief elsewhere."

We have shown above the implications of Article 226 of our Constitution as judicially determined. It is perhaps hardly necessary to state here that appeals lie to the Supreme Court from the decisions of our High Courts in respect of matters contemplated by Article 226. Article 132 of the Constitution is clear on the point. It lays down:

"132. (1) An appeal shall lie to the Supreme Court from *any*[27] judgment, decree or final order of a High Court in the territory of India, whether in a civil, criminal or other proceeding, if the High Court certifies that the case involves a substantial question of law as to the interpretation of this Constitution.

"(2) Where the High Court has refused to give such a certificate, the Supreme Court may, if it is satisfied that the case involves a substantial question of law as to the interpretation of this Constitution, grant special leave to appeal from such judgment, decree or final order.

"(3) Where such a certificate is given, or such leave is granted, any party in the case may appeal to the Supreme Court on the ground that any such question as aforesaid has been wrongly decided and, with the leave of the Supreme Court, on any other ground."

It may be noted in this connection that in the course of its judgment in what we have referred to before as the *Election Commission*[28] case the Supreme Court unanimously held[29] on 27th February, 1953 that "an appeal lies to the Supreme Court under Article 132 of the Constitution even from a judgment, decree or final order of a Single Judge of a High Court, provided the requisite certificate is given." Elaborating this point the Supreme Court stated,[30] among other things:

"While it is true that constitutional questions could be raised[31] in appeals filed without a certificate under Article 132 (of

26. See *ibid.*, pp. 739 and 747.

27. The italic is ours.

28. *Election Commission, India* V. *Saka Venkata Subba Rao.*

29. See *The Supreme Court Reports*, 1953, Vol. IV, Part X, December, 1953, p. 1145.

30. See *ibid.*, p. 1149.

31. See, for instance, Clause (2) of Article 133 of the Constitution.

the Constitution), the terms of that Article make it clear that an appeal is allowed from '*any* judgment, decree or final order of a High Court' provided, of course, the requisite certificate is given, and no restriction is placed on the right of appeal having reference to the number of Judges by whom such judgment, decree or final order was passed. Had it been intended to exclude the right of appeal in the case of a judgment, etc., by one Judge, it would have been easy to include a reference to Article 132 also in the opening words of Article 133(3) (of the Constitution) as in the immediately preceding clause[32] . . . . The whole scheme of the appellate jurisdiction of the Supreme Court clearly indicates that questions relating to the interpretation of the Constitution are placed in a special category irrespective of the nature of the proceedings in which they may arise, and a right of appeal of the widest amplitude is allowed in cases involving such questions."

(*To be Continued*)

32. *I.e.*, Clause (2) of Article 133 of the Constitution.

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A B C OF TAGORE'S PHILOSOPHY

By JOGES C. BOSE

Doctrinaires delight to define Philosophy in various terms. Their disquisations often run the length of verbal acrobatics. I would, however, seek refuge in a layman's approach to hold that the philosophy of a man is the ruling note of his personality, such as constitutes his inalienable differentia. The encompassing, resurgent personality of Tagore, the poet and patriot,* has in easy transition its crowning fulfilment in the philosopher. Here we have a full-length-view of his overriding faith in the unity of life amid all conflicts. He is the 'unvanquished Man winning back his lost heritage' by bridging the gulf that separates him from his kind.

"Quite unconsciously," says Rabindranath, "I shape all my thoughts and my life on the philosophical teachings of the *Upanishads.*" In fact, if one influence more than any other can be singled out, it is the *Upanishads,* which sustained him to outsoar the soaring. "*The Upanishads* draw together," says Sree Aurobindo Ghose, "into a great harmony all that have been seen and experienced by the liberated knowers of the eternal throughout a great and fruitful period of spiritual seeking." This is possibly the last say in the matter. Therefore, taking this Harmony as the basic principle of Hindu culture, we have to take note of one cardinal fact, how with each foreign conquest or usurpation it has reacted with an open mind to new, emergent tendencies, and yet the core of that civilization, better called the genius of culture, has not changed. It has passed through periods of eclipse, in one of which the blighting institution Caste, originally designed to integrate the disintegrating by making room for each in a slowly-evolving social system, ousted the homogenity of the race and has disastrously taken roots. But at no stage it has been static; and it has lived down the shattering forces of time on the principle of co-ordination.

It is commonly supposed that Hindu civilization had its first clash with Islamic infiltration. The fact is that it has primarily grown to develop out of opposition from within. The different schools of thought promulgate somewhat different tenets for the dilettante. To those, however, who would go deep into the matter all the seeming differences converge on the point of fighting for freedom against iron conventions. The net result is that the province of each is to see that Truth is nowhere crushed under the dead weight of dogmas. To borrow a simile of Bergson, it is like the eye, composed of extremely complex mechanisms, and yet the vision is one simple fact.

That Truth, so far as it relates to our point at issue in discussing Rabindranath's philosophy, crystalises into a belief in the universality of man. No Hindu can offer oblation to the deceased—and this offer is enjoined in various socio-religious observances—unless he offers it to *abramha bhubana-lokah, i.e.*, all men of the world. No Hindu, in still more explicit terms, can offer satisfaction to the deceased, which, of course, nobody can swear by, but that satisfaction for himself, his kith and kin, which everybody can feel were he not dead to elementary responsiveness, unless the offer, at the same time, is for *abramha stambha jagat tripyatu, i.e.*, for the satisfaction *pari passu* of the whole universe, from what has its existence like a mote dancing on sunbeam to the highest Being imaginable.

As Rabindranath's father taught him the *Gayatri mantra*† at the age of nine, when he was being initiated into Brahminism by the sacred thread ceremony, he did it in no routine form, but to help the boy to realise the bond of union between man and the universe in relation to *Shachchidananda,* the All-Blissful. It proved, in the leverage of strength and fusion, the 'light fountain' of his gospel of synthesis. Children on the seashore pick up shells and hold them to their ears. Do the shells repeat the murmurs of their ocean-home floating by in lyric ebullience? Was the *Gayatri mantra* like one such shell to the child of mystery and romance?

It is a strange paradox that the Aryans, who conquered the Dravadians were so profoundly influenced by their culture and manner of living that, to accept Max Muller's reading, they even let in, of course in a limited sense, the cult of idol-worship into their composition. The goddess *Durga,* as a symbol of man's animistic faith in Mother Nature's cosmic energy, is an illustration in point. Anyway, as the process of absorption ran apace and a mixed race accepted Muslim inroads, it devoted nonetheless energetically to recast the position in terms of Islamic brotherhood and its equalitarian observances. Indian civilization, as it shaped anew ever since Clive smuggled through the traitor's door, is an organic whole, to the formation of which contributions of Asia and Europe have co-mingled. Rabindranath Tagore, in whom 'India', as Dr. Radhakissen says, 'finds the lost word she was seeking,' is elated to the depth of his being in contemplating this vast synthesis:

Keha nahi jan-e kar ahvan-e
kata manusher dhara
Durbar srot-e elo kotha hot-e
shamudre holo hara?
Hethay Arya hetha Anarya hethay Dravir
Cheen
Shak Hoon-dal Pathan Mogul ek dehe holo
leen.

No one knows whose is the clarion call
to lure the listless flow of men.
Here, as the Aryans, the non-Aryans, the
Dravadians, the Chinese, the Shaks,
the Hoons and the Moguls came in
turn,
they all merge in me, the edges of their
difference smoothed down.

Historically, this fusion of diverse races in India has lost—thanks to Britain's statesmanship—much of its glamour in her being cleft into two. Rather, the English and the Americans are monumental examples. The former are made of Saxons, Angles, Jutes and Danes; and the latter of thirty-five peoples of varying religious concepts, philosophies and cultural heritage. Still more inspiring in modern times is the history of fusion in Russia, multinational in form and socialistic in content. Here, by political and economic convergence the Uzbek and the Tartar, the Yakut and the Gypsy, the Bashkar and the Kazak, the Negro and the Jew, the Russian and the Ukranian of

* *The Modern Review* for March, August, September, October and December, 1957; February and August, 1958 and January, 1959.

† The *mantra,* as translated by Rabindranath, reads thus—"Just as in the outer world, I realise Him as the generator of the *lokas* (spheres), so in the inner world I realise Him as the constant director of my intellect. Outside the world is and inside my intellect,—these two are the manifestaitons of the same power. Knowing this and realising in this intimate relationship of the universe with my mind and my mind with *Shachchidananda,* I obtain emancipation from all narrowness, selfishness, fear and grief."

sixteen Republics have developed a new type of synthetic civilization. Nonetheless, it reads pleasing that, face to face with a crisis in the soul of man the world over, Rabindranath Tagore, as the intellectual soul of modern India, pledges her to harmony, born of the medley of various tunes:

Ranadhara bahi, jaya gan gahi
unmad kalarab-e
Bhedi marupath giri parbat
jara esechhila sab-e
Tara more majh-e sabai biraj-e
keha nah-e nah-e door
Amar sonit-e roechh-e dhwanit-e
tar bichitra soor.

They broke through hills and deserts and forced
their entry, stained with the blood of
wars;
and shouted wild their slogans of vctiory.
But as time has sped by, they all in me live,
none an inch apart.
And their many-varied tunes meet to thrill
my blood.

The ideology of the oneness of man, the Rishis of the Upanishads espoused with lyric fervour, gave way to Brahminism with its truculent caste, priestcraft and the rest of what they connote. Without wasting any breath over the question to what extent Buddhism, by its revolt against Brahminism, has saved Hindu culture, it is well-accepted that Buddha has brought down the *Upanishads* from the learned few to the common folk; and evolved a perfectly democratic scheme of society on the basis of the equality of man. From the equality of man the emphasis shifts to man as the touchstone of all values. The Bengal poet Chandidas familiarises the creed in two lines with such irresistible felicity that they still echo in million hearts, prince to tramp. They are:

Suna h-e manush bhai,
Sabar upar manush satya, tahar upar-e nai.
Hearken ye brother of humanity,
Man by himself is the ultimate truth, than
him none higher.

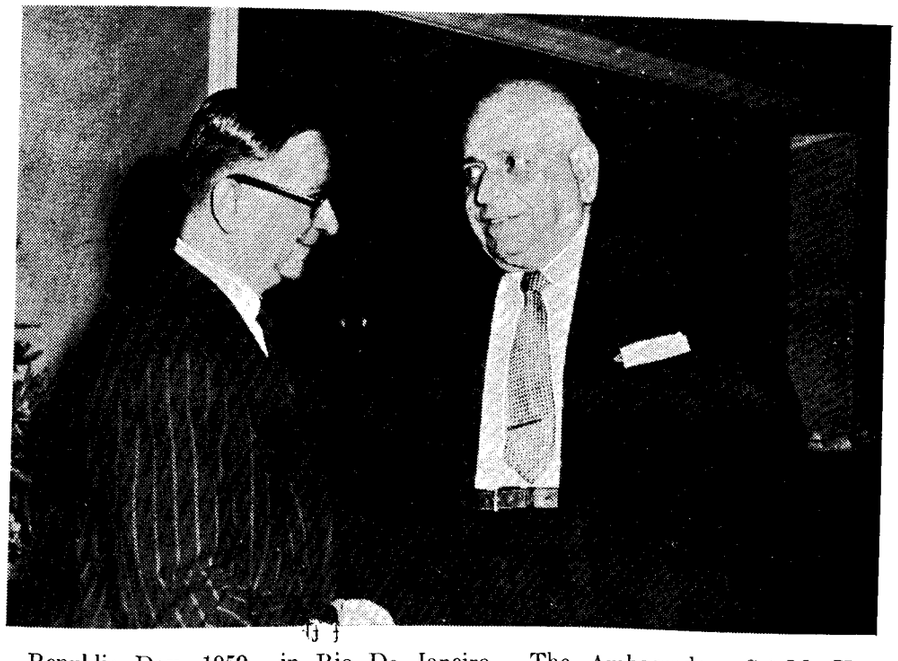
Two hundred years before the birth of Christ, Palestine came within the orbit of Buddhistic influence. And as the light and faith conveyed by Christ's 'who-so-ever shall do the will of my Father which is in heaven the same is by brother' and his still more moving 'Go ye to every creature,' came to India with the current of Christian civilization, then in its apex, it made her crazy, infatuate. Raja Rammohun Roy, we have indicated before, saved India a cultural conquest. His spiritual successor Keshav Chandra Sen pushed the young seeker of Truth, Narendranath Dutt to Ramakrishna Paramahamsa. Famous as Swami Vivekananda, Narendra explains the cult of Ramakrishna as activating the thought-pattern, 'You and I are not brothers; you and I are one.' Even then, the ultimateness, such as to make Man the measure of Truth, of which we have an arresting snath in Chandidas, is capable of attainment, Tagore emphasises, by going back to the Upanishad's *Satyam* the True, *Sivam* the Good and *Sundaram* the Beautiful.

Einstein, who had no bother about God, either personal or as an entity pervading creation, not even like Bernard Shaw, as a necessary force behind evolution, leaped into the boat Tagore had been rowing upstream. At a Conference in New York on Science and Religion he said in 1940, "The further the spiritual evolution of mankind advances the more certain it seems to me that the path to genuine religion does not lie through fear of life and the fear of death and blind faith but through striving ofter rational knowledge, capable of cultivating the good, the true and the beautiful." It is a sign-post in the evolution of mankind that Einstein, a victim to vandalism run amuck and then scared as he was by a war of singular destructiveness, should have besought India for what is essentially her own—the ideology of *Satyam, Sivam, Sundaram*.

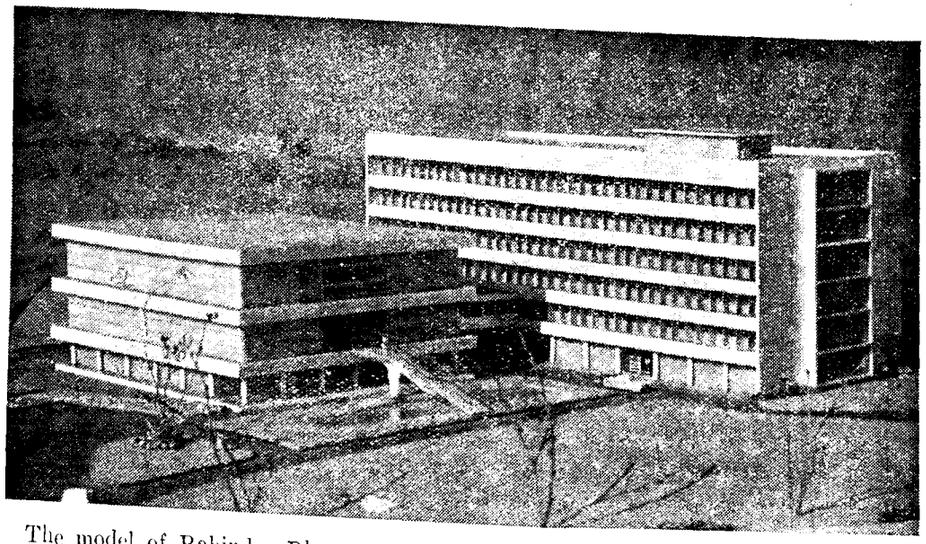
Some twelve years before the First Great War broke out, Rabindranoth visualised in *Naivedya*, a collection of poems on the Hindu philosophy of life, a world rent assunder by the avarice of big powers. Then in 1912, as he was lying ill in London, Earnest Rhys speaks of a day when 'Tagore scanned the omens and read them very uneasily'. His analysis, Rhys says, was tha ..e major energies were not constructive and did not make for the world's commonwealth; and that by their very nature they must come into conflict sooner or later. Swords



The Prime Minister, Sri Jawaharlal Nehru and His Holiness the Dalai Lama when they met at Birla House in Mussoorie



Republic Day, 1959 in Rio De Janeiro. The Ambassador, Sri M. K. Kripalani shaking hands with Admiral Antonio Alvos Camara Junior, Minister of Navy



The model of Rabindra Bhavan headquarters the foundation stone of which was laid by the President in New Delhi on April, 14



A scene from the musical adaptation of Kalidas's famous drama *Malavikagnimitra* broadcast by Delhi Station of All-India Radio

were unsheathed, either side claimed, for a war of peace and justice. It was concluded by the Treaty of Versailles, than which nothing more bitterly rigged for Germany can be imagined, carrying with it the virus of a more deadly war. Therefore, in another twenty years, the world waded through a still more terrible deluge of blood. Rabindranath reiterated in his swan-song, *Crisis in Civilization* his old faith, as he did in *Naivedya*, that the word of deliverance would one day go out from India. Those lines of *Naivedya* bear repetition in order to appreciate the solemn function, he assigned to his motherland:

H-e visva-palok,
Tomar nikhil-plabi ananda alok
Hoito lukaye achhe purba sindhu teer-e
Bahu dhairya namra stabdha duksher timeer-e
Deerghakal—brahma muhoort-er pratikshay.

Thou Protector of the universe,
the light of thy benediction, which shall one day redeem the world,
possibly lies hidden in this land to the east of the Indus,
awaiting prayerfully the supreme moments of dawn
through all the nights of anguish,
in patient, austere, silent preparation.

As in the deluge of the olden times, Noah was charged to preserve in his Ark the seed of a new world, Rabindranath unflaggingly believed that India was likewise charged. Indicative of his faith in what lay the promise, he sought the training in the Visva-Bharati, which, as he told Gandhi the last time they met at Shantiniketan in 1940, is like a vessel carrying the cargo of his life's best treasure, to be, so far feasible in modern conditions, built up on the model of the educational system, as it obtained in Vedic-*cum*-Buddhistic period:

Shei jug-jugant-er birat spandon
Amar nareet-e aj karichh-e nartan.

The mighty stir of those ages, long gone by,
courses in the cadence of rhyme through my veins today.

(II)

What to Rabindranath is *par excellence* a rallying point of love and honour for his motherland is that she is the earliest to have enkindled the light of knowledge in the world. That sentiment is expressed amongst others in the lines:

Pratham prabhat udaya taba gagane
Pratham samaraba taba tapobane
Pratham pracharita taba banabhabane
Jnan dharma kata kabya-kahinee.
From thy sky issued the first streaks of morning light;
From thy forest-home the first herald of human fellowship.
And how enormously rich art thou with
Thy vast treasure of literature and knowledge sanctified.

Should Rabindranath or anybody echoing the above thought be charged of a convivial excess, I would better turn to what Max-Muller said in his Cambridge lecture. "And if I were to ask myself," he says, "from what literature we may draw that corrective, which is most wanted in order to make our inner life more perfect, more comprehensive, more universal, in fact, more truly human, a life not for this life only, but a transfigured and eternal life . . . . I should point to India."

Rabindranath in his treaties *Tapoban* states his view-point that Hindu civilization has followed a uniform line in seeking its habitat in forest-settlements, as an antethesis to a city abounding with what impedes the attainment of the transcendental in life. The feeder-background was the system of Education and the high place assigned to knowledge as the source of all powers. In both the *Vedic* and Buddhistic periods, city-life was abjured as the *sine-qua-non* for acquisition of that knowledge. There need be no shilly-shallying about the fundemental that it is idle to long for a return of the old day. It is not desirable either. And yet in these days. when despite compensatory advantages, the bigger a city the more suitable a paradise it is for swindlers; where make-believe rules; where the length of purse, matched with a capacity for wire-pulling is the measure of a man's influence, publicity

and command of patronage, it may not be profitless to indulge in a side-glance on what makes Rabindranath believe as pre-eminently suited to nurse the idealism, India has cherished since the hoary past. It is, in summing up, the idealism which has for its basis the negation of a materialistic self-abandon in order to promote an intellectual attitude to life. "If India is difficult to understand," says H. N. Brailsford, in those days of appalling stress and strain of the Non-co-operation Movement, he came to study on the spot, "it is because her idealism belongs to her own tradition, while the heavier clay of human material is one texture the world over" —*Subject India*.

It is not possible to fix with any sense of conclusiveness the mode of teaching in the *Vedic* age. In fact, we have to rely upon what has passed into a well-grounded belief from out of such stories of Goutam, Jabal, Satyakam, Aaruni and others, which have floated down the mists of antiquity. In any case, the rich and the poor alike repaired to the teacher's cottage and his very simple way of life for residence and education. They used to get up very early, tend cattle—and this included a study of veterinary science, go out long distance to collect fuel and fruits; and as they came back, they were taught their lessons in the open by the shade of groves and trees. One thing that strikes home is that the students were due to exert themselves in the preparation of the day's sustenance for all. All these, in the sum total, foster *espirit-de-corps* and promote habits, which do not lean for white-collar avocations. Reared up on this principle, ere the gristles harden into bones, a man imbibes the truth, embodied in Ruskin's dictum, 'The best grace before meat is the consciousness that you have earned it.' Human ingenuity is yet to tax itself to find out a more perfect system to teach the virtue of 'self-reverence, self-knowledge and self-control leading to sovereign power.'

As we get down to the Buddhistic period, the venue changes from forest-home to mountain caves and quiet villages. Here also the taught were not charged for their tution. They, in fact, received it on bended knees and not in the spirit 'I pay for it.' The King, assisted by the landed and commercial magnates, bore all educational expenses of the country by bountiful endowments. The names of such places as Taxila*, which has come down from the *Vedic* age, Sarnath and Nalanda travelled far beyond the borders of India. Students used to come from Java, Malaya, Siam, Tibet and Burma. Nalanda alone accommodated over ten thousand students and fifteen hundred teachers. Of the three libraries, the one of the name of Ratnadadhi was a nine-storey building. Illustrative of the crisp composure, necessary for a devout application, each student was allowed a room twelve by eighteen feet. The curriculum, besides the many branches of Art and Science, included music, painting and archery *etcetra*. It is stated in *Mahabhag* that Jeebok, who was reading Medicine at Taxila, was, by way of test preparatory to granting him the Diploma, directed to walk round one *jojan*, eight miles, and pick up what plants and shrubs were no ingredients of medicine. On return, he was tightly heckled on even tiny outgrowths. It bespeaks of thoroughness and painstaking assimilation and no cram. In fact, there is nothing to surprise at that the Chinese travellers Fahian and Wooanchang, Greek scholars like Strabo and Pliny were struck mute with admiration as they studied the workings of these universities.

As I pass over the crumbling ruins of Buddhistic relics, the initiative of exhuming which is Lord Curzon's, I feel that we stand to lose a lot were we to pin down Gautam Buddha to the calendar of religious teachers. One achievement of free India is that she has called back her exiled prophet, some spade works for which were done by Rabindranath in essays, poems and dramas. If intellectual attainment is any criterion of civilization, I do not know if there was in the contemporary world any other country to come near the height, India attained during the Gupta period. It produced men like Chanakya, Panini, Seelabhadra, Dipankar, Charak, Sushruta, Nagarjuna and others,

* Taxila is associated with the name of Rishi Angira, who flourished some eighteen hundred yeare before the birth of Christ, *i.e.*, some thirteen hundred years before the birth of Buddha. John Marshall has taken 27 years to complete its excavation.

each a name to conjure with in the domain of Art or Science.

Did such an intense vision of India tomorrow float on the imagination of Rabindranath Tagore, when he started a small residential school at Bolpur? I would not resist the Biblical imagery of a seed, no bigger than a mustard, growing into a banian tree. Here his father built a house for occasional retreats from the hectic life of Calcutta. The blue tints of hilly flavour far-off into the horizon at the edge of undulated fields make the mind yield to a sense of compelling vastness. The clouds, as they tumble in the summer to monsoon sky, shift, diffuse, dissolve and break into torrents to create a melody of unision with the whiz of gales through the encircling trees and shrubberies. Each of these aspects of Nature has received from the poet a shape and colour of trim elegance. The constructions of the Visva-Bharati, with some leeway yet to make for a University town, recall in their overall impression the architectural workmanship, disinterred at Nalanda and Sarnath with the unity and balance of the new-school artists, imparted to them. The inscriptions on walls and door-ways have the aroma of Vedic and Buddhistic tenets, rendered eloquent by Rabindranath's inimitable wordings. The mango-groves, criss-crossed with tall palms waving their crown of perennial verdure, round about which the tuition-classes are held, make one visualise Buddha choosing Nature's craddle to discuss the solemn lessons of life. The shades, the leafy walks and the creepers entwining each convenient structure, and the rest of what the great worshipper of beauty did in layout and colour-scheme, are but vignettes of a lovely picture in the dry, drab surroundings of Bolpur.

Is Santineeketan a swing-back? *The New York Times*, in recording its obituary note of honour, says that Rabindranath's 'effort to revive the antique Indian Forest-school for meditation' was responsible for the abatement of the demand for him. It is a downright misreading. Santiniketan with its adjunct Sreeniketan, the symbol of field and factory,—and they together constitute the Visva-Bharati—is no place for 'meditation' as such. It may, however, be—and it is how the vanity of the West seems to have been pricked—the meeting ground in India, with her golden primacy* for the East and the West to pause to reflec what the present-day civilization has come t and whither it drifts. In the second place, w do not know the extent of the demand fo Rabindranath in the land of sky-scraper where in one of his visits, he stirred up hornet' nest by telling the Americans a home-trut regarding their attitude to the Negroes, an desiring them to 'make more men tha machines'.† In Japan, he told the people tha they seemed to forget that they had highe duties than to master the 'death-dealin methods' of the West. Among places of interes he was taken to a valley on the hills, wher two chiefs of rival clans fought each other t death, leaving in legendary lore a legacy o their ancestral pride and prowess, they cal *bushido*. Pressed hard for a line to comme morate them, Rabindranath gave the couplet:

'They hated and killed and men praised them
But God in shame hastened to hide its
memory under green grass.'

In Italy, Mussolini had him taken from Naple to Rome in a special train—'roses, roses all th way.' But as he was apprised of all th doings of Mussolini, he did not hesitate t call him a 'menace to the peace of Europe. Mussolini's paper at once turned round to ca Rabindranath an 'unctuous and insupportabl fellow,' whom 'the idiocy of others has pro moted to the stature of greatness.' In Englan on one occasion, as he saw that almost a whol people ran at the heels of the cinema star Mar Pickford, just then arrived from America—h did not live to see what it is now in his ow country—he called it a reflex of the fall of th English people from the serious purposefulnes which once made them great. He was twitte that he intended to be the only herb in the pot And finally, he stands at the door-post of th Visva-Bharati, which is, as Jawaharlal Nehr

* "To us the most striking feature o ancient Indian civilization is its humanity. Dr. A. L. Basham: *The Wonder That Wa India*.

† Dean Inge repeats the charge—"It i organised to produce things rather than people with output set up as God"—*Our Present Dis contents*.

calls it, 'a focal point of Indian culture,' to counsel and caution India not to despise the material creativeness of the West, but that, as she appropriates the triumphs of Science, she must not forget that the very spinal chord of her intellectual being is the enthronement of the Soul serene, equable and self-possessed:

Korona korona lajjah hey bharatbasi,
Saktimadamatta oi banik bilasi
Dhonadripta paschimer kataksha sammukhe,
Subhra uttaria pari santa samahita mukhe
Saral jeeban khani karite bahan.

Thou must not, and why at all should'st
thou Oh India, shy at the West,
Which, by trade to the pinnacle of affluence
risen,
is purse-proud and power-intoxicated.
Have faith in thine own self to face her
fair and square,
attired as thou art in thy simple, clean
habits,
and with a composed, tranquil smile, but
resolve unflinching to stand by thy own.

* * * *

I walk round the corridors of the Visva-Bharati and reflect if the world is yet in a mood to take a measure of its founder. At the age of 20, he starts on his pilgrimage with the light, which is his on the first morn of awakening, namely, that the world, howsoever vast, is one and that humanity, howsoever large, is likewise one. He was a pioneer to inaugurate *Swadeshi*, but would not subscribe to Boycott, lest it fed racial aloofness. He made a signal reparation to the lacerated Punjab, but would not perpetuate Jaliwanalabagh lest it perpetuates bitterness against a race. The independence of India was his dream, he acted with rare devotion, but in the context of a federal adjustment of independent states. Teachers of humanity have spoken of the ways of man to God, he assures us that the Infinite meets the Finite.

Every great artist is informally philosophical; not that, as it is a fallacious commonplace to imagine, that he expounds a certain philosophy from a certain point of time. The first time as I heard in my boyhood Rabindranath's song 'Thou art like a floating cloud of the evening sky blissfully remote and serene', I was steeped unawares with the consciousness that he was breaking down the barrier between Man and God. In mature years as I read his very simple explanation of a Hindu ritual—

Debatare jaha dite pari, dei tai priyajane;
Priyajane jaha dite pari, tai dei debatare.
Debatare priya kari, priyare debata.

I give the dear ones whatever I can offer
unto Gods;
I give God all I can lay my hands on for
the dear;
Thus do I endear God and the dear ones
ennoble.

I could not help test it in the touchstone of E. B. Havell's thesis that the excellence of Indian Art is in raising men up to heaven and making them as gods—*Indian Sculpture and Painting*.

Apollo played on his flute and Troy rose —a mass of vapour to grow into a city. The days are changed. The self-same Apollo may break his lungs but not one brick would stand on another. We should have, therefore, no illusion with regard to Rabindranath Tagore. The position of mankind today is truly that of Faust, outwitted by the ghost of his inventiveness. But human nature being what it is—restlessly at work for a poise—it is our privilege to hope against hopes. Should, therefore, man's greed ever complete its cycle of destructiveness and the many 'isms,' which have riven the world thinking devastatingly in terms of regimentation and deterrent strength for security, coalesce to make room for Humanism—mankind striving for common weal by co-operative efforts on the basis of a human value of things —it behoves posterity to turn back to Rabindranath Tagore. He, the Colossus, bestrode the East and the West and dug in some forces for the consummation.

(*All translations are mine*).

REVOLUTION ROUND THE CORNER IN SOUTH AFRICA

By Prof. SUDHANSU BIMAL MOOKHERJI, M.A.

The Union of South Africa, perhaps the blackest spot in the Dark continent is rushing headlong to the abyss. White racialism, which has accelerated the tempo of non-white resistance and hastened the birth of African nationalism, seems to be poised for a show down with African nationalism. And a fight to the finish it will be.

Professor Crane Brinton of the University of Harvard concludes from his study of the four famous revolutions—the classical revolutions—of modern history, *viz.*, the English revolution of the mid-seventeenth, the American and the French revolutions of the late eighteenth and the Bolshevik revolution of the early 20th centuries, that different in time and circumstances as they were, they had certain features in common. The learned Professor contends further that these features must always combine to bring about a revolution, they are—(*a*) economic progress, (*b*) class antagonism, and (*c*) effete government in all the countries where these revolutions broke out. To be a little more elaborate, "tyranny in government, incompetence in administration, injustice in taxation, monopoly in industry, privilege in society, corruption and favouritism everywhere" marked the "ancient regime" on the ashes of which new edifices were sought to be raised.

England, France, America and Russia had been economically in the upgrade for sometime before their respective revolutions. The revolutionary movements in all four had their genesis in the profound discontent of fairly well-to-do sections of the population, which "felt restraint, cramp, annoyance, rather than downright crushing oppression." South Africa fulfils this condition. Like revolutionaries in other countries, South Africans "are men of hope with a philosophy of optimism behind them."

The English, the American, the French and the Russian revolutions were due not a little to very bitter class antagonism prevailing in these countries for years. Fairly affluent men and women felt frustrated and humiliated "by barriers prescribed by a social aristocracy." Here again is a very close parallel furnished by the present-day South African society. The African middle class in general and the urban South African middle class in particular are infuriated by the operation of the colour-bar and apartheid laws. These middle classes are becoming more and more restive and sooner or later—perhaps sooner than later—they might try to overturn the whiteman's apple-cart in South Africa by unconstitutional means.

Many, however, hold that discontent of prosperous classes and class antagonism notwithstanding, a revolution in South Africa is out of the question as it has got a fairly efficient government. The administrative machinery is manned almost exclusively by Afrikans (Boers) in sympathy with the government and their policies. Besides, the loyalty of the South African armed forces, which could be a crucial factor in a revolutionary situation, is unimpeachable and above suspicion. A South-African revolution, therefore, seems to be altogether out of question. Local disorders are not, however, ruled out.

The revolutions studied by Professor Brinton were all social revolutions. Racial factors played a very minor part in them. A "colonial" element of course appeared in American as well as in the Russian revolutions. But the American colonies revolted against their own king. The Russian revolutionaries too, assisted as they were by Ukrainians, Georgians and others, pulled down their own ruling aristocracy and what it stood for. But modern colonial revolutions are essentially different from earlier revolutions. "They combine," observes Dr. Edward Ronx, "social, economic, national *and racial* factors—and the racial factor, with its psychological implications, is of the greatest importance." ("Revolution in South Africa" in *Africa South*, Jan.-March, 1959, p. 18).

The consent of the majority is an essential pre-condition of a stable government. That the police, the armed forces and other limbs of the

government are necessary will be readily admitted. But the most important factor that makes or mars a government is psychological. Even a slave state like the Western Cape in South Africa in the 18th century depended for its stability on the acceptance by the slaves of their inferior status "as something akin to a law of nature." Government, in other words, depends in the last analysis on *consent* and *not coercion*.

It must further be borne in mind that a despotic government like the South African—the children of the soil have no voice in it—flourishes most in a stagnant, backward society. In a growing society, people take on new habits, ideas and conditions which bring them into conflict with traditional ways and institutions. Industrialisation, which began three generations ago in South Africa, has been quickly changing the South African society. More and more Africans are being drawn to the cities. They are adjusting themselves to the city life. In the meanwhile Europeans of working class origin have "moved up the ladder" into "managerial and white-collar jobs" during the last twenty-five years. The change explains in part the debacle of Labour in the 1958 general elections. African, Coloured and Asian workers have been steadily moving up the ladder in industrial employment. Today, they constitute 27 per cent of the skilled and 66 per cent of the semi-skilled workers. They are also moving up into professional, administrative, clerical, commercial and technical occupations. This is only the beginning and more and more non-Europeans will be admitted in coming years to what were so long jealously guarded "white preserves."

The non-European population of South Africa is making rapid strides in the field of education as well. Some 14,000 African and 26,000 Coloured and Indian adolescents are under instruction in secondary schools. 1,500 African, Coloured and Indian students are taking the correspondence courses of the different examinations of the University of South Africa. A sizeable non-European middle class is evidently taking shape in South Africa's industrial and educational establishments.

If South African economy keeps on expanding as it has been doing over decades, the process of absorption of the different social strata will gain fresh momentum. The pressure on colour class-barriers will intensify. The fact is already recognised and there is a substantial volume of opinion in favour of slowing down the pace of industrialisation or diverting it to the African Reserves. But neither is practicable for obvious reasons. For one thing, an economy must either go ahead or stagnate and stagnation will not be deliberately chosen. For another, it is always more profitable to move potential workers to centres of production than to bring the means of production to them. Diversion of Africa's capital resources to the Reserves will, moreover, accelerate class antagonism in what is supposed to be the European zone in the country on the one hand and precipitate the emergence of an African proletariat and an African middle class on the other. The process of evolution may, however, slow down in case of a world-wide capitalist recession. But such a recession will strengthen the forces of socialism and anti-colonialism all over the world and will re-act adversely on the "depigmented" South African oligarchy. Its position in relation to the voteless and voiceless masses is, therefore, bound to weaken whether there is a boom or a bast. It has already weakened greatly during the post-war years.

Inner strains and stresses unless removed in time burst out in open revolutions in the long run. The symptoms of strains and stresses are unmistakably manifest in the Union of South Africa today. The mounting crime rates are a pointer. To give only one example. Great Britain has a population four times larger than the Union of South Africa, yet the daily murders and man-slaughters in the latter are seven times higher than they are in the former.

The position of South Africa is, in fact, more fluid than it seems to be. The apparent stability of the government is deceptive. Extra-parliamentary opposition has matured during the last twenty-five years. It will grow more and more rapidly in the days ahead. The Africans, the Coloureds and the Indians are politically awake, not fully however. They are receiving today more and more political education. As the town-bred youth enters the political arena, an alliance between workers and intellectuals (which is the most formidable of all political combinations will take the initiative," the efficiency of the government and the loyalty of police and armed forces notwithstanding. In the meanwhile, the situation "is completely being aggravated and daily less open to settlement . . . daily more explosive and more menacing to internal peace . . ."

Revolutions have always "taken place in the city of the poor, and . . . (have) grown out of the age-old, world-wide theme of revolt against injustice and misery. Outside any known orbit of influence, primitive passions such as those expressed by the Mau Mau in Kenya, further suggest the inflammable attitudes that exist just under the surface in much of today's world." (*The New Dimensions of Peace* by Chester Bowles, Penant Edition, p. 274).

Our own history shows that strong and efficient governments and the loyalty of armed forces by themselves afford no guarantee against revolutionary upheavals. Even the worst detractors of the Anglo-Indian bureaucracy cannot lay the charge of inefficiency at its door. The Indian army and the Indian police were loyal and faithful to the Government to the last. Yet Britain had to quit India.

The Union of South Africa like the rest of the Dark continent is waking up. To quote Chester Bowles, "After a long night the sleeper is stirring, blinking away his drowsiness, and stretching his limbs with all the eager, impatient spirit of a youth approaching manhood. This means that (South) Africa will continue to rumble with explosive problems, conflicts and headliness." (*The New Dimensions of Peace*, Penant Edition, p. 187). White South Africa must modify its attitude and policy to the African majority. Failing that black Africa will be driven in the long run into violent revolt, despite the serious difficulties in its way.

CONFLICTING TRENDS IN INDIAN PLANNING

By Prof. R. N. SANYAL, M.A.

India is struggling for self-expression both in the economic and cultural fields. It will, therefore, not be surprising if she passes through a period of uncertainty, doubt, and even hesitation, with regard to her aims and objectives and the means for realising these aims. The details of a plan, either long term or short term, will ultimately depend on the broad ideals and objectives we have in view and the wisdom with which we plan the steps for reaching the ends which we have in view.

Broad Objectives

Broadly speaking, we may point out, that the biggest problem facing the country today, is the problem of poverty and the problem of raising the subhuman standards of living of millions of our countrymen. This abject poverty must go. Indians cannot stand erect so long as this appalling poverty remains. There is no difference of opinion, either among the different political parties, or thinkers, on this point. "Naturally, we have to go fast, for if we do not, undesirable developments may take place. But in going fast, we have to be clear about the broad objectives which have now been laid down. We have to see that everything we do is on right lines and does not encourage wrong trends." (Planning and Development: J. Nehru.) Here begins the controversy; disagreement begins in defining what are "right" lines and what constitutes "wrong trends."

Some people believe honestly, that India should for a little while, set aside its scruples and its philosophy, and submit to regimentation and dictatorship for the speedy liquidation of poverty. It does not matter, if, in this process, some people and some classes are sacrificed and even effaced; a little injustice to a few is done for the sake of enriching the lives of

millions of poor, desolate human beings, living a subhuman standard of life. There is undoubtedly logic and force in this argument. If our object had been merely the liquidation of poverty and the removal of glaring inequalities in wealth and income, surely a ruthless dictatorship can bring this about in a business like way much sooner than the difficult path of persuation, appeal and conversion. George Lansbury, an experienced leader in the cause of Socialism, very truly remarked in his book *My England*: "I am in politics a Socialist, one who helps to obtain a majority of Socialists in Parliament. I think, however; that before our majority will be of any value, the outlook on life which the vast masses of people follow and obey must be changed." Man is both a means and an end. In accepting the proposition, that poverty of the masses is the biggest social problem of our age, we must not shut our eyes to the fact, that pursuit of "wealth" cannot be the primary or the most vital aim for an individual or for society. Most of the conflicts of modern civilisation are traceable to this inordinate craze for wealth as the chief end of human endeavour. There is not much difference in this respect between America or Russia. As Pandit Nehru rightly says, "I feel the whole of the cold war in the world today is a projection, not merely of Communism or anti-Communism, which, of course it is in a sense; but of the culmination of industrialisation and the conflict between the big power groups. Previously, these conflicts took place between the Western Powers, for instance, between Germany and England. But now it has moved on to the world plane."

Values of Civilization

Let us view this problem from the angle of a "prosperous" country like the U.S.A., which has succeeded in achieving a standard of living for her people, unheard of in history, says Prof. Arthur Smiths of the Harvard University. "Moreover a level of living that may have seemed exciting when it was in prospect may turn into Dead Sea fruit once it is attained. Restless striving for improvement, rather than the attainment of given states of satisfaction seems to be the leading characteristic of economic life. Nevertheless, there is evidence that satiety is being approached and that the utility of additional consumption is diminishing. The emphasis on private consumption has led many observers of the social scene to ask whether our society should not give greater recognition to other values." Of course we have to think about material issues, because they are very important. But we need not take for granted all the other things that have happened in highly industrialised countries, be it the U.S.A., or Russia, because they may lead them in a direction, which ultimately brings about ruin, in spite of the high state of civilisation that they first reach. Can the high state of civilisation attained by the Western nations be sustained? Apart from other considerations which are very vital, what would be the ultimate outcome of this mad craze for wealth and material comforts? "Large areas once covered by forest have been denuded of trees, the climate has been altered and the fertile top soil that is the basis of food production has been partly or wholly eroded. In the last century, man has started to live increasingly on capital resources—of coal, oil and other minerals; he is using up in a few generations what took tens of thousand—millions of years to accumulate. Her *per capita* consumption of resources has steadily mounted, sometimes to a fantastic extent. The consumption of metals and minerals by one nation, the United States, since 1918 exceeds the total consumed by the whole of mankind in all preceding history." (Sir Julian Huxley). Humanity needs to make up its mind as to the ultimate purpose of human existence. Is it physical enjoyment in this world? Is it salvation in a world after death? Is it national power? Is it obedience to some super-individual code of morality? Is it knowledge? Is it wealth? The answer that we give to these questions provides the basis from which we can approach the objectives of Planning.

Modern civilisation, refusing physical happiness to large masses, has made material stability the only goal for humanity. Herein lies its degeneration, for a civilisation that cannot envisage beyond material happiness is surely not a civilisation that can long endure. Modern Socialism in taking its stand as a rebel against this civilisation has made fulfilment of economic desires the sole concern of man. Herein lies its mediocrity, for a civilisation that regards its fulfilment in material satisfaction can never nourish finer sentiments, higher ideals; it will ever create a wall beteen man and his true nature. Bertrand Russel very truly remaks: "Happiest men and women, we can all testify from our own experience, are those who are indifferent to money because they have some positive purpose which shuts it out; yet all our political thought, whether imperialistic, radical or socialist, continues to occupy itself exclusively with economic desires, as though, they alone had real importance. (*Why Men Fight?*)

Once men and women realise this fundamental purpose of their lives the material urge for happiness will tend to disappear and give place to spiritual realities. It is true that not all can do this. It is not foolishly supposed that all men will immediately discover their purpose of life. Only a few individuals can realise this, but it is the experience of these few that will be the source of strength to all. It is the realisation by these few that will inspire all humanity and save it from degeneration and decay. We maintain that the strength of any society is not derived from mass organisations but from the realisation and inspiration of those few human beings who have attained to spiritual heights. Our planning must be such that such disinterested men who have attained spiritual heights, should provide the norm for the common man.

Ends and Means

How does the acceptance of these values of civilisation, implicit in our history, traditions, and social and religious institutions, affect our planning, its objectives, techniques and machinery? Says our Prime Minister, "The whole problem of modern civilisation is that industrialisation leads to concentration of power. The question arises, how to safeguard individual freedom under these conditions. Whether it can be done or not, I do not know. But I think we should develop a structure of society which encourages the right impulses and not the wrong ones."

The world today, and this is more particularly true of India, seems to need centralisation and decentralisation equally and at the same time. It is not easy to reconcile these mutually incompatible ends. The difficulty is real and fundamental but has to be surmounted. India has set as its goal the building up of a welfare state and naturally the sphere of its activity is gradually expanding and bids fair to comprise the whole of man's life. The state had hitherto monopoly of political power. The welfare state threatens to add to that the monopoly of economic power. Such a great concentration of power is fraught with great danger to society.

"We are liquidating the princely order, the feudal order and the Zamindars, but we have created a new order—that of Ministers, Deputy Ministers, Parliamentary Secretaries, M.L A's, and M.P.'s together with the new managerial class who run the vast economic machinery under the control of the state. These vantage points in society have become the supreme prizes for which men fight and struggle; and it is the example of these men and not their precepts that influences the common man. Whatever sermons they may preach, the ostentatious and luxurious lives that they are leading, are not only an anachronism for a poor and un-developed country like India struggling hard to raise its standard of living, but they exert a far more sinister influence by affecting their outlook on life." "It is true that in poor and backward countries like India, it is the main task of social reconstruction to raise quite considerably the people's standard of living. But it will not do here or elsewhere to apothesize material happiness and encourage an outlook on life that feeds an insatiable hunger for material goods. There can be no peace in the minds and hearts of men, nor peace amongst men, if this hunger gnaws at them continuously. That would necessarily set up an uncontrolled competition between individuals, groups, and nations. In such a restless society, violence and war would be endemic. All values of life

would be subordinated to this overmastering desire for more. There would be no poise in human life, no real satisfaction because the possession of more would only whet the appetite for more" (Jay Prakash)" Unfortunately, the production of wealth and increase in the standard of living, which are only the means for an ordered life of harmony and peace, have usurped the place of ends of human conduct.

Conclusion

We must realise that the successful achievement of the ideal of a socialistic pattern of society lies in the realisation in an ever-increasing measure of the futility of material possessions and of the discovery of hidden treasures within every man and woman. Our plan is not a machinery only for producing material goods, but it is a drive to turn men's minds to things nobler and loftier than material happiness. But it is not a philosophy of escape from ghastly realities. There must be material stability for all who need it, opportunity for civic activities for those who ask for it, stable and healthy family life for those who demand it, and all these within the limits of social welfare and human happiness.

But yet this can be attained not by the efforts of those who stand for the fulfilment of their rights; it lives and progresses because of its few idealists, its fewer teachers and priests, its still fewer rulers that rule not by outer splendour and pomp, but rulers who are true kings, who shine by their indwelling divinity. It is from this group of human beings, those who are the support and splendour of society, that an attitude of indifference to wealth and material happiness is demanded.

The society that we aim at will be a society that will satisfy not only the physical, but the spiritual needs of humanity. Sacrifice will be its driving force, while wisdom will be its ruling power. It will free men and women as much as possible from the thraldom of state and society, for with the realisation of man's divinity, external restrictions will prove unnecessary.

EMANCIPATION THROUGH ART

By ANTHONY ELENJIMITTAM

Rabindranath Tagore, India's greatest poet of the twentieth century, speaking of his experience of the Infinite in the finite, wrote:

> "One morning I happened to be standing on the verandah. The sun was just rising through the leafy tops of those trees. As I continued to gaze, all of a sudden a covering seemed to fall away from my eyes, and I found the world bathed in a wonderful radiance, with waves of beauty and joy swelling on every side. This radiance pierced in a moment through the folds of sadness and despondency which had accumulated over my heart, and flooded it with this universal light."
>
> —*Reminiscences*.

Rabindranath said something new in this vital experience he underwent in his twenties, which continued throughout his life, till he sang his *Shammukhe Shanti Parabar*.

> "O Pilot of my soul, cast the moorings of this frail vessel loose,
> For before me lies the Ocean of Peace . . ."

Path of Freedom to Rabindranath, as it, indeed, was to our seers and sages from the Vedic past, was in the realization of the Infinite in and through the finite, of the Spirit through matter. The Vedic bards sang: *Sarvam Brahmamayam Jagat*—The entire cosmos is pregnant with God. Slavery and misery come when we get entangled within the sense-bound world without any reference to the Spirit-world, enmeshed in the empirical phenomena without the grasp of the Neumenon, entrapped within appearances without going all the way to Ultimate Reality.

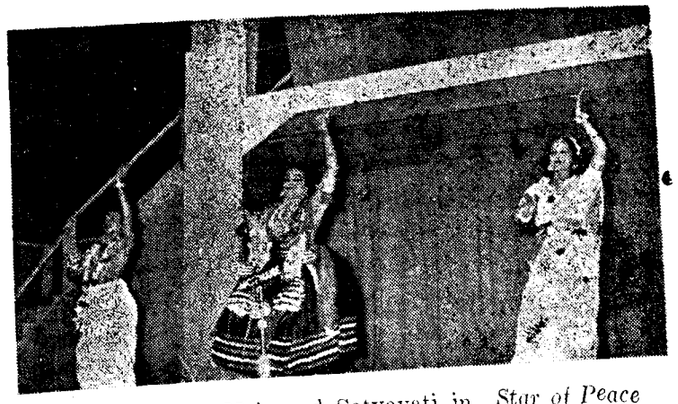
Spiritual freedom, variously called as emancipation, *mukti*, deliverance or redemption, in its positive sense means acceptance—not renunciation—of the sense-bound world as the vehicle and reflection of the Spirit world. Then even ascetic practices are left behind, the soul communing with the Over-soul, and one could sing with Rabindranath again:

> "Deliverance is not for me in renunciation,
> I feel the embrace of freedom in thousand bonds of delight.
> No, I will never shut the doors of my senses,
> The delight of sight and hearing and touch will be my delight.
> Millions of living beings make up the vast fair of this world,
> And you ignore it all as a child's play."

In a life-accepting and life-affirming attitude, spiritual emancipation, *mukti*, comes when we can sense the Infinite Beauty, Power and Light that is God in the most ordinary prosaic facts of life, in the smile of a child, in torrential monsoon rains and blowing winds. We reach this realm of inner joy and inward peace and freedom through the creative powers of our mental and spiritual life, through Philosophy, Religion and Art. Philosophy persues the *Jnana Marga*, the gnostic way, the way of brain and reason. Religion follows the *Bhakti Marga*, of love and devotion, the heart-way. Art, through music, movements, painting and dance, brings down to the common man the esoteric wisdom of philosophers and religious faith of the prophets. No painter can surpass Nature in painting; no dancer can go beyond the dance of Creation; no musician can sing higher melodies and harmonies than Nature. Yet, to us mortals, when an artist brings down the gorgeous summer sunset on the horizon of the Indian Ocean on to his canvas, it means much. Through these limited human artistic representations we are reminded of, and transported to the Infinite. A Mira Bhajan, paintings in Ajanta and Ellora caves, the great religious plays of Rabindranath, all of them have power to point us the way to the Infinite, and soul-emancipation.

Rabindranath was the greatest synthetic poet and artist of our century. In him East and West, the Ancient and the Modern, Religion and Science had no compartmental walls. They found integration, unity and harmony in his mind. This message of unity and universality is one of the basic cultural heritage of India throughout centuries.

The dance-drama staged in St. Mary's grounds, Mazagaon, Bombay, for four days; from Saturday 7th to Tuesday 10th February, witnessed by well over a crowd of twenty thousand, was an added confirmation that spiritual emancipation can take place through creative art. On Monday 9th, Sri S. C. Jain, the Manager of the *Times of India*, speaking at the end of the three-hour musical pageant, as the chief guest of the day said:



Kumar, Raghavan Nair and Satyavati in *Star of Peace*

> "As I watched the scenes I felt mixed feelings of sadness and hope: sadness, because of the worldly pursuits of men, who, forgetting God, end their lives in misery; hope, because there is a way of salvation through God."

Big volumes and long articles fail to give such vivid impressions on the themes of *Satya* and *Maya*, Truth, and Relativity, *papa* and *punya*, sin and virtue, as that musical dance-drama, *Star of Peace*. The entire theme of the play could be summarised into a single aphorism: God is Truth-Beauty-Love—*Satyam-Shivam-Sundaram*. Reach inner peace and joy by realizing God, giving up the sinful way. The Upanishads and the Yoga-Vedanta of Indian culture are all fraught with such ideals. Yet,

the play has a Christian slant in it, in that the life and work of Jesus Christ and his mother, Virgin Mary, are brought in as a tangible example and proof of this great religious truth, *viz.*, emancipation or redemption from sin through God.



Satan tempting Eve in *Paradise Lost*

Milton's *Paradise Lost* and *Paradise Regained* echo the history of fall of man and his restoration. Satyavati and Anil Kumar, the well-known dancers of Bombay, through their pantomimic dancing, poses and actions, have acted out the psychological fact of inner peace, joy and happiness resulting from innocence, and slavery and misery that follow when we betray conscience, the oracle of God within. Sri Raghavan Nair, the famous South Indian Kathakali dancer, took the role of the devil, the tempter, who, through enticements and seductions makes humans fall into the trap of *Maya, papa* and *mrityu,* illusion, sin and death.

In this musical pageant there was no more a dividing wall between the East and the West, Christian and Hindu, ancient and modern. In this achievement due credit must be given to Sri Jnana Prakash (formerly George Proksch), a German who made India his spiritual home. His Hindi books and English publications, Hindi songs and plays are well-appreciated by many art critics. Guru Jnana Prakash, like Abbe Dubois, C. F. Andrews, Pearson, Stanley Jones and others, is a kind of rebel Christian because he clings to what is best in Hindu and Indian cultural heritage with as much love and heart as he holds dear his Western and Christian heritage. That makes him a suspect among narrow Christian missionaries, as was always the lot of all those who loved Truth above diplomacy, human calculations and temporal advantages.

Sri Jnana Prakash has not only written out and published this musical dance-drama, *The Star of Peace*, but he has also trained up one hundred actors and about six hundred choral singers. His direction was flawless, energetic and inspiring. The fact that Guru Jnana Prakash selected most of his singers and actors from five high schools of Bombay is a reminder how in our schools also creative education with vision, music and healthy zest for life, with courage to face hardships without pitfalls and sins, and hold aloft the torch of soul-peace and emancipation should be imparted.

Engrossed as we are in our financial problems, engripped in the vortex of power-politics and cut-throat economics, an occasional attendance at some grand stage-show with a moral and spiritual lesson behind will serve as an oasis in a vast desert. Orthodox Marxists still insist: "Religion is the opiate of the people." But the real opium that lulls us to spiritual sleep and death is this mad rush after money, power, position and prestige at any cost. But the still voice within whispers and says: "What does it profit you, if you gain the whole world, and suffer the loss of your own soul?"

The path of emancipation, *Mukti*, redemption from the trammels of sin and ignorance taught by the rishis of India, sages of Greece, prophets from East and West, is still there, though dimmed and dulled in this Atomic Age through glamorization and advertisement of the Futile. *Mukti* or Redemption is not outdated today. That vacuum, futility and void in human hearts can be filled only by the Infinite which, as a path of knowledge and gnosis, is supplied by esoteric philosophy, and as path of *Bhakti* and loving devotion is supplied by both Religion and Art, or better still by religious art, the like of which we have in Jnana Prakash's *Star of Peace*.

BARODA MUSEUM AND PICTURE GALLERY

Founded by Maharaja Sayajirao III in 1887 and, since Baroda State's merger with Bombay in 1949, run by the Education Department, Bombay, Baroda Museum has, over several decades, collected objects of cultural and scientific interest from all parts of the world. The Pitcure Gallery, built in 1914 and opened to the public since 1921, enjoys the distinction of being the best of its kind in Asia. It has a rich collection of European oil paintings, and offers art students and the general public an opportunity to study the works in original of such renowned old masters as Rubens, Titian, Vandyck, Millet, Reynolds, Soloman.

Broadly divided in two sections—one, Art and Historical, and the other, Science and Ethnology, the Museum has several exhibits of outstanding merit in each.

The Indian Industrial Art Section, consisting of various exhibits pertaining to Indian art, culture and civilisation, has extremely beautiful and characteristic Indian miniature paintings and textiles. Rajasthani paintings, probably from Kishengarh, and some Pahari miniature paintings form



Gopis in procession (*Rajasthani style*)
From Jodhpur or Kishengarh (c. 1820 A.D.)

a notable part of this most valuable collection.

Pre-Historic Sculptures

The Pre-historic Room and the Archaeological Section contain beautiful and rare pieces of early Scythian, Gupta and other sculptures. The great hoard of Jain Bronzes discovered at Akota in 1951 A.D. (dated 5th-11th centuries) is specially noteworthy. Among the pre-historic finds, one very valuable group is from Gujerat, collected by Dr. Sankalia.



Mandala of Vajravarati from Nepal (c. 1867 A.D.)

The Baroda Room of the Museum contains local Maratha and Gujerati art which flourished under the Gaekwads of Baroda. Objects from Burma, Siam, and Malaya are arranged in the "Greater India" Room. A temple Gong from Burma is one of the most striking exhibits. The Islamic Room is devoted to specimens of Islamic civilisation represented by textiles, bronzes, pottery and paintings.

Containig a beautiful collection of prehistoric knives, sickles and blades from Fayum, Coptic textiles and even a Mummy, the Egypto-Babylonian Gallery of the Baroda Museum is perhaps unique in India.

Chinese and European Art

The Chinese Gallery comprises sizeable collection of Chinese lacquer work, porcelain and bronzes. Chinese Terracotta figurines of the Han and Tang period are of special interest in this gallery.

A collection of wonderful gold-lacquered boxes and ivory carved pieces from Japan constitutes the Japanese Gallery. In the Tibeto-Nepalese Gallery, in addition to the brass images, there are numerous colourful temple banners and a big Mandala from Lhasa.

The European Rooms contain plaster-casts and bronze replicas of the Roman sculptures. In these rooms original works as well as copies of sculptures, richly-painted vases and pewters are displayed according to the latest methods of visual display.

The Museum periodically organises special exhibitions, public lectures and film shows. Special facilities, including access to a well organised Reference Library, are made available to the research scholars. The Museum also co-operates with the Department of Museology of the M.S. University of Baroda in imparting instruction to Post-graduate students in museum administration and museum technique.—*PIB*.



BY ALEXANDER ZHIGULEV

Early Interest in Art and Literature

THE great Russian writer, Nikolai Gogol, was born on March 20, 1809, in the small town of Bolshiye Sorochintsy (Poltava Gubernia in the Ukraine). His early interest in literature and drama was unquestionably due to the influence of his father, who was fond of the theatre and wrote a number of plays in the Ukrainian language. Familiar with the life of the people, with Ukrainian village life from early boyhood, Gogol loved Ukrainian songs, fairy tales and legends.

Gogol's interest in the stage, in literature, music and painting continued unabated during the time he was a student at the gymnasium in Nezhin. He took part in plays staged in the school. Pushkin became his favourite poet; he delighted in his verse and copied entire poems into his note-book. Gradually, Gogol himself was shaping into a talented writer; he wrote for the manuscript school magazine and composed verses.

In 1828, after graduating from the gymnasium, Gogol came to St. Petersburg, the capital of the Russian empire. It took some time before he found employment there. Only at the end of 1829 was he 'granted' the post of a petty official. But office work did not appeal to the future author. He devoted all his leisure hours to art and literature, attended the Academy of Arts, occupied himself with painting, and did a great deal of reading and writing.

Gogol's unsigned story "Basavryuk," or "On the Eve of St. John's Day," was published in "Otechestvenniye Zapiski," in 1830. That was the first story of the famous series of "Evenings on a Farm Near Dikanka." The first part of the book was published in September, 1831, and the second in March, 1832. This book launched Gogol on his literary career.

Fascinating Portrayal of Ukrainian Life

Gogol's stories initiated the Russian reader into a new, unfamiliar world. They contained fascinating pictures of the Ukraine, her life and history, they expressed her poetry, legends and folk-lore in all their splendour. The portrayal of nature was astounding for its freshness, and the characters of people were painted by the writer with a loving hand. The Ukrainian youth was pictured as cheerful, vigorous and optimistic, as young boys and girls, who, notwithstanding the hard life, preserved the sense of humour, the thirst for happiness, love of labour and nature, love of the native soil.



Portrait of the Russian writer N. Gogol by the artist Moller

At St. Petersburg, Gogol became the centre of attraction of a close circle of friends and comrades, a circle which had the great Russian poet, A. Pushkin, as its inspirer and leader. After the publication of his *Evenings*, Gogol prepared for the press the new volumes, *Mirgorod* and *Arabesques*, the latter contained, apart from stories, historical and pedagogical articles, notes on literature, art and folk poetry.

Mirgorod had as a sub-title, "Stories

which Form a Continuation of the 'Evenings on a Farm Near Dikanka'." In reality, the new collection was not a simple continuation of the first book. In the stories included in *Mirgorod* Gogol treated new problems and boldly exposed the contradictions existing in the life around him. As a true realist, Gogol painted in his "Taras Bulba," a story about Cossack life contained in this volume, heroes who personify the finest traits of the people, their urge for freedom, courage and fearlessness in struggle. Gogol showed the growing unity of the Ukrainian and Russian peoples, thanks to which they were able to fight together for national independence.

"The Little Man" in Gogol's Stories

The themes of the stories published after *Mirgorod* were based on life in St. Petersburg. "The Portrait," "Nevsky Prospect" and "A Madman's Notes" (included in the *Arabesques*), as well as "The Carriage," "The Nose" and "The Coat" written later, in 1839-1841, make up the series of his St. Petersburg stories. In some stories of this series, Gogol treats Pushkin's theme of the "little man." One can feel the writer's deep sympathy for the inconspicuous little man, his work-a-day life, his hard struggle for existence.

During these same years, Gogol was writing his dramatic productions, *The Marriage* and *Revizor* (Inspector-General). Developing the theme suggested by Pushkin, Gogol wrote his brilliant comedy, *Revizor*, in 1835.

The Acme of Gogol's Dramatic Writings

Revizor is the acme of Gogol's dramatic writings. It contains a whole gallery of "leaders" in a provincial Russian town, corrupt bribe-taking and despotic officials, through the exposure of whom, the author lashed the corruption and careerism, stupidity and meanness of the ruling classes in Tsarist Russia and nailed down the disgusting features of serfdom.

The appearance of *Revizor* produced widespread reactions. It was welcomed by all progressives of Russia, while the reactionary serfowners received this comedy with frank fury. Soon after the production of *Revizor*, *Gogol* went abroad. He visited Germany, France, Switzerland and Italy, lived about two years in Rome, and throughout those years he worked on his *Dead Souls*. Returning to his country in 1839, he went to Italy again in the following year to complete his *Dead Souls*, the plot of which was suggested by Pushkin.

The first volume of *Dead Souls*, on which Gogol had been working since 1835, was published in May, 1842.

"Dead Souls"—Gogol's Masterpiece

The *Dead Souls* is Gogol's greatest masterpice. This grand epic, which, in the author's words, embraced "the whole of Russia," was the crowning point of his work as it were. Gogol portrayed in his book numerous characters taken straight from life and ranging from outright swindlers of the type of Chichikov (who buys lists of dead peasant serfs in order to pass them for living peasants to be cited as security for a big loan from the bank), down to the cruel serf-owners, such as Sobakevich and Plushkin. That was again a severe and just indictment of serfdom and of the landed nobility.

The great writer did not live to complete this epic. He himself destroyed the second volume, and only fragments from it were saved by chance and came down to us. Gogol's endeavours were cut short by death, in February, 1852.

"It is a long time since the world had a writer who was as dear to his people, a Gogol to Russia," wrote Chernyshevsky the great Russian critic and publicist and passionate fighter for freedom. Gogol is one of the most powerful and original realists whose genius shines in Russian and in world literature.

ART OF DANCE DESIGN—CHOREOGRAPHY

CHOREOGRAPHY* is a word used frequently in the dance world but its meaning is not clearly understood by many outside that world. Specifically it means the art of dance design. Architecture and sculpture create patterns in *space*; music creates patterns in *time*. The dance is a *time-space* art—the only one. A choreographer is the person who plans not only how a dance should be executed—the steps and gestures which should be used to project emotion or tell a story, but one who knows how to combine the elements of time, space and human bodies into patterns—into dancing.

Not long ago a television program of unusual interest was devoted to this subject of choreography. Agnes de Mille, distinguished American dancer and choreographer, conducted the 90-minute program in which she was assisted by a carefully selected group of 26 dancers and a 27-piece orchestra. Dance audiences have grown enormously in the United States during the last decade and this program, estimated to have reached 12,000,000 viewers, was most favorably received—so much so, in fact, that similar programs were immediately scheduled.

To move expressively—to dance—is a universal human impulse, and the first formalized dance is beyond the memory of history. In tracing the evolution of choreography in relation to dance history, Miss de Mille said that primitive societies found dance so potent that they called it magic and invoked its aide to supplicate the gods, to celebrate a harvest, rejoice in a victory or to summon the power and courage needed to meet an enemy. Since primitive man danced solely to express his own needs and emotions, his dances were personal to him and not intended for an audience. The choreographer's idea of creating a dance in time and space was of no concern to him.



As Agnas de Mille gives her lecture on Choreography, the television camera begins to work

Nor did later developments of the dance which were designed primarily for an audience, have need of the choreographer such as we know today. There were, to be sure, dance teachers steeped in the traditions of their country's culture who trained dancers, sometimes from early childhood, to perform their highly ritualistic and often intricate dances.

It was only with the advent of ballet as a popular entertainment that the choreographer became a necessity. Then one person with the requisite knowledge and taste was needed to fuse into a whole the dance production, depending on a variety of arts and crafts—dance, mime, gesture, music, costuming, staging, scenery and lighting.

Miss de Mille chose for demonstration portions of the old, yet perennial favorite, "Les

* Choreography, or the art of dance design, was the subject of a 90-minute television show conducted by the distinguished American dancer and choreographer, Agnes de Mille for an estimated audience of 12,000,000 viewers. Dance programs of all kinds are of increasing interest to Americans and the critical acclaim which followed this lecture-demonstration was additional proof of this interest. With a 27-piece orchestra to supply music and a talented group of dancers to illustrate her lecture Miss de Mille traced the evolution of choreography in relation to its place in history.



The choreographer instructs the dancers both by word and gesture



An emotion of invocation conveyed in *Serenade*



A romantic ballet evokes a beautiful dream world



Dancers strive to interpret the instructions of the choreographer



Gestures expressive of riding and cattle roping are part of the American ballet *Rodeo*



The choreographer despairs for the moment of being able to communicate her ideas to the dancers

Sylphides," created in 1909 by Michel Fokine for Diaghilev's Ballet Russe in Paris. Set to the music of Chopin, this poetic work is an abstract ballet without plot or story of any kind. Its interest lies solely in pattern and the abstract ballet, "Serenade," choreographed by George Balanchine in 1935. Set to Tchaikovsky's "Serenade in C for Strings," this was the first work created by Balanchine in America. Abstract ballets are particularly instructive to



Gemze de Lappe illustrates certain dance steps and gestures suggested by Miss de Mille



A Siamese court dance



A Congo war dance signifies courage and power



Miss de Mille checks the musical score

Miss de Mille used her own delightful ballet, "Rodeo," to show how the choreographer develops a story in dance. "Rodeo" is a love story of the American Southwest which concerns a cowgirl seemingly interested only in riding and roping who proves eventually that she is also a woman, wistful and eager for romance.

In a final suming up, for her television audience, Miss de Mille said that art often used symbols to communicate what is inexpressible in ordinary speech and that the oldest of all symbols was movement. She then closed her lecture with a biblical quotation, "And God said, 'Let the waters bring forth abundantly the *moving* creatures that hath life'."

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF TIBETAN STRUGGLE FOR AUTONOMY

By TARUN BOSE

Intermittent reports of discontent simmering in the windswept plateau beyond the Himalayas had been trickling in since the Chinese Communist Government forced the Seventeen Point Agreement on Tibet on 23rd May 1951, but few expected to bust it, as it actually did, in such a tragic manner. Cutting out of the grooves of academic obscurity in which a complacent world was wont to keep it, the tendentious subject of the status of Tibet has suddenly become a burning problem of the day. Now when the whole gamut of the Chinese policy is under fire and the historical horizon is blurred by the myopia of pious indignation, it may be worthwhile to trace the evolution of Tibet's historical status from the beginning.

The earliest Tibetan history is lost in fable and folklore. When she made her first appearance on the Central Asian stage at the beginning of the 7th century A.D. Tibet was already a strong and centralised power, her boundary extending from the borders of modern Yunnan and Szechuan to Kashmir and Persia on the one hand and from the Tangut region on the south of Kokonor to Nepal and India on the other.[1] Son-tsan Gam-po, her first national king, started a war with the T'ang Empire of China which went on with occasional breaks for more than two hundred years. At least on two occasions the Chinese emperors gave T'ang princesses in marriage with Tibetan kings, but these did not bring enduring peace. Once the Chinese, as recorded by a Tibetan chronicle, captured the Tibetan capital Lhasa while the Tibetans had their revenge in 763 when they captured Chang An, capital of the T'ang empire. In the height of their power under Kri-son De-tsan the Tibetans carried their arms to Baltistan and Gilgit in the west and India in the south.

After Lang-dar-ma, however, Tibetan empire disintegrated into a number of petty principalities. In this dark age was born the unique religion of Tibet, Lamaist Buddhism, combining primitive Bon-po cults with the teachings of Buddha. She now gave up practically all her political ambitions and retired into a secluded life for the next thousand years. Henceforth the national policy of Tibet was to propagate her religion among the peoples scattered all over Central Asia. As more and more martial peoples came within its fold the duty of protecting Tibet and her religious institutions was delegated to them.

The rise of Mongol powers in Central Asia gave institutional support to this change in Tibet. Kublai Khan, who conquered China and founded the Yuan dynasty there, was a patron of Buddhism. Marco Polo writes how deep was his concern for spiritual matters and he was no doubt attracted to Lamaism by the many miracles performed in his presence by the priests of Lamaist church.[2] Phagspa, nephew of Sakya Pandita of the large monastery of Sakya, went to the court of Kublai Khan in 1253 and was made by the Khan his spiritual guide or national mentor. He was later on raised to the rank of

1. Tibet and Tibetans—Shen and Liu.

2. Travels of Marco Polo—Book II, Chapter II.

'Priest King' (Ta-pao-fa-wang or Prince of the Holy Law) and constituted ruler of Tibet.

Chinese claim to suzerainty over Tibet dates back to the above arrangement whereby she became a theocracy under Mongol suzerainty. It has been said that "through the religious link between China and Tibet, China was able to exercise a dominant influence over her vassal state or, in terms of Buddhist statecraft, her 'patronized state,' without using force or establishing colonies in the country." This relationship could exist when the Chinese emperors belonged to the Lamaist church as the union was based on religion and political connection only grew out of it.

Personal and religious aspect of the relationship came to the fore when the Ming Dynasty supplanted the Yuan. The Ming emperors indeed for a time tried to emulate their predecessors by giving titles and presents to the lamas but the Yuan legacy could hardly be bequeathed to a non-believer. Tsong-ko-pa who founded the Ge-lu-pa or Yellow Sect about this time did not take kindly to the overtures of the Ming emperor Cheng-tsu and declined his invitation to visit the Chinese court. All relationship between Tibet and China practically broke down when emperor Shih-tsung embraced Taoism and strove to suppress Buddhism. From this day till the end of Ming Dynasty lamas seldom went to China and Tibet remained outside the political influence of the Ming emperors.

With China following a nationalistic policy under her Ming emperors, Tibet once more gravitated towards Mongolia. Since 1509 Mongolian tribesmen had been moving to Kokonor area[3] where they came in close contact with the Tibetans. The third Dalai Lama twice went to Mongolia where he introduced the Yellow Sect. Full effect of this new alliance was demonstrated when a Mongolian army under Gushi Khan intervened in the conflict between the Yellow Sect and Red Sect and crushing all opposition proclaimed the fifth Dalai Lama as the undisputed spiritual leader of Tibet.

Meanwhile far-reaching changes were taking place in China where the Ming Dynasty was overthrown in 1644 by the Manchus. At the same time a struggle for supremacy had been going on between the Manchus and the Mongols both of whom gradually accepted the spiritual leadership of the Dalai Lama. In 1652 the fifth Dalai Lama paid a visit to Peking where he was received as a sovereign. As head of the Buddhist church in Central Asia authority of the Dalai Lama was now at its highest and the Manchu emperors sought his support in gaining the allegiance of the Mongols.

But Mongol power was not yet broken and there could be no question of extending Chinese suzerainty over Tibet so long as the army left by Gushi Khan at Lhasa remained behind the Dalai Lama. The opportunity came when the Dzunger Mongols intervened in Tibet after the death of the fifth Dalai Lama. This brought the Manchus into Tibet who defeated the Dzungers and assumed the role of defender of the faith.

A concordat which was now arrived at between the Dalai Lama and the Manchu emperor was a happy and workable compromise between Tibetan autonomy and Chinese suzerainty; their personal relationship being like that of a priest and his lay disciple. In defining the position of the Dalai Lama it may be said that the tendency to equate him with Tibet is not correct in the sense that his spiritual authority transcends the boundary of Tibet. He is head of the Lamaist church which among its followers includes diverse peoples living in India, Mongolia, Russia, Manchuria and other parts of China. Political Tibet which is the temporal domain of the Dalai Lama is even smaller than geographic or ethnographic Tibet. It extended north to the Dang La range, separating it from Kokonor, and east to Bam La. The Kokonor territory, thinly populated by Mongolian and Tibetan

3. D. Pokotilov—History of the Eastern Mongols during the Ming Dynasty from 1368 to 1634.

nads and comprising the whole of the per basins of the Yangtze and Yellow vers and part of the Mekong headwater untry, was under the nominal control of e Sining Amban. The country west of line drawn through Bam La and mprising such frontier areas as arkham, Chamdo and Riwoche remained ithin Tibet. But a host of semi-indepen-ent Tibetan states like De-ge, Chala, atang, Litang, etc., continued to exist on e Chinese of the border[4]. Apart from ceiving tribute no attempt was made by e Chinese for about two hundred years bring about a closer integration of ese with the rest of China. Nor should be forgotten that the Manchu emperors, ue to their role as lay-protectors, ndered valuable help to the head of eir church against foreign invaders ke the Gurkhas in 1792 and the Dogra rmy of Zorawar Singh in 1841.

The balance of power in High Asia as disturbed by British penetration ulminating in Sir Francis Younghusband's xpedition of 1904 which forced Lhasa onvention on the Tibetans and marked he beginning of attack on Tibetan utonomy. The British thrust was primarily irected against Russia to forestall her nove against this vital strategic area, ontrol of which by any other great power would have imperilled Indian Empire. But to the Chinese it was just an attempt of the British-India Government to open up Tibet for commercial exploitation. This attempt "to impose the drinking of Indian ea on a people which prefer Chinese tea" (Earl of Rosebery) cut across Chinese interest of keeping Tibetan commerce, particularly the valuable trade in tea, in their own hands. The alarmed Chinese Government now began a systematic attempt to bring Lhasa under its political control and to incorporate the bordering areas within China.

Eastern Tibet which has always been a land with promise first bore the brunt of the changed Chinese attitude. Chao Erh-feng, a ruthless soldier, appeared on the scene and began an active anti-lama policy. He destroyed semi-independent Tibetan states, established colonies of Chinese settlers and introduced the Chinese system of provincial administration. Finally a Chinese army forced its way into Lhasa (1910). The Dalai Lama fled and took refuge in India, leaving the Chinese for the first time complete masters of Tibet.

This change of Chinese policy, backed by a strong army, was so sudden that for a time it looked as if Tibet would lose her autonomy for good. Her military strength was negligible and the international situation unfavourable. Whereas by the Peking Convention (1906) and the Agreement between Gt. Britain and Russia (1907) both the British and the Russian Governments undertook not to interfere in the internal affairs of Tibet, nothing was done to ensure similar forbearance on the part of China. During his exile the Dalai Lama received no help from the British Government beyond a formal desire "to see the internal autonomy of Tibet under Chinese suzerainty."

So when he returned to Lhasa (1912) after the Chinese Revolution he was resolved upon making Tibet autonomous both in name and in fact. With the deposition of the Manchu emperor who was regarded as reincarnation of Buddha of Wisdom the bond between Tibet and China was weakened[5] and with the sinister policy initiated by Chao Erh-feng looming in the background no Tibetan could ever trust the grasping Chinese.

This assumption of autonomy was accompanied by a national upsurge which helped Tibet to hold her own against China. Her ancient martial spirit was dormant but not dead. When the much-needed army reforms were put through, her army proved its worth by defeating the Chinese and recovering much of the land lost to Chao Erh-feng. Rise of the Young-Tibet Party about this time helped the process. Led by a group of military

4. Eric Teichman—Travels of a Consular Officer in Eastern Tibet.

5. Sir Charles Bell—Tibet: Past and Present.

leaders they stood for the substitution of the theocratic regime by some form of civil government, for carrying out of national reform and for economic development on western lines.

For more than three decades Tibet enjoyed her autonomy without any interference from China. So in 1949 when the disquieting turn in Chinese civil war threatened to spread the conflagration to Tibet, she decided to demonstrate her neutrality by ousting the officials of the Kuomintang Government from Lhasa.[6] But Red China interpreted it as an affront and prepared to 'liberate' Tibet from the 'imperialists.' In October '50 the Chinese army crossed the border at several points and Tibet, too weak to resist them, was forced to sign the Seventeen Point Agreement.

While retaining control of the military and foreign affairs, China agreed to leave Tibet in the enjoyment of her internal autonomy, with no change in Dalai Lama's political system or in his status, function and power. Its religion, monastic institutions and customs were to be respected. Hopes of a smooth working of the new regime were, however, soon shattered. Apparently there was little interference with the status of the Dalai Lama, but all power soon passed out of his hands. Despite outward forms all Tibetan Departments were in fact subordinated to the various military and administrative committees set up by the Chinese.

In March '55 when the Dalai Lama was on a visit to China, the Chinese Government announced its decisoin to set up a Preparatory Committee with the Dalai Lama as Chairman to prepare the way for Tibetan autonomy. This body which met for the first time in Lhasa on April 22, 1956 was never given real power and it soon became apparent that even the so-called autonomy permissible under the Communist system could only be granted to Tibet after necessary indoctrination. Large numbers of Communist Party officials and teachers were brought for preparing the Tibetans for the Communist way of life. Numerous young men and women were also sent to China for indoctrination. The Chinese also interfering with religion by forcing through 'reforms' and when these failed by deporting the monks or burning the monasteries.

Meanwhile eastern Tibet was threaned in a far more serious way. The line of Chinese advance in 1950 lay through this area and at that time it had to put up with much of high-handed action by the Chinese soldiery. Now began a systematic attempt by the Communists to plant Chinese colonies in Kham, Golok, Amdo and other areas of Tibet. This led to their, as pointed out by a correspondent in *New Statesman* on 20th December, 1958, mass migration and exodus. As a result began a widespread revolt by the Khampas, a particularly warlike and turbulent people of eastern Tibet.

The Chinese for a time understood the gravity of the situation and decided to go slow. Mao Tse-tung said, on 27th February, 1957 in his famous "doctrine of hundred flowers," "Because conditions are not ripe, democratic reforms have not been carried out in Tibet. It has now been decided not to proceed with democratic reform during the Second Five-Year Plan, and whether it will be done in the Third Five-Year Plan we can decide in the light of the situation obtaining at that time."

But it was too late to scotch the discontent. There was increasing demand for a much broader-based autonomy and the Khampa rising which was continuing since 1956 brought the matters to a head.

Last year there was a mass concentration of Khampas in Lhasa; then quite suddenly and without any apparent reason they moved south towards the Tsang-po (Brahmaputra).[7] During the winter, when the Chinese were immobilized, they greatly increased their strength. Chinese troops were ambushed and their arms looted away.[8] With the coming of spring pattern of the revolt began to take shape. The Khampas were in control of the Brahmaputra basin below Lhasa and of all territory between the river and Bhutan-India frontier. Possibilities of 'liberating' the Dalai Lama and moving him to Khampa-held territory were freely discussed.[9]

The dilemma of the Dalai Lama increased as such a move was sure to lead to full-scale Chinese operations which possibly would mean an end of Tibet's autonomy. Meanwhile the Chinese had been putting pressure on the Dalai Lama to use his power to suppress the Khampa revolt. Against this background was received the Chinese invitation of March 10th which roused all the suspicion of the Tibetans and set in motion the train of events leading to the Dalai Lama's sensational escape from Lhasa and seeking asylum in India.

With this Tibet's struggle for autonomy enters on a crucial stage. Dalai Lama, apart from his religious authority, has always represented national resistance to Chinese rule. As an ex-Premier of Tibet puts it, "The real government is with His Holiness." Whether he will be able to survive his exile with Tibetan autonomy intact, depends on the success of the opposition in Tibet itself. In spite of their vast superiority in military strength, the Chinese do not yet feel strong enough politically to denounce the Dalai Lama. They are still talking about Tibet's autonomy and even according to the Chinese theory the Dalai Lama is its head. They are surely waiting to see how far the Panchen Lama succeeds in inducing the Tibetans to accept the Chinese rule. Whatever may be the result, immediate prospect before Tibet is a long struggle to preserve her national identity.

6. Heinrich Harrer—Seven Years in Tibet.
7. *Statesman*, 14-1-'59.
8. *Statesman*, 25-2-'59.
9. *Statesman*, 2-3-'59.

EDUCATION AND DEMOCRACY IN FREE INDIA

By Prof. KAMAL KRISHNA GHOSH, M.A., W.B.E.S. (Retd)., *Ex-Principal*

[The present article is a sort of reaction to Shri Jawahar Lal Nehru's Press Conference in Calcutta on Sunday the 27th July, 1958, as reported by the staff reporter of the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* in its issue of the 28th July, 1958, under the caption "After Nehru What?" The attention of our readers is invited to the full report in original of this very interesting Press Conference of Shri Nehru, wherein he made *two* very important observations: *First*, at the outset he pointed out that such a question might have been put in Hitler's Germany. With "democracy in operation" it did not matter much if the successor was not just like his predecessor. Citing the example of America, he continued: "In U.S.A., they found some President of a very superior calibre being succeeded by one of not similar type. Was not the U.S.A. carrying on?" In democratic India such a question was, therefore, perforce futile. *Secondly*, towards the conclusion Shri Nehru considered "propagation of the right kind of primary and secondary education to be of greatest importance to our democracy." He further opined that "what was important in India was the question of giving training to a wide strata of people from the highest to the lowest," so that here in India "in the process of the working of democracy" somebody else would come in to fill the place.]

"The bulwarks of a country are its men."

"Upon the education of the people of the country the fate of the country depends."

"From colleges and universities of the country flow the ideas and the people that influence the direction of science, industry, politics, national defense, the arts and humanities, indeed, every sphere of our national life . . . . to the extent these well-springs of knowledge and learning are neglected and deprived of the resources necessary to develop fully their potential to that extent the nation fails to attain its own highest level of progress." —*The Ford Foundation Annual Report*, 1957, p. 8 (slightly altered).

"Through education society can realize its fullest potential for material abundance, intellectual enlightenment and moral growth.

Through education man learns the secrets of nature so that it will serve him, he learns about the past so that he may be wisely guided in the present and the future, and he learns the moral values that he can apply in his relationships with his fellowmen."—*Ibid.*, p. 9.

"The nation's greatest resource—its human resources." *Ibid.*, p. 14.

"The money given to education by the Nation is not a gift but an investment. It returns high interest to the Nation."—Mrs. Annie Besant, the *Kamala Lectures* (1925).

"The world of to-morrow will be born from the schools of to-day."—M. L. Jacks: *The Headmaster Speaks*. (Kegan Paul).

1. *Vital link between "Education" and "Democracy". Importance of the ballot-box in a democratic set-up, with its universal franchise. "Selection and training" of a successor or a series of successors—a negation of Democracy.*

The role of Education in the evolution and sustenance of Democracy is not usually well understood in our country as yet in the early formative stage of Democracy. We have not yet been thoroughly "educated" into seeing the vital link between "Education and Democracy." It was therefore quite in the fitness of things that Shri Nehru the other day stressed the importance of this subject at a Press Conference in Calcutta, while himself passing the question of his own successor and himself supplying the answers in the manner of a true apostle of Democracy and of a constructive statesman. We have already stated in the preamble the substance of his reply, below we give our own amplification of his observations: If "Democracy" is government by the "Demos" or "common people," naturally then in a democratic set-up we must expect our successors to come from "the people." "Selection" and "training" of our successors by political parties or leaders will be just a negation of Democracy, a stultification of Democracy. For that will be nothing short of taking away from the people what is the business of the people, what is the "right" of the people. Such things are possible, or as Shri Nehru said, are "of great importance" in a monarchical, authoritarian or dictatorial country only; for there, we know, the voice of a particular group or of a particular leader monopolising all the power, is predominant over the voice of the people. In a democratic set-up, with universal adult franchise the bed-rocks of Parliamentary democracy, on the other hand, where the ballot-box is the sole and ultimate arbiter, the voice of the people speaking through the ballot-box is the final determining factor. Where "democracy is thus in operation," the people have the final say in every matter. Every measure has a "popular sanction" behind it, so that unlimited scope is offered to every individual and the rise of any superman, much less of his successor, is automatically ruled out; for Democracy is bound by a Constitution framed by the representatives of the people thmselves, and everyone in the State from the highest to the lowest is but a creature of the Constitution (even where that Constitution is unwritten and moulded by traditions and conventions). The power of everyone in a democratic state is strictly confined within the limits of the said Constitution and nobody can claim any extra-constitutional power and authority on the strength of his position. So a democratic successor, a man of the people comes from the people themselves out of the natural process of the working of Democracy (but more of this anon) and not under the fiat of any person or party; for there is no such word as "fiat" in the dictionary of Democracy.

2. *Hence the necessity and urgency of educating and training the common people.*

For the success of Democracy, therefore, it is incumbent, to repeat the word of Shri Nehru, to give opportunities to a larger and larger group of people, to a wide strata of people from the highest to the lowest for their receiving the highest training. But all training will be simply thrown away, if the trainees are not educated enough. So Shri Nehru considered "a wide propagation of the right kind of Primary and Secondary Education to be of greatest importance to Democracy." In the following pages we are going to show how Education is the very life-breath of Democracy, how without Education Democracy languishes and dies and lastly, how an educated electorate is the very backbone of Democracy.

3. *No reaction in the country to Shri Nehru's press conference, thus testifying to public apathy towards Education.*

How little *we* realise the importance of the role of Education in relation to Democracy may be gathered from the fact that this Press Conference of Shri Nehru, so important in the real interest of the country, has so far hardly evoked any comment at all; in fact, the reaction of the public has been almost nil, and Shri Nehru's appreciation of the importance of Education has hardly been seconded by the public. The public, it is clear, are apathetic towards the subject of Education. But it is now high time that the public should be "educated" into seeing the vital link between Education and Democracy, so that the prevailing apathy towards this subject will thaw and melt away. With the disappearance of this apathy the rest will follow.

4. *Top priority to be given to Education in all our plannings. Education to precede all projects to mould the human element first.*

It is clear now from what has already been said that Education must be given top priority in all our Plannings, that Education must precede all types of projects. Before the spectacular array of growing ambitious projects we are apt to forget the human factor that mainly goes to the working and implementation of all our projects, in our fetish for the machine we *have* lost sight of the man behind the machine, just as we have lost sight of the man behind the plough. We *have* forgotten that this human element has got to be tackled, moulded and developed first, if our national programmes are to be at all made successful. Full industrial development amounting to almost revolution, which is our target, will be impossible without universal education. The difference in existing *per capita* output between our country and industrially advanced countries will be a sufficient point in this direction. Again, agricultural development, which we need so badly to meet our distressing, and at the same time baffling, food problem, will be quite easy to achieve if we have, in this age of scientific agriculture, educated agriculturists driving the tractor. And our National Plans and Community Projects will rouse popular enthusiasm and thus they will automatically gather strength if stress is laid on universal education first.

Thus with universal education there will be felt a tremendous fillip in every department. Over four decades ago the poet Rabindranath Tagore during his tour of Japan was taken aback to find his hotel maid reading a Japanese translation of his philosophical lectures in his *Sadhana*. This was his strange experience as he narrated to the students of the Calcutta Presidency College (*Presidency College Magazine*, Nov. 1917). A nation whose hotel maids were so highly educated over four decades ago has naturally risen up again, rejuvenated, phoenix-like, out of her own ashes, so soon after her recent harrowing, shattering experiences.

5. *A well-cultivated intellect, the fruit of education, to operate well in all field. Hence no dearth of able men to be felt. Relays of able men kept in readiness by the democratic system.*

As education leads to the cultivation of intellect, it equips one for intelligent action. "An intellect properly disciplined, an intellect properly habituated, is an intellect able to operate *in all fields*." Herein comes the necessity of universal education in a democratic set-up. Whenever and wherever a gap occurs, the "natural process of the Working of Democracy" is sure to supply a successor out of the educated common people to fill up the gap. Democracy therefore must so order its system and create its own environment through universal education and training that relays of fit persons in every department must always be in readiness to take over, otherwise Democracy fails. Whenever there is a shortage of personnel and also of leaders in any department, it is a signal of warning that there must be some lacunae in the educational system of the democratic set-up, deserving our immediate attention, we are to assume that the "human resources" which, as we have already noted constitute "the greatest resource of a nation" have not been sufficiently exploited and developed through education by Democracy, and to the extent the human resources remain thus unexploited and undeveloped, to that extent Democracy suffers. Therefore Democracy must always be on the alert about her educational system and must never suffer any shortage of trained personnel in any section. It was democracy, for example, that made possible

Lincoln's passage from Log Cabin to White House, and that also inspired Lincoln with no special literary equipment to deliver that immortal literary master-piece of a speech that has been ever since a beacon light to struggling humanity. Democracy alone has wrought this miracle.

6. *Power and responsibility conferred on the people by the ballot-box. Our "masters" therefore to be educated. Example of Great Britain cited. Educated electorate leads to the rise of strong opposition parties and thus also to a balance of parties: the essence of democracy.*

Another consideration invests the question of universal education with awful importance in India, where a great experiment in democracy is now in progress. India has today become a huge laboratory of democracy, for, in India, which has chosen the parliamentary form of democracy based on party system, instead of one party rule, the ballot-box has been placed at the disposal of every Indian adult. The interest of India as also of democracy demands that this experiment in democracy be successful. We are to see that the power conferred by the ballot-box is not misused or abused, that the responsibility conferred by universal adult suffrage be fully discharged. For, we must know that, mere extension of franchise by itself is no panacea for political ills, extension of franchise in order to be fruitful must be followed by a programme of education, otherwise extension of franchise becomes meaningless. In this connexion the example of Great Britain, the traditional home of the Mother of Parliaments, will be appropriate. In Great Britain, at the time (June 7, 1832) when the famous Reforms Bill became an Act, "general education was at a low ebb" (R. Gardiner), but with this Act placed on the statute book State education of its people began. The next stage came, when with the further extension of franchise, *viz.*, the working class vote, Gladstone came to power (1868). He was determined to push on with social reforms first and he considered education to be the first of the social problems to be tackled. So, it was felt that "now we must educate our masters," for, in Great Britain, "up to 1870 children were not obliged to go to school and, indeed, there were not schools for them all to attend" (Warner and Marten). It was with the passing in 1870 of the "Elementary Education Act," sponsored by W. E. Foster, a quaker, "who was given charge of Gladstone's measure for educational reform" that "the schoolmaster was abroad with his primer." Ten years later (1880), by which date a sufficient number of new schools were built, it was made compulsory for all children to attend schools up to the age of thirteen. Parents had to pay fees, and not till 1891 Lord Salisbury's second ministry completed the Elementary Education Act of 1870 by making education free in all elementary schools. Thus was completed the process of building up in Great Britain an educated, enlightened, thoroughly sober and disciplined electorate, which is an asset to democracy. For, education alone can produce thinking citizens, who unswayed by political passions, can rightly exercise their franchise. Over and above, an educated, enlightened electorate exercises a healthy, bracing influence on administration in several ways: first, extension of franchise *pari passu* with the spread of education shifts the centre of gravity from some particular class or classes to the whole nation, for then political awareness, political consciousness dawns on the whole nation, so that it becomes impossible for some particular class or classes all the political wisdom and therefore decide what the whole nation should do; and secondly, it helps the growth and development of strong opposition parties, without which the proper democratic functioning of parliamentary government is impossible. An educated, enlightened electorate thus forms the very backbone of democracy, for in the absence of strong and responsible opposition parties or party (as education expands and political consciousness develops) to fall back upon as alternative to the ruling party when it fails the people, democracy slowly, but nonetheless surely, though imperceptibly drifts into oligarchy and dictatorship. Thus the existence of a healthy, responsible and dependable opposition is essential and indispensable for the functioning of the parliamentary form of democracy. The role of this

opposition, it must always be borne in mind, is not to offer opposition for the sake of opposition only and prevent the smooth running of administration. The opposition in democracy cannot prove itself healthy and effective by mere obstruction tactics, nor should the party in power reject summarily whatever suggestion the opposition puts forth; for, in democracy, it never must be forgotten by all the parties, the government of the country is not the permanent monopoly of any particular party; the ruling party may be matched with a strong and responsible opposition, which may eventually with greater trust of the people and thus be the party in power tomorrow by winning the bloodless battle of the ballot-box, and there the reins of the government will pass into their hands, leading to the formation of the government of the people's own choice. So, in democracy, the opposition must equip itself in such a way as to be looked upon as an alternative to the present ruling party and thus in democracy every party has got to remain alert about the people's interests first and that, though apparently paradoxical, in its own interest, which comes next. Thus eternal vigilance becomes the price not only of liberty but also of democracy. Thus also the opposition forces the party in power to keep itself within proper limits and pay respectful attention to it (the opposition), and finally, thus also secured out of the very healthy competition (not strife and wrangling) of parties, the "balance of parties," which is of the essence of democracy and the ideal pattern of the parliamentary form of government. In an educated and enlightened electorate party rivalry is thus kept within proper bounds and is never allowed to run against the larger interest of the country. So, a healthy competition amongst parties becomes the very life-breath of democracy, for every party becomes mindful of the voice of the people, which is also the voice of God. A party can turn a deaf ear to the voice of the people only at its own peril. In true democracy, with an educated and enlightened electorate, it is the voice of the people that prevails, for it is in the people that true power rests, and no government can disregard the collective consciousness of the people, so that every government has to carry out the bidding of the people. It is education alone that can confer so much strength to the people, and it is the educated, enlightened electorate alone that can suitably respond to all these varied calls of democracy and discharge its complex duties and responsibilities. Hence, an emphasis throughout on the need of education for the proper functioning of democracy.

7. *Our target to be not simply universal primary education but universal adult education.*

Our target should therefore be not simply universal primary education to a certain particular age-group (5|6-11), but also universal, adult education, in other words, education of the huge, unlettered or semi-lettered mass of people beyond this age-group, who shall have to be equipped to become fit citizens, so that they too can exercise their independent judgment rightly and be fit for the complex duties and responsibilities which have devolved upon them with the independence of the country and be well suited to meet the heavy demands of modern political life. The whole nation must, therefore, go to school, wiping off the distinction between the educated and the uneducated classes, between the so-called intelligentsia and the masses, thus neutralizing the present imbalance between these classes so detrimental to the growth and development of democracy and thus paving the path for the "emotional integration" of the entire nation. With universal education democracy will necessarily be in full stride.

8. *Imparting education piecemeal—a short-sighted policy. The neutralizing effects of an unlettered or semi-lettered majority. A subtle danger confronting democracy.*

Now let us stop to sound a note of warning about two serious dangers confronting democracy if it fails to impart universal education. The first is rather subtle and so often, disregarded. It is the neutralizing effect of the huge unlettered or semi-lettered majority swamping the lettered minority by sheer force of number. So this majority is a real menace to democracy. The gravitational pull of this vast majority will be difficult to resist, it will nullify the effects of education imparted to a minority. Not only so, the standard in every

phere, in society as well as in body politic, will be seriously brought down, and every attempt to raise the standard will be stubbornly resisted by this majority. And the standard of living also will suffer a setback instead of advancing and improving, in the absence of universal education. We will, therefore, assert with all the emphasis at our command that the entire nation must not only go to school but also together and at once. It shall be a short-sighted policy indeed to impart education piecemeal and to defer universal education on grounds of finance, for the cost of universal education is the price that we must pay for democracy.

9. *Education to save democracy from "mobocracy".*

There is still another danger from which education saves democracy. It is a grave danger that threatens to lead democracy to the path of "mobocracy". Education presupposes an intensive training and drilling, a strict discipline, the absence of which turns democracy into "mobocracy". We must never forget that as in democracy, there is no inhibition to the expansion of individuality, there is every chance of this individuality running wild and amuck. But democracy is not licence. If democracy is to be saved from this excess, "indulgence of individuality" must be guarded against, and individuality must be kept within proper limits. And nothing but education can supply the inner discipline, the sobering influence that holds in bay our bounding individuality, restraining it from falling into "mobocracy," which ultimately paves the path for dictatorship or totalitarianism and all types of subversive ideologies. Education with its far-reaching effects thus serves as a ballast to democracy. We, therefore, repeat here the warning sounded by John Milton, who said long ago that the rise and fall of nations and commonwealths turn upon the axle of discipline.

10. *Part to be played by private parties in financing universal education. Creation of private Trust funds.*

It is now time to lay stress on one important point which we have left untouched so long. It is the part which in a democratic set-up the private sector can play in helping the State tide over the staggering financial difficulties in implementing the scheme of universal education, and particularly in a country like India whose income is not up to this colossal task. In a free democratic country, the people must not always look up to the State for finance, the private sector must cooperate with the State and take a share of the huge financial burden that universal education entails, just as it has in the case of Community Development programme. Private benefactions must play their part in this country also, on as large a scale as in democratic America, for that will show a spirit of self-reliance quite befitting a free, democratic country. Business corporations must now unstring their purses, for it will not be pure charity on their part to do so, in a sense it will be sound business policy also, an investment in their own interest. It is in our own interest also that we must be prepared for financial sacrifice on our part towards the implementation of schemes of universal education. If the entire nation has to go to school at all, the entire nation has to bear the burden, not simply formally through legislatures, but also informally in its private capacity; for, after all, education is the responsibility of the entire nation. Let "Educational Development Funds" be opened institution-wise, State-wise and Union-wise, and let even "Educational Development Fund Acts" be passed to facilitate, expedite and legalise contributions to these funds from the private sector, including individuals and corporations, so that everyone can be associated with the great enterprise of spreading education. Everyone will then contribute to common pools. Contributions, however humble, from single individuals, will go to augment these funds substantially. There will be then more money to be made out of the pennies of the million than out of the dollars of the upper ten thousand. In this way let Trust Funds be created (either on the sponsorship of the State or purely privately) on the models and on the scale of the Ford and Rockefeller Trust Funds with exactly similar functions, to supplement the Government budget, lest democracy in India founders on the rock of finance.

11. *Money to be found for universal education to maintain in India "government of the people, by the people and for the people."*

Let us now conclude by repeating what has been practically our main thesis, *viz.*, that we must not be chary of investing on universal education, for money, more money for education "must be found." Let financial and administrative heads and experts—we have thrown out only in amateurish fashion some suggestions above—join together and devise ways and means (which should also include an impartial and thorough probe, State-wise and Union-wise, into administrative expenditure) for provision of the "sinews of war," however huge war against illiteracy, war against ignorance. We have deliberately used the expression "sinews of war" just to stress the necessity of tackling the problem of education on a war-footing. It is really an emergency situation that is facing us when we have an infinitesimally small percentage of literacy even on the eleventh year of our independence. So a sense of emergency, of urgency, must invest all our approach towards this problem. Everything else can wait, but in the present exigencies education can no longer wait, education can brook no further delay. It is therefore high time now not only for a revision of priorities in our Plans, but also for deferment, if not total suspension of some schemes, to make room for universal education. First things first, and the first and most peremptory demand on budget, local or Central, in a democratic country must be education. The charge on education at any stage must never be nibbled down. Let us no longer delay to implement not simply primary, but also sound, general, universal education, so that government of the people, by the people and for the people shall take a firm root and flourish in India.

POTATO CAN SAVE US FROM FOOD SHORTAGE

By J. N. BOSE, F.R.G.S.

The Foodgrains Enquiry Committee (which reported in November last) estimated our present deficit food production at between two and three million tons. Supposing our production remains constant at the present level, and assuming an increase in consumption of one million tons each year, we shall at the present level of nutrition, need to import some twelve million tons of foodgrains ten years hence. Neither can we get such large exportable foodgrains from any country nor we can find the foreign exchange to pay for such huge quantities. At present we are importing foodgrains from the U.S.A. but this advantage cannot last long. Our demands are increasing and we cannot expect Americans to go on producing increasing surpluses to keep us fed. We must step up our production.

Though India has a geographical area of 896 million acres and an estimated culturable area of 467 million acres, at present only 316 million acres are actually cultivated, of this only 18 per cent is irrigated. In India the population has doubled in the last half century. It has been estimated that by 1975 the population may rise to 492 millions. Adequacy of grain even at the present low level of nutrition must be attained. Our crop yields are among the lowest in the world, so there is scope for increasing the yields. The experience of Western countries has shown that with the aid of modern science and technology, our fields can be made to produce, two, three or four times the yield they are producing today. World experience shows that fertilizers, effectively and correctly used, are the largest single factor increasing crop yields. A point will eventually be reached when further increases of production cannot be obtained at economic cost, but for that we need not tax our brains for the present, as we can hardly do anything about it now.

"In the First Five-Year Plan importance was given to the development of Irrigation and Power, mainly to attain self-sufficiency in food and to provide a foundation for industrial advancement. All the project taken up during the First

Plan form the part of a long range programme. In the next 15 or 20 years the irrigated area of 51.5 million acres in 1950-51 is expected to be doubled, stepping up production by all possible means, i.e., soil fertility, quality of seeds, supply of manure, better technique of agriculture and double cropping is aimed at. At present in India the per capita cultivated and irrigated area is of the order of 0.84 and 0.14 acre respectively. From 1950-51 to 1954-55 the per capita area irrigated was unchanged, though additional land was brought under irrigation. This was because of the corresponding increase in population."

In his presidental address of the 23rd Annual General meeting of the National Institute of Sciences, held at Madras on January 5, 1958, Prof. P. C. Mahalanobis said: "The problem of feeding fresh additions to the population at the rate of 5 millions per year could be tackled in four different ways:—(i) By importing 700,000 tons of foodgrains every year (at the rate of one ton for seven persons) costing Rs. 450 crores of foreign exchange over a period of five years. (ii) By importing, two years in advance of crop seasons, 3500 tons of ammonium sulphate costing Rs. 135 crores of foreign exchange in a five-year period. (iii) By starting every year (4 or 5 years in advance of the crop season) one new fertilizer factory of 350,000 tons capacity at a cost of Rs. 100 crores in a five-year period with a foreign exchange component of Rs. 60 crores only. (iv) By building a heavy machine industry at an apportioned cost of Rs. 12 or 15 crores including Rs. 8 or 10 crores of foreign exchange, once for all which would produce Rs. 8 or 10 crores worth of machinery required to instal a new fertilizer factory (like Sindri) every year."

Of the alternative outlined by Prof. Mahalanobis the (iv) is obviously the best, but it may be five years before such a factory goes into production. and some five years more for the fertilizer plant made by the factory to go into production. Thus it may be ten years hence before fertilizer manufactured by home-made plant goes into soil. What to do in the interval? If cereals cannot meet the demand we should try tubers, and potato can surely solve our food problem.

The original home of potato is not lost in the mists of antiquity. From Peru-Bolivia the potato was able to spread throughout the world even within the Arctic Zone. It was for the wild potato in the Andean mountains that men of Amazonian basin could move eastwards and westwards and establish a foot-hold on these inhospitable heights, which afterwards flowered into a remarkable civilization. After the discovery of the new world, the great Potosi mines, which brought large fortunes to the Spaniards, were worked with slave labour maintained almost entirely on dried potato. The original potato of Peru was long, deep-eyed, and of poor flavour. In the hands of the breeders, the shape, colour and quality have been much improved; the present tubers express the results of more than three centuries work, though most of the improvements were made after 1845, when potato disease focussed attention on the crop owing to the appearance of potato "blight" in Europe.

The popular belief is that potato was brought from Virginia to England by the Raleigh expedition in 1585. On investigation it appears that true potato did not reach Virginia until over a hundred years after this date. Nor could Raleigh have obtained the potato from Peru, for his ship never visited that country. Claims are made for Drake in this connection. Certainly his ships passed through the straits of Magellan in 1578 and turned northwards, looting the coast towns of Chile and Peru, after which he returned to England across the Pacific and Indian Oceans, thereby completing his second renowned trip round the world. There is, however, no record that potato was brought on his ship the "Pelican," and indeed it was not until 1586 that he is alleged to have intrduced the potato. The Germans are exponents of the Drake story, for there stands in Offenburg, Baden, a monument inscribed: "Sir Francis Drake, introducer of the potato into Europe in the year of our Lord 1580." It is possible, however, that it was the Spaniards who gave potato to Europe.

Potato played an important part in the economic development of England following the industrial revolution. A cheap diet—potato alone could maintain life at low price and thus proved a boon to the employer and employee. It reduced the cost of production and thus helped the rapid growth of national wealth. Seaweed is much used by the potato-growers of Scotland, Ireland and Cornwall, inland growers, unable to obtain this, have to use artificial fertilizers. Most experiments are agreed that a compound fertilizer which contains potash, phosphates, and nitrogen is desirable, but the exact proportion in which they should be mixed is a matter of controversy. In the trials conducted at the Rathamsted experimental station (England), the nitrogen fertilizers proved over a period of years, an increase of 20 cwt., of potatoes per cwt., of sulphate of ammonia used. The yield of potato was 11 to 13 tons per acre, and usually 4 cwt., of sulphate of ammonia and 4 cwt., of sulphate of potash per acre was necessary to secure this. Economy of either ammonia or potash reduced the yield. The action on other soil would probably be somewhat different.

Potato formed five-sevenths of the diet of the German working classes. In Germany, before the Second Great War, the area under potato exceeded that under wheat by 2 million acres. Without potato the Great War could not have been fought, it furnished a great reservoir of power and food for the German people. Potato production of Germany is of two kinds, the crop of the West is grown mainly for table purposes. In Eastern Germany there exist vast tracts of light sandy soil of little use for grass or cereal production, but continuous cultivation and judicious manuring with fertilizers they have been rendered fertile for potatoes which are grown in great quantities and largely used for making farina (potato starch) or alcohol.

Dr. Dudley Stamp in his 44th edition of the *British Isles* stated that the people of Eire eat or consume about a quarter of a ton of potatoes per head each year. Potato has been both saviour and ruin of Ireland. It reached there at the end of 16th century, at a time of great civil turmoil, when a very large tract of the country had been completely devastated. It fitted perfectly into the lives of the semi-starved people and spread rapidly. It provided good nourishment for the population and gradually affected the entire social fabric of the people. As the effort required for its cultivation was very little, the people became lazy and the standard of living sharnk to the lowest level in Europe. Potato took the place of money and it dictated size and tenure of their holdings. Its general abundance removed from the peasantry any sense of family resposibility, pride of home or person, marriages were entered into light-heartedly and the number of children in the family was of no matter, for there were enough potatoes to go round. It was in these conditions that suddenly in 1845 and 1846 the potato blight caused by the fungus swept all over Western Europe. Ireland, whose dietary was completely dominated by the potato suffered unparalleled disaster. The complete failure of the potao crop not only caused the death of about a million people from sheer starvation, but also culminated in a great wave of emigration which led another million to leave their native land during the next few years.

In Australia, growers, in the rich potato-growing Otay range around Colac (38°-20'S. latitude and 143°-38'E. longitude) have reaped a harvest which is far beyond our dreams. Their potatoes are as big as footballs and weigh up to 5 lb. The tonnage to the acre in many parts was from 12 to 15, occasionally as high as 18 compared with normal average 5 or 6 tons per acre.

The culture of the potato was brought into colonized America by Irish immigrants and at present in the U.S.A. the ratio of the cereals and potatoes in the diet of a household of the lowest income is 79 to 64. Thus it can be shown that in all countries where the population has increased. cereals have been invariably replaced

by tuber (mostly potato). In many countries of Europe, potato shares with cerals, more or less, on a basis of equality, in the carbohydrate supply of the human diet. The famines which normally devastated Europe became much less frequent after the potato was cultivated as a field crop. The potato crop of the world is used more than any other crop grown, for direct human consumption and no vegetable is served in a greater variety of ways. Potatoes contain about 75% of water, 12 to 15 per cent of starch and from 2 to 2½ per cent of protein material with a small amount of ash and only a little quantity of sugar. From the agricultural point of view, they loosen the lower strata of soil and lead to soil improvement. As a world's crop, potato exceeds, in point of total production, that of any other table food plant grown.

Potato flour is used for cheap bread and as a wheat flour substitute, and dextrine, starch, glucose and industrial alcohol are derived products. Potato solids are similar to flour solids in carbohydrate contents and the replacement of moderate proportion of flour by potato solids will not reduce the calorific value of the bread. Such an addition improves the liveliness of the dough and extends the life of the loaf by retarding the progress of staling. Potato-flesh even at its natural moisture content of 15 per cent is very rich in Vit. B1, B2 and even Vit. C, which is not persent in the wheaten flour breads. The quality of potato protein is at least equal if not superior to that of the cereals and in vitamin content and salt balance it surpasses them. Potatoes supply Vit. C, Vit. B complex and a small quantity of Vit. A as carotene. Neither Pellagra nor Beri Beri is recorded in persons subsisting mainly on potatoes, showing that Vit. B Complex is well supplied. The good Vit. C content of the potato is perhaps one of its greatest assets. The tubers are capable of storage for many months throughout which Vit C content is well maintained. The occurrence of scurvy in Great Britain in the spring of 1917, when the potato supply fell short, witnessed to this.

Potatoes yield an alkaloid ash, and are therefore preferable to cereals in diets where a prepondering base-forming principle is desired. Some at least of the cereals appear to be actually rechitogenic and antagonistic to normal healthy tooth formation; the potato, it seems, has no such property. Whether this property is due to a toxin or to the presence of a large proportion of the phosphorus in cereals in a non-available form, and even in a form which militates against the absorption of calcium also, is still not quite certain. The well-known astonishingly favourable results of the survey of the teeth made recently among the islanders of Tristan da Cunha, were a striking testimonial for the potato: for it, far more than any cereal, is the staple energy producing food of the island. Holmes in Encyclopaedia Britannica has presented data to show the amount of energy contributed annually to the world's requirements by the more important food materials. Expressed in trillion calories the figures are: Rice 900, wheat 382, Sugar 209, Rye 164, Barley 119, Potatoes 99, Meat 62.

That scientists and expeditioners of South Pole are still eating powdered potatoes as one of the main items of food bought in long ago is a good certificate for potato.

Potato was introduced in India by the Mughal Emperor Akbar in 1592 and its present acerage and production are as below:

Area (in 1000 acres)

1949-50	50-51	51-52	52-53	53-54
577	592	617	629	643

Production (in 1000 tons)

1949-50	50-51	51-52	52-53	53-54
1519	1634	1685	1961	1965

In India although the soil is suitable in most areas for potato cutivation, only about 0.2 per cent of the total crop area under potato and leaving aside the quantity required for seed purposes, about 9 lb. of potato are available annually per head as against about 500 lbs., per head per annum in some of the Western countries. The average yield per acre in India is one of the lowest in the world. Sri M. Kripal of

Hapur, Meerut district, Winner of the Central Government's first prize of Rs. 5000|- had a record yield of potatoes, namely 726 maunds. The amount of nitrogen and phosphorus per acre used by Sri Kripal as appeared in *Indian Farming*, February issue of 1952 is approximately equivalent to 1.5 tons of ammonium sulphate and 1.2 tons of triple superphosphate respectively. He also top-dressed his crop with superphosphate at 20-25 maunds per acre and the crop was harvested after 5½ months. In the same year a village Brahmin was awarded Rs. 5,000|- by the State Government as the best potato grower in West Bengal. He grew 662 maunds of potatoes on one acre land in Midnapore district.

In a Grow More Food propaganda *Advance* published in 21-3-'49: An irrigated area of wheat land cannot give a crop worth more than Rs. 150|- but in the same area a potato crop valuing from 800 to 1,000 rupees can be raised. The main difficulty is to get proper seed potatoes in right time. Seed potatoes are kept in a dormant condition during storage by placing them under condition of medium humidity, darkness and low temperature. Immediately after harvesting potatoes are in a resting condition and cannot be made to germinate at once. The rest period lasts about 6 to 8 weeks after which the tuber will sprout if conditions are favourable. Storage experiments have shown that dormancy can be maintained for six to 8 months at temperatures ranging from 32° to 40° Farenheit. The Bose Research Institute, Calcutta, has also found that by the application of the Ethelene Chlorohydrine and Sodium or Potassium Thyocyonate the dormant period can be reduced. Seed vigour in stored tubers can be measured to a degree, by noting the character of the sprouts, if small, and originating from many eyes, the seed may be adjudged weak. Bengal Government post-war reconstruction had an estimate that 66,000 maunds of seeds will plant 6600 acres and the expected yield in the plains is about 594,999 maunds at 9 maunds to 1 maund of seed. Simla Potato Research Institute is said to have discovered that potato can be grown when only sproutings from seed potatoes are planted in the soil. It has the advantage of transporting by air sufficient quantities of sproutings from one place to another over a long distance.

Five million a year or every minute some ten additional new-comers are opening their mouths before us for food. F.A.O. reports that to maintain our present nutritional standard (with two-thirds grossly under-fed) we should produce twice as much in 1960 as we did in 1946.

We have advantage of 3:1 over most of the countries in the two limiting factors beyond human control in agriculture, namely, the number of days in the year when the soil temperature is high enough for microbiological activities and the numbers of hours when photo-synthesis can take place, moreover nature has endowed us with abundant water resources.

Twelve years ago Federal Germany's whole economy was shattered, her factories were in ruins, almost every worker of her 70 millions was unemployed. In addition 8 million refugees had been dumped on her from the east. But she did not sit and weep and introduce "family planning." Her answer was hard work and free enterprise (which includes practical, not wooly planing). Today her difficulty is to find enough workers.

The main obstacles in the way of increased production of potato in India are (i) absence of sufficient different varieties of potatoes suited to varying conditions of climate and soil in different parts of the country; (ii) non-availability of sound, healthy seed in adequate quantities, at the right time and at reasonable price and (iii) the heavy toll taken by the fungal, bacterial and virus diseases and insect pests.

But in spite of these obstacles if from now great care is taken so that sufficient germ-free seed potatoes can be supplied to the farmers at the required time and cultivators are encouraged to grow more potato our food shortage can be checked within a year for it will act like blood transfusion to a dying man.

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 acknowleged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

EDITOR, *The Modern Review*

STUDIES IN THE UPAPURANAS. Vol. I (*Saura and Vaishnava Upapuranas*). *By R. C. Hazra. Calcutta Sanskrit College Research Series, No. II. Calcutta, 1958. Pp. 398. Price Rs. 25.00.*

Dr. R. C. Hazra has already earned by his numerous scholarly writings a reputation as one of our foremost authorities on the literature of the *Puranas*. The present work, the first of a projected series in four volumes, maintains the high-level of scholarship we have been led to expect from his pen. We find here the same qualities of exhaustive study (printed editions of texts as well as unpublished manuscripts in various collections in this country and abroad being laid under contribution), of sound judgment on numerous problems of detail, and lucid exposition of arguments and conclusions. The work consists of five chapters. The first chapter deals generally with the questions of extent, antiquity and origin of the *Upapurana* literature. The author makes the general statement (p. 16) that 'the age of the *Upapuranas* began approximately from the Gupta period.' This, however, would seem to require some modification in view of his ably argued conclusion in the same context (pp. 21-23) that 'the group of the eighteen *Puranas* had been formed before the *Upapuranas* came into existence' and that the *Puranas* had been given their final form by the *Bhagavata* sectaries of the Gupta period. In the case of one particular *Upapurana, viz.*, the present *Vishnudharma*, the author pushes back the date of its composition (p. 143) to the period between 200 and 300 A.D. The second chapter gives an exhaustive analysis of the contents of the *Samba Purana*, the most important of the *Saura Upapuranas*, and a very thorough discussion of the problem of its composition and antiquity: the author gives good grounds for stating that it was composed by Magi priests of the Zoroastrian sun-cult and that it consists of two main chronological strata belonging principally to the period from 500 to 800 and 1250 to 1500 respectively. The problems of composition and antiquity and place of origin of three major Vaishnava *Upapuranas, viz.*, the *Vishnudharma*, the *Vishnudharmottara* and the *Narasimha Puranas* are discussed after the usual analysis of contents in the third chapter. The fourth chapter deals similarly with five minor Vaishnava *Upapuranas, viz.*, the *Kriyayogasara*, the *Adipurana*, the *Kalki-purana*, the *Purushottamapurana* and the *Brihannaradiya-purana*. Considering the great importance of the last-named work and the interest of the problems arising therefrom, it would have been better to include it in the category of the major Vaishnava *Upapuranas*. In fact, the author devotes nearly forty pages to this particular work. The fifth and the shortest chapter deals with some lost Saura and Vaishnava *Upapuranas* (numbering three and thirteen respectively) which exist neither in manuscripts nor in printed texts but are known only from lists of *Upapuranas* or from isolated treatises claiming to be their parts. The excellent bibliography at the end is divided into six sections, *viz.*, *'printed texts of the Vedic, Sanskrit and Bengali literatures' 'works in manuscripts,' 'ancient works in translation,' 'works on epigraphy,' 'various modern works,'* and Journals. It would have been better to incorporate the third section in the first and call the whole *Original works of Vedic and classical Sanskrit literature* (with translations). In this first section one is surprised to find the Rajatarangini mentioned in the faulty edition of M.A. Troyer and not in the critical edition of M.A. Stein. The work concludes with a good Index, while Principal Gaurinath Sastri contributes a short Foreword.

U. N. GHOSHAL

ECONOMIC SYNTHESIS: *By Dr. Boris Ischboldin. Published by New Book Society of India, Post Box No. 250, New Delhi. Price Rs. 30.*

A study of economics in the modern world is tending to become more and more mathematical so that any understanding of modern economic concepts is becoming very difficult without a thorough knowledge of higher mathematics. Dr. Ischboldin's book is an attempt to revitalise analytical social economics and make it free from its present bondage of mathematics. He has adopted Synthesis as his approach to social economic problems. The author of the book believes that his analysis contributes a genuine synthesis of socio-economic problems, not only because he establishes a distinct synthesis between the theories of the permanent and the relative economic laws, but also because he reconciles the sound hard core of neo-classicism, and the modern Keynsian thought. Prof. Ischboldin challenges Prof. Boulding's contention that today there are no non-mathematical economists but only those whose principal tool is algebra or geometry and says that the contention of the mathematical economist that their symbols are superior to a literacy mode of expression is wrong. He has explained the difference between national income and national dividend and has called the latter social rent. His study of the structural socio-economic balance-sheet deserves special attention.

D. B.

BUILDING A WELFARE STATE IN BURMA *1948-1956: By Frank N. Trager. New York, 1958. Pp. 118.*

INDONESIA'S ECONOMIC STABILISATION AND DEVELOPMENT: *By Benjamin Higgins. New York, 1957. Pp. 179. Price $4.00.*

THE WEST NEW GUINEA DISPUTE (Mimeographed): *By Justus M. Vander Kroef. New York, 1958. Pp. 43.*

CHINA'S RELATIONS WITH BURMA AND VIETNAM: A BRIEF SURVEY (mimeo.): *By Harold C. Hinton. New York, 1958. Pp. 64.*

All the books are published by the Institute of Pacific Relations, New York 14, N.Y.

One of the most unfortunate result of prolonged imperialist domination of Asia was the mutual isolation of the peoples inhabiting different parts of the region. India, for example, had extensive contacts with China, Burma and other countries of the Far East before the advent of the Western Powers in the area. However with the occupation of the various countries in the area by one or the other European power the age-old relationships were cut off: partly on account of the projection of the intra-European rivalry in Asia and partly because of the desire of the occupying powers to seal off the peoples of the occupied countries from undesirable influences. With the growth of the national liberation movements the restrictions on mutual contacts and intercourse were further tightened up. So much so that when India became free she found herself receiving news from Rangoon *via* London.

The most remarkable fact in our knowledge of modern Asia is that much of this knowledge is derived from the information provided by the Westerner. The approach *via* foreign eyes has two aspects: (a) where the approach to the subject is serious, objective and scholarly we gain a perspective which would perhaps have remained out of our reach otherwise; and (b) where the approach is vitiated by a narrower motive of power or commercial interest the blind reliance on Western writing is likely to distort one's understanding. Unfortunately, however, a good many of the books of the Western authors fall in the tinted category. The tendency to gear scholarship to strategic aims has gained the upper hand in many countries since the end of the Second World War. One has not to go far in seeking an example: a comparison of any two issues of the Moscow *New Times* and New York *Time* magazine would demonstrate to the reader the degree of partisanship even in reporting.

In the post-war period American scholars have accounted for the greater bulk of literature in English in Far Eastern topics. It is, however, an irony of fate that while the American scholars are unexcelled in their search for, and possession of, information on the developments in the area, their writings in general should be such a poor guide to an understanding of the true character of the developments and their significance for history. Any reader of American books on China is bound to encounter this frustration. There are, however, exceptions—as indeed, the first three volumes under review here are. In these volumes the authors, leading experts on their subjects, approach their study with objectivity and understanding and not with any motive to "expose" or find fault with anything. The books have lost nothing for that.

The first two volumes had originally been conceived as papers for the Kyoto conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations in November, 1954, and were later developed into their present forms. Dr. Trager, with his wide knowledge and first hand and intimate contact with Burmese developments, traces in outline the Burmese plans for economic development, the difficulties to be overcome and the government's performance. He refers to two chief problems facing Burma: internal political stabilisation (the cost of insurgent activity in destruction of property alone . . . has been estimated at K 4,730 million, a sum almost equal to Burma's gross domestic product in 1954-55) and getting the money to finance her developmental projects. The task is not a hopeless one and according to the learned author, Burma has already been able to extricate herself from the complexities. The book provides a valuable insight into Burmese economy and politics.

Indonesia's problems are also similar to Burma's in many respects. She had to face the destruction of war and then of internal political strife. She also faces the twin problems of political and economic stabilisation and development. Dr. Higgins' study seeks to describe, as the author himself says, "the basic problems in the Indonesian economy; to outline the short-run policies that have been introduced to deal with them; to indicate the interrelationship of economic and political instability, to relate the chronic short-run disequilibrium to the requirements of long-run economic development; and to outline the general nature and current status of economic development planning in Indonesia." The text fully bears out this promise. The tables in Appendix IV provide valuable statistical data on Indonesian economy.

Prof. Van der Kroef, who is well-known in India, discusses various aspects of the Dutch-Indonesian issue over the future of New Guinea. He sets out to summarise the divergent viewpoints of the two parties which would greatly facilitate a clearer understanding. He considers that the impasse could be resolved through an agreement on some kind of multiple power control of West Irian. It is doubtful if Indonesia would of its free will agree to any such proposal. If, however, she finds it difficult to agree it would be futile to follow such a course. The Dutch, after all, have no business to be in Irian.

Mr. Hinton's study is too much permeated with the strategic sense. He has hardly cared to put forward any evidence to uphold his thesis that the Democratic Republic of Vietnam "is the Communist show-case for the whole of South-east Asia" which the Chinese Communists could transform into a satellite at any time. The book, however, brings together information on the topics not otherwise available and could be found useful to that extent.

SUBHASH CHANDRA SARKER

YOGIRAJ GAMBHIRANATH: *By Akshaya Kumar Banerjee, M.A., Retired Principal, Maharana Pratap Degree College. Published by Sadhu Avedyanath, Gorokhnath Temple, Gorakhpur, U.P. Pp. 216. Price Rs. 3-8.*

The learned author of this well-written book was for many years the professor of Philosophy in the Ananda Mohan College of Mymensingh, East Bengal. He has one or two Bengali books on the life and teachings of his reverend Guru, Gambhiranath. The present book gives systematic biography of this extraordinary Avadhuta of Gorakhpur with a lengthy introduction to the Philosophy and Religion of Gambhiranath and his Sampradaya named Nath Yogi Sect. The late Sadhu Shantinath, Nivrithinath and other monks were his famous Bengalee disciples. It is said that Sadhu Shantinath was his first Bengalee disciple, whom the Yogiraj had initiated into the path of absolute renunciation and deep meditation.

The early life of Gambhiranath is warpped in mystery. About the middle of the last century he made his first appearance in the great monastery of Gorakhpur when he was in the full bloom of his youth. It is ascertained now that he had hailed from some village in the Kashmere state, and was initiated into Yogic Sadhana by his Guru Baba Gopalnath. Gambhiranath practised hard *tapasya* for about thirty years at Banaras, Jhunsi and other places and at Kapiladhara near Gaya. In a quiet cave at Kapiladhara he was immersed in whole-time Sadhana for over a dozen years and attained highest wisdom. Then he was placed at the head of the Gorakhnath Temple of Gorakhpur, his Gurusthan. He was universally respected as a Brahmajnani and literally worshipped by hundreds of pious people. He showered heavenly peace and blessedness equally on all who came to him for the same, and passed away there on 21st March, 1917 A.D.

The exact time and date of his final departure were a few days ago fixed by himself in consulting the almanac with the help of the Pandit of his monastery. He remained always in a meditation-mood and radiated serenity and calmness like the full moon. He was an ideal religious teacher and often said, "The Bhagavad Geeta is an infallible guide for all orders of truth-seekers of all ages and countries and sects. It harmonises the teachings of all scriptures and saints and therefore the universal scripture."

The godly life of such a Yogi and Guru should be widely broadcast throughout the many provinces of the Indian Republic for the sake of moral education and national welfare.

SWAMI JAGADISWARANANDA

VOTING BEHAVIOUR IN THE UNITED STATES: *By Prof. Frederic D. Ogden of the University of Alabama, U.S.A. Institute of Political Science, Ahmedabad. Pages II. Price Re. 0.50.*

In this lecture Prof. Ogden tells us that 'voting qualifications shall be a State responsibility' according to U.S. Constitution with a proviso that none should be denied voting right on the grounds of "race, colour, or previous condition of servitude." In spite of this, USA taken as a whole, has no universal adult suffrage as we have in India. There may be some loopholes in every Constitution in spite of the best wishes of its makers. But in some of the States in U.S.A., specially Southern States, provisions have been made (literacy, property, residence and other qualifications) to debar the coloured people. However, this is an informative and interesting study for laymen and also for politicians.

A. B. DUTTA

SANSKRIT

THE UPANISHADS (A Third Selection): *Translated by Swami Nikhilananda. Phoenix House, London. 1957. Price 25s. net.*

The Upanishads which are the most valuable treasures of ancient Indian literature constitute the background of the philosophy and religion of India. As such they have been read, re-read and interpreted in various ways by the followers and propounders of different schools at different times. They have also received their share of appreciation at the hands of people outside India as well as of followers of heterodox systems of thought. They have from time to time been translated into different languages collectively as well as severally. One of the latest of these translations is contained in the volume under review. We have here the translation of two Upanishads, *viz.*, the *Aitareya* and the *Brihadaranyaka*. This brings the total number translated in the present series to nine including the seven in two previous volumes. The plan followed in all the volumes is the same. The translation of each individual Upanishad is prefaced by a separate introduction pointing out the characteristics of the particular work and giving a short summary of its contents. Besides there is an English translation of Sankaracharya's commentary on it. The translations of the texts closely follow the interpretations of Sankara which are sought to be widely made known to the average reader through these volumes. The translations are followed by explanatory notes based upon Sankara's commentary. The inquisitive reader who wants to know more of the commentary may satisfy himself by its translation as given by Swami Gambhirananda in his recently published *Eight Upanishads*. Those, however, who are not concerned with any particular school will welcome Dr. Radhakrishnan's *The Principal Upanishads* (New York, 1953). Thus these works published almost simultaneously or in quick succession will cater to the varying needs of different classes of people and go a great way in popularising the sublime concepts of the Upanishads.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

HINDI

BAPUKI KALAMSE: *Edited by Kakasaheb Kalelkar. Navajivan Prakasan Mandir, Ahmedabad, December, 1957. Pp. 456. Price 2.50 nP.*

This is a collection of Mahatma Gandhi's original writings in Hindi on as many as 239 topics published in the Hindi *Navajiban* and *Harijan Sevak* edited by Kakasaheb Kalelkar. Kakasaheb has carefully indicated in the preface how Gandhiji's mastery over the languages, Gujarati and English, was apparent to all, and how his writings translated into Hindi by friends created a circle of Hindi readers, and how he was gradually using Hindi directly more and more in his correspondence and Ashram directives, prayer meetings. His advocacy of Hindi as the language of communication in India induced him no doubt to use it growingly in his public speeches and writings.

The significance of collecting his original Hindi writings was not lost to Shri Pannalal Jain of Indore who had a volume ready for publication in 1929. But though Gandhiji gave him the necessary permission and the volume was scanned by friendly critics, political upheavals stood in the way till 1949 when its publication was entrusted to Kakasaheb who in his turn sent it to Navajivan

Direct from Gandhiji's pen, these excerpts will have much that is worth pondering over and over, and educationists in India will surely think of prescribing readings from the volume, and students of Gandhiji's activities may study with profit Gandhiji"s style or way of presentation of various topics, as pointed out by Kakasaheb in the preface.

But the first and foremost attraction is the wealth of Gandhiji's thoughts and utterances on topics widely varied in nature—the same attraction as is uppermost when we go through his post-prayer speeches at the time of the day.

P. R. SEN

GUJARATI

DHARMANA ABHYUTNARTHE (For the Uplift of Dharma): *By Bhagirath Mehta. Published in the "Gram Seva", a newspaper published by the Unava Ashram,* via *Kalol, North Gujarat. Printed at the Sayaji Vijaya Press, Baroda. 1952. Paper cover. Pp. 90. Annual subscription Re. 1.*

The spirit of Tulsidas' *Ramcharita Manas* has moved the writer to produce a work in Gujarati, which would, in all cases, take the place of that world famous treatise in the adventures of Sita, Rama, Lakshmana and others of that Royal family and follow them for the purpose of the uplift of *Dharma* in our country,—*Dharma* which is on the wane. It is an intelligently rendered version.

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Indian Periodicals

East and West

THE CULTURAL BRIDGE TODAY

The first part of an article under the above caption in *The Aryan Path* by Professor H. D. Lewis, is given below:

There can be little doubt in the mind of any thinking person today about the permanent importance of understanding between East and West, and between the inheritors of different cultures in various parts of the world. At the social and political level this is peculiarly obvious and is being forced upon us in the exigencies of events which are rapidly developing and becoming fraught with grim possibilities which are filling our minds with uneasy forebodings of disaster. We are not directly concerned with these social issues in this essay, and it is for the statesman, not the philosopher, to discover the practical measures and institutions by which the sources of power and communication available to us now may be made the means of closer co-operation and friendliness throughout the world. But it is also evident that political understanding is not to be achieved and made permanent without understanding also at the cultural level, where the habits of mind and dominating interests of peoples are formed. We have heard much of late about social engineering, and contemporary thinkers in the West have perhaps been a little too impetuous in adopting these quasi-mechanical concepts of social existence. This may well prove one of the points where a due infusion of the calmer wisdom of the East may enable the West to view its new conceptions in their proper perspective. It is in any case evident that there is a very important cultural side to the social questions which bewilder us today; and, in addition, new advances in scholarship and new insights have made it plainer than ever how valuable in itself, as enrichment of experience, is a fair appreciation of one another's cultures.

It is here that recent philosophy has, in my opinion, a very distinctive contribution to make, but it is not altogether along the lines laid down by those who shared the same ideals in the last century.

As is well known, the treasures of Eastern philosophy were not made readily available to the West until translations of notable texts began to be made by du Patron and others in the nineteenth century. Occasional and sporadic exchanges there had been, and in many subtle ways the philosophies of the East and the West have affected one another to a greater extent than used to be thought. But it was not until the last century that Eastern philosophy came to be extensively and fairly reliably known in the West; and this was the period also when Western philosophy made its greatest impact in India and other Eastern countries, where Western philosophy became an important item in the curricula of new and expanding universities.

It was not surprising that this should lead to high-minded attempts to discover the factors common to the philosophies of the East and the West, and, on the basis of these, to lay claim to an impressive underlying identity. This procedure had much to encourage it at the time: the optimism of the nineteenth century, for example, and the belief in progress, together with the spread of a liberal and tolerant attitude of mind. But what seems to have prompted it most of all was the dominant position of idealism as a philosophy. Idealism, in this context, means the view that reality is one whole or system of such a nature that the inevitability of its being what it is presents itself as a rational necessity—in other words, everything is bound to happen as it does because of its place in a system which is rationally self-explanatory. For our limited minds the explanation might not always be forthcoming, but we could always see the principle of it and know that there is nothing which will not eventually admit of a complete, rational explanation. For anyone able to view the system as a whole there would remain no element of mystery nor any feature of existence which we had just to accept or

take for granted. The text for this was the dictum of Hegel: "The Real is the Rational and the Rational is the Real."

It is not easy for us today to appreciate the confidence with which this view was held as recently as the first half of the present century. We have lived through a period of profound disillusionment and have had to reckon with irrational factor in our experience well calculated to depress any confidence we have about the prospect of providing a thoroughly rational explanation of all things. We have perhaps swung to the other extreme and now underestimate the place of reason in life. But that, for the moment, is another story. What we need to remember now is that, in the latter decades of the nineteenth century, philosophers generally had an unbounded confidence in idealism in the sense indicated and they assumed that this would remain the prevailing philosophical view for all time. All that was left for the future was to refine the formulations of idealism and apply it more effectively to particular problems.

This confidence in reason and the belief that the universe is one whole or system found a ready response among leading Eastern philosophers. This was due in part to the Western training which many of them had received and their proneness to read their own classical texts, the Vedanta for example, through the spectacles of Western idealism. But the initiate will also readily appreciate that there really are important points of affinity between the monism of the Vedanta and idealism, and that many forms of Hinduism could fairly easily blend with the idealist tradition. The notion, present in much Western idealism, that all things, as we encounter them, are unreal or illusory, being only real in their place in the one Absolute Whole, has a great deal in common with the belief in the illusory or unreal nature of our present existence as it appears in more than one Eastern religion. Nor is the affinity confined to general principles. For there is a great deal in Hindu and Buddhist philosophy that has its origin in preoccupation with subtle difficulties about our knowledge of the external world such as Western philosophers study as the subject called "Perception." Students of perception in Western countries are far from appreciating properly what extremely suggestive work, some of it of a closely technical character, has been done, in remote times and in quite recent studies, by Eastern thinkers.

The gentle accommodating habit of mind on the part of Eastern and Western philosophers has, however, suffered many rude shocks of late. For one thing, the erstwhile confident system-building idealist philosophy has fallen upon evil days. It has been very largely abandoned in Europe and America. This is due partly to penetrating criticisms of the main principles of idealist philosophy, but in many cases idealism is left high and dry, in favour of various forms of empiricism, without carful, much less sympathetic, scrutiny of its claims. I think this extremely unfortunate, not because I favour an idealist philosophy myself, but because I believe we have much to learn from it which is most sadly neglected today. That is, however, too long a story to tell now. But the fact is that, in English-speaking countries, all forms of metaphysics and system-building have been extensively discarded as wholly unprofitable enterprises, and have been superseded by the so-called philosophies of positivism and linguistic analysis; while, in other places in the West, the movement known as existentialism seems to hold the field.

Among the pioneers of the philosophy of analysis were G. E. Moore, Bertrand Russell and Ludwig Wittgenstein. Of these it is Moore who made the most direct attack upon idealism, but it is probably Wittgenstein who has had the most direct influence in setting the prevailing philosophical fashion.

The substance of this so-called revolution in philosophy was this. It was argued (or assumed) in the first place that nothing can be true or even meaningful unless it can be understood in terms of experience, the latter being thought of exclusively in terms of sense experience or emotional states. This in itself is not very new. It was the position of Protagoras, for instance, among the Greeks and was subjected to searching examination and criticism by Plato. In modern philosophy it had its supreme exponent in David Hume. Hume seems to be the patron saint of most Western philosophers today, and according to the out-and-out empiricism he advocates there can be no true or even meaningful assertions about the soul as an abiding entity, about objective moral standards or about God and immortality. Beliefs about these sorts of things have to be jettisoned as containing nothing but "sophistry and illusion."

A story about an influential Oxford professor brings out well the shift of interest and attitude in philosophy in recent years. The professor was asked by a distinguished Indian visitor: "And what do they think about immortality in Oxford these days?"—and gave the abrupt reply: "We haven't heard of it for the last twenty years."

Along with an uncompromising acceptance of out-and-out Humeian empiricism and its inevitable scepticism there appeared a new technique designed to dispose of ideas like the soul and God and immortality. This technique is known as linguistic analysis, and it takes the form of ascribing the apparent meaningfulness of statements about, let us say, the soul, to linguistic confusion. The statement "The soul is immortal" sounds a possible one because it has a normal grammatical form and thus gives us the delusion of speaking meaningfully. But in fact it is in the same class as the statement "Gravity runs faster than virtue," which is of course just nonsense. Metaphysics thus came to be regarded as nonsense by which people allowed themselves to be deluded.

Into the close and ingenious ways in which these procedures came to be commended, and into the finer and more cautious developments of this kind of philosophy, I cannot enter now. But it is evident that it accords ill with attempts to bring all the varied facts of experience and facets of culture under some one comprehensive scheme or principle in which differences of outlook ultimately disappeared or ceased to give trouble. Students of religion, directly or indirectly influenced by the prevailing philosophical fashion, have been increasingly inclined to confine themselves as closely as possible to reporting alleged facts without attempting to press beyond them to some underlying unity. We are to be told how people bury their dead at different periods and places, how they build temples, what form their ritual takes and so forth; but what this carried with it further in the way of belief or inner experience is thought to be too treacherous ground to venture upon.

This change of attitude has certainly some important merits. It has brought us down to earth from the rather vague flights of undisciplined metaphysical fancy, and it has brought much common sense to our studies. We are no longer so prone to overlook disconcerting differences in people's intellectual attitudes and cultures, or to treat opposing convictions and practices as of little account by comparison with some alleged underlying unity. We are more cautious and not so ready to allow high-minded enthusiasm to obscure awkward facts and genuine differences; and in this we have nc doubt learnt much from the unhappy course of recent world events which have shown us that distressing and stubborn differences are not to be wished away or resolved by dwelling piously on the glories of an imminent millennium.

A most effective illustration of this change was the inaugural lecture delivered by Professor Zaehner on his appointment to the Spalding Chair of Eastern Religions and Ethics at Oxford. Succeeding Radhakrishnan, who has brought his wealth of learning and profound insight to the task of interpreting the East and the West to one another, Professor Zaehner sounded a much more cautious note in warning us not to set aside too lightly the undoubted differences of belief and practice which appear in the religions of the world. He declared:

Thus to maintain that all religions are paths leading to the same goal, as is so frequently done today, is to maintain something that is not true.

Not only on the dogmatic, but on the mystical plane, too, there is no agreement.

It is then only too true that the basic principles of Eastern and Western, which in practice means Indian and Semitic, thought are, I will not say irreconcilably opposed; they are simply not starting from the same premises. The only common ground is that the function of religion is to provide release; there is no agreement at all as to what it is that man must be released from. The great religions are talking at cross purposes.

It is therefore foolish to discuss either Hinduism or Buddhism in Christian terms; and it is at least as foolish to try to bring the New Testament into harmony with

the Vedanta. They do not deal with the same subject-matter. Even Indian theism is not comparable to Christianity in a way that, for example, Zoroastrianism and Islam are: nor are the various avatars of Vishnu really comparable to the Christian doctrine of the Incarnation.

Eton's Proud Record of 500 Years

M. V. C. Rao writes in *The Indian Review*:

"The Battle of Waterloo was won on the playfields of Eton," the Duke of Wellington, an old Etonian, proudly proclaimed. That is one instance of the remarkable number of successes turned out by the Pubic School of Eton College, during its distinguished record of over 500 years.

The Eton School which was founded in 1440 by Henry VI when he was 19, by itself constitutes the greatest challenge to the sceptics of the Public School system. It has survived not only the ravages of war but—along with the other British public schools—also sweeping social reforms in the educational field in England.

The famous English statesmen turned out by Eton include Sir Robert Walpole, Harley, Bolingbroke, Chatham, Fox, Canning, the Duke of Wellington, Gladstone and Lord Halifax, besides its poetic geniuses, Thomas Gray (who wrote on 'A Distant Prospect of Eton College'), Shelley (who remembered with affection "the excellent brown bread and butter") and Bridges. Scientist Robert Boyle, who founded the Royal Society, was an old Etonian too. Oliver Cromwell also sent one of his wards to this school, which survived the civil war of the former's time.

On an average, 17 per cent of the members of inter-war Parliaments and one out of four members of the war Coalition Government were old Etonians. The majority of them turned out conservatives, constituting nearly one-quarter of the strength of the non-labour M.P's at one time. Only 1·5 per cent were labourites but of the six of these, three were in the Government when a fourth Dr. Dalton had resigned as Chancellor of the Exchequer!

The first mile-stone of the King's College of our Lady at Eton—as it was originally called when founded by Henry VI—was established in its fourth year when the number of scholars was raised to seventy. Originally, it had been conceived as a mixture of college, almshouse and school. The boys were now educated free of charge for priesthood or minor orders. Twenty commoners of noble birth were admitted to the college, marking the origin of the Oppidans or town boys, who therefore continued to outnumber the colleges and scholars. Apart from the aristocratic families, boys of wealthy grocers and inn-keepers also attended the school.

Even after five centuries, despite a few changes of rules necessitated from time to time, Eton has retained its original constitution in essence. The seventy King's Scholars of the foundation still form its core, drawn in the main from the professional classes in recent times. The King's scholar or colleger is selected through an open competition and receives considerable advantages amounting even to a completely free education. And side by side with this, the number of Oppidans or town-boys has been gradually increased until they formed the majority among about eleven hundred boys and eighty to ninety masters. The Oppidan is in complete charge—often from his birth—of a master of a boarding house and gains entrance by passing a qualifying examination. He pays for his course and has no share in the endowments of the King's Scholar Foundation. The more than thousand Oppidans are distributed among the twenty-five houses, each in charge of a master separately. The lower school consisting of about 350 boys is entrusted to the charge of a lower master.

In the highly decentralised system of Eton, the Headmaster, though he holds complete control over the internal matters of the school and its all categories of students—independently of the governing body—very rarely addresses even the Upper School, only in the Chapel usually. Only boys of exceptional eminence come in direct contact with the Headmaster, who otherwise remains a somewhat distant figure to the students. The boy's immediate and almost sole authority in his housemaster, who looks after his boy's physical as well as mental and moral well-being. The system of a separate room for each boy gives excellent opportunities for direct contact between the Housemaster and a boy and mutual talk on subjects varying from the pleasantest to the most serious, thus doing away with the usual irksome officious formalities.

The "pupil-room" with a classical or modern tutor in charge is another special feature which is invaluable in developing the special interests of the boys in subjects outside their curriculum. This involves the informal study by the boy of a general subject such as architecture or music, with weekly exercises corrected by the tutor. Latin, Funch, History, Mathematics and Science are the subjects in the Lower and Middle School, with possibility of inclusion of German and Greek too, the latter for the abler boys alone. After the School Certificate a boy specialises in some subject but he has also to devote time to a subject of 'Extra Study,' the subjects for which range widely, including Russian, Music, Pottery, Drawing, Agriculture and Archaeology. The greater proportion of the boys go on to the University while the rest go for service or business. The degree of healthy freedom and privacy enjoyed

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by even the smallest boys to pursue subjects or arts is of special interest. The various societies cater to such a wide range of interests as Aeronautics, Agriculture, Archaeology, Debating, Heraldic, Literary, Music, Natural History, Philately, Photography, Play, Reading, Political, Scientific and Shakespeare Societies—all managed by the boy officials themselves.

In addition to the usual free time and Sundays the boys enjoy whole holidays occasionally. Eton is the last place for all work and no play.

The Eton Society or Pop is a highly coveted body for membership composed of some twenty to thirty boys elected each half by a ballot, the Pop carries the privileges of a special costume, immense prestige and authority and the right to punish all lower boys. Equally coveted is the position of 'Captain of a House' who is appointed by the Housemaster and along with three or four boys forms the "Library" to manage the House and all its internal matters including discipline. Except in very grave matters demanding the personal attention of the Housemaster, the boys' offences are punished by the boys themselves. These organisations, foster beyond doubt the invaluable qualities of leadership and responsibility.

Games have an important place in the school, both for the boys and the masters. Foot-ball, Cricket and Rowing are the three most important games and the Field Game, a type of Foot-ball peculiar to Eton, is compulsory for all during the Michaelmas term. The House Foot-ball cup excites keen interest, particularly because a boy can win his house colours in the Field Game alone. In the lent term, a boy has to choose between association and Rugby Footbal, Eton Fives, Beagling, Rackets, Squash and Athletics. In summer it is cricket or rowing for which the School colours are awarded.

The College Chapel is the devotional centre of Eton and an architectural beauty. There are two services on Sunday and a daily service of quarter of an hour. Choir boys are trained in a separate day school and the choir has musical standard of a Cathedral. The spirit of belonging to a large and respectable institution is so well enbalmed here that it is usually one of the enduring memories in an Etonian's life.



FOREIGN PERIODICALS

The Agreement between China and Tibet in 1951

The following text of the agreement between the Central People's Government and the Local Government of Tibet has been published in *China Today*, April, 1959:

The Tibetan nationality is one of the nationalities with a long history within the boundaries of China and, like many other nationalities, it has performed its glorious duty in the course of the creation and development of our great Motherland. But over the last 100 years or more, imperialist forces penetrated into China, and in consequence also penetrated into the Tibetan region and carried out all kinds of deceptions and provocations. Like previous reactionary government, the Kuomintang reactionary government continued to carry out a policy of oppressing and sowing dissension among the nationalities, causing division and disunity among the Tibetan people. And the Local Government of Tibet did not oppose the imperialist deceptions and provocations, and adopted an unpatriotic attitude towards our great Motherland. Under such conditions, the Tibetan nationality and people were plunged into the depths of enslavement and suffering.

In 1949, basic victory was achieved on a nation-wide scale in the Chinese People's War of Liberation; the common domestic enemy of all nationalities—the Kuomintang reactionary government—was overthrown; and the common foreign enemy of all the nationalities—the aggressive imperialist forces—was driven out. On this basis the founding of the People's Republic of China was announced. In accordance with the Common Programme passed by the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, the Central People's Government declared that all nationalities within the boundaries of the People's Republic of China are equal, and that they shall establish unity and mutual aid and oppose imperialism and their own public enemies, so that the People's Republic of China will become a big fraternal and co-operative family, composed of all its nationalities; that within the big family of all nationalities of the People's Republic of China, national regional autonomy shall be exercised in areas where national minorities are concentrated, and all national minorities shall have freedom to develop their spoken and written languages and to preserve or reform their customs, habits and religious beliefs, while the Central People's Government shall assist all national minorities to develop their political, economic, cultural and educational construction work. Since then, all nationalities within the country, with the exception of those in the areas of Tibet and Taiwan, have gained liberation. Under the unified leadership of the Central People's Government and the direct leadership of higher levels of People's Governments, all national minorities are fully enjoying the right of national equality and have established, or are establishing, national regional autonomy.

In order that the influences of aggressive imperialist forces in Tibet might be successfully eliminated, the unification of the territory and sovereignty of the People's Republic of China accomplished, and national defence safeguarded; in order that the Tibetan nationality and people might be freed and return to the big family of the People's of China to enjoy the same rights of national equality as all the other nationalities in the country and develop their political, economic, cultural and educational work, the Central People's Government, when it ordered the People's Liberation Army to march into Tibet, notified the Local Government of Tibet to send delegates to the central authorities to conduct talks for the conclusion of an agreement on measures for the peaceful liberation of Tibet.

In the latter part of April 1951, the delegates with full powers of the Local Government of Tibet arrived in Peking. The Central People's Government appointed representatives with full powers to conduct talks on a friendly basis with the delegates with full powers of the Local Government of Tibet. As a result of these talks, both parties agreed to conclude this agreement and guarantee that it would be carried into effect.

1. The Tibetan people shall unite and drive out imperialist aggressive forces from Tibet; the Tibetan people shall return to the big family of the Motherland—the People's Republic of China.

2. The Local Government of Tibet

shall actively assist the People's Liberation Army to enter Tibet and consolidate the national defence.

3. In accordance with the policy towards nationalities laid down in the *Common Programme of the Chinese People's Political Cinsultative Conference*, the Tibetan people have the right of exercising national regional autonomy under the unified leadership of the Central People's Government.

4. The central authorities will not alter the existing political system in Tibet. The central authorities also will not alter the established status, functions and powers of the Dalai Lama. Officials of various ranks shall hold office as usual.

5. The established status, functions and powers of the Panchen Erdeni shall be maintained.

6. By the established status, functions and powers of the Dalai Lama and of the Panchen Erdeni are meant the status, functions and powers of the 13th Dalai Lama and of the 9th Panchen Erdeni when they were in friendly and amicable relations with each other.

7. The policy of freedom of religious belief laid down in the *Common Programme of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference* shall be carried out. The religious beliefs, customs and habits of the Tibetan people shall be respected, and Lama monasteries shall be protected. The central authorities will not effect a change in the income of the monasteries.

8. Tibetan troops shall be reorganised by stages into the People's Liberation Army, and become a part of the national defence forces of the People's Republic of China.

9. The spoken and written language and school education of the Tibetan nationality shall be developed step by step in accordance with the actual conditions in Tibet.

10. Tibetan agriculture, livestock raising, industry and commerce shall be developed step by step, and the people's livelihood shall be improved step by step in accordance with the actual conditions in Tibet.

11. In matters related to various reforms in Tibet, there will be no compulsion on the part of the central authorities. The Local Government of Tibet should carry out reforms of its own accord, and when the people raise demands for reform, they shall be settled by means of consultation with the leading personnel of Tibet.

12. In so far as former pro-imperialist and pro-Kuomintang officials resolutely sever relations with imperialism and the Kuomintang and do not engage in sabotage or resistance, they may continue to hold office irrespective of their past.

13. The People's Liberation Army entering Tibet shall abide by all the above-mentioned policies and shall also be fair in all buying and selling and shall not arbitrarily take a single needle or thread from the people.

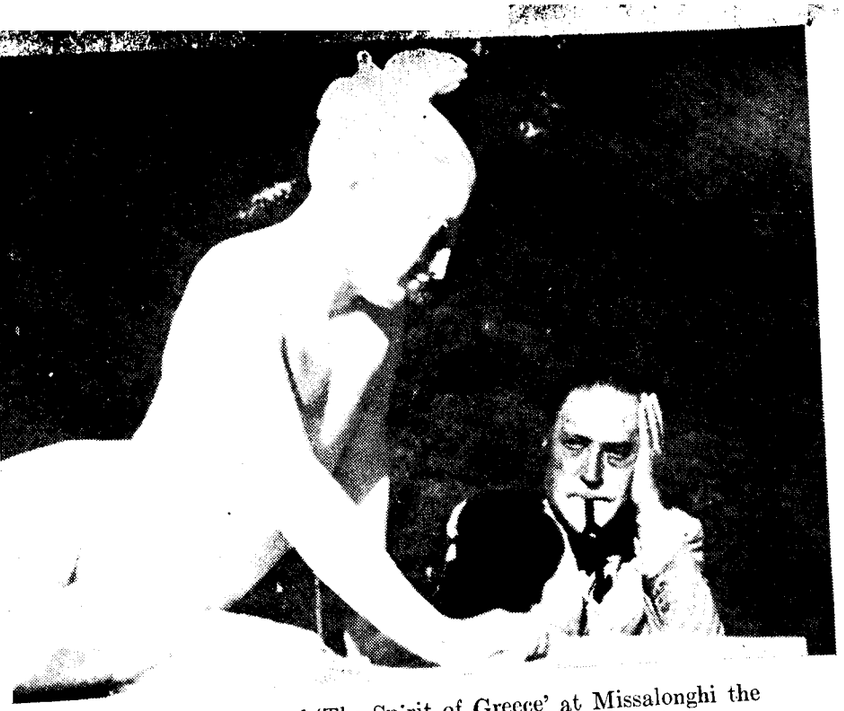
14. The Central People's Government shall conduct the centralised handling of all external affairs of the area of Tibet; and there will be peaceful co-existence with neighbouring countries and establishment and development of fair commercial and trading relations with them on the basis of equality, mutual benefit and mutual respect for territory and sovereignty.

15. In order to ensure the implementation of this agreement, the Central People's Government shall set up a military and administrative committee and a military area headquarters in Tibet, and apart from the personnel sent there by the Central People's Government shall absorb as many local Tibetan personnel as possible to take part in the work.

Local Tibetan personnel taking part in the military and administrative committee may include patriotic elements from the Local Government of Tibet, various districts and leading monasteries; the namelist shall be drawn up after consultation between the representatives designated by the Central People's Government and the various quarters concerned, and shall be submitted to the Central People's Government for appointment.

16. Funds needed by the military and administrative committee, the military area headquarters and the People's Liberation Army entering Tibet shall be provided by the Central People's Government. The Local Governmnt of Tibet will assist the People's Liberation Army in the purchase and transport of food, fodder and other daily necessities.

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Beside the statue of 'The Spirit of Greece' at Missalonghi the famous Scottish writer Sir Compton Mackenzie is seen reflecting on the *'Glory that was Greece'*



Interviewing the Head of B.O.A.C.



EXILED YAKSHA'S BELOVED
By Manabendranath Barua

Prabasi Press, Calcutta.

THE MODERN REVIEW

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NOTES

A Policy of Drift

Elsewhere in these notes, we have given long extracts from the speeches of the sponsors of the new opposition party, which explain the reasons behind its inception. It is too early to give any considered opinion on either the prospects or the quality of such a party as Sri Chakravarti Rajagopalachari envisages. But we are in full agreement with him when he says that decadence has set in the body politic of the official Congress and unless a strong opposition is set up in action at once to check its errors of omission and commission, the entire country and nation will be in danger.

For there is no doubt whatsoever that the policy of drift and *laissez faire*, in all matters of momentous urgency, that the official Congress, with Pandit Nehru at the helm has been following for the last few years after the death of Sardar Patel, has brought the ship of State perilously near the rocks. There is the same indecision when the nation is faced with enmity or unfriendly acts from external sources and the same unwillingness to come to grips with internal sources of corruption and disruption. Together with this androgynous attitude when faced with strong foes or powerful anti-social and anti-national elements, we have the sudden flare-ups of temper and either petulant or high-and-mighty reactions where there is any suggestion or request for redress, restitution or justice from the inoffensive and perfectly law-abiding and long-suffering common citizen. This ludicrous lion-like attitude at home coupled with the apologetic—almost cringing—jackalwise behaviour abroad has not enhanced either our prestige or our credit anywhere. Indeed, on the contrary.

The executive, from top to bottom, have gone out-of-hand where the public is concerned and harassment, nay, oppression is reaching a peak that is almost on a par with the last days of the British Raj. Corruption has eaten deep into the vitals of the nation spreading as it does from the highest to the lowest rungs of the administration. The waste of public moneys has become commonplace and due to exactions of the State to make-up for this tidal flow of expenses in the name of "Nation-Building" the living standards of all, excepting the High and Mighty and their satellites the corrupt, have fallen below the levels of the last five decades. We would suggest Nation-bleeding as a catch-word for the Second and Third Five-Year Plans.

It might be asked why the need for a new opposition, when there are so many opposition parties in the field. Sri Rajagopalachari has gone into details, which are given elsewhere in these Notes. Without going into his arguments we would say that his idea of *Swatantra* as opposed to *Paratantra* is good if it means freedom from all shibboleths and *isms*. Today we have a whole host of opposition parties but none that are solely devoted to the cause of the entire nation in its complete entity. The strongest of these parties, the Communist Party *of* India, should really be called the Communist Party *inside* India. Formerly they were the Fifth Column of International Communism, actively engaged in the destruction of the State. After

the *entente* between the Soviets and India they took up an anomalous attitude, but the links of extra-territorial loyalties were still distinct to all excepting Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. The Tibet incident gave even him a shock and he characteristically uttered the mild incongruity that they had no "nationalistic" sympathies, instead of making the forthright statement that their attitude was anti-national and thus traitorous. Their latest move on the Darjeeling areas shows that they are back again on the Fifth Column ranks, as they are trying to pave the way for the march into India from Tibet along the broadest route. The P.S.P. is a loose heterogeneous organisation with divided ideals and leadership. It is ineffective, therefore, and further, being strongly party conscious, they put the parties' interests far above those of the hundreds of millions of the Indian nationals, outside their party. As for the other groups they are all power-seeking splinters, with strictly limited interests and activities, not all of which is helpful to the nation as a whole.

Co-operative Farming

Controversy is raging over Co-operative Farming in India. Pandit Nehru thinks that Co-operative Farming is the best way to augment our food production and the alternative to Co-operative Farming is big land-holding. Those who are against this move invoke democracy and say that Co-operative Farming is anti-democratic and it will destroy the freedom of the cultivators. Mr. Masani has gone so far as to threaten a civil war over the issue of Co-operative Farming. Co-operative Farming is, however, not a new thing in this country and it is making rapid strides in many parts of India. Those who oppose the move to introduce Co-operative Farming on a larger scale necessarily support the cause of big landholders. Co-operative Farming is not altogether a new thing in India and it deserves to be expanded on a wider scale.

There are 2020 Co-operative Farming Societies in India and these include joint farming, collective farming, tenant farming and better farming societies. In Andhra Pradesh there are 31 Co-operative Farming Societies, in Assam 170, in Bihar 27, in Bombay 402, in Jammu and Kashmir 7, in Kerala 55, in Madhya Pradesh 140, in Madras 37, in Mysore 100, in Orissa 28, in Punjab 478, in Rajasthan 105, in Uttar Pradesh 255, West Bengal 148, Delhi 22, Manipur 3 and Tripura 12. The area of land under Co-operative Cultivation in December 31, 1956 was 180,671 acres. During the four years 1954-55 to 1958-59 the Central Government had made grants to the extent of Rs. 3.32 lakhs to State Governments for this work. The State Government provided assistance for development of Co-operative Farming Societies in various forms, such as loans and subsidies, grant of Government waste lands, concession in land revenue, technical guidance, etc.

It is now agreed that food production is of crucial importance for the planned economic development of the country. Self-sufficiency in food production is essential for enlisting the entire man-power to the economic development of India, for ensuring a correct balance between rural and urban incomes, and for providing guarantees against any inflationary pressure. The growth of population is now estimated to be at a much higher rate than was assumed earlier. The population of India is now estimated to exceed 400 million and the rate of annual increase is over two per cent per annum. By 1986 India's population would increase to 775 million and only 10 per cent of the country's national income would be available for direct growth investments from that year. The Ford Foundation Team that recently visited India came to the conclusion that in order to be self-sufficient in food production India must produce 110 million tons by 1966. This quantity, however, makes allowances for seed, wastage and safety margin. By 1966 India must produce this quantity of foodgrains in order to feed her people with a minimum level of nutrition which requires a daily intake of 15 oz. of cereals and 3 ounces of pulses. By 1966 consumption will rise to 88 million tons. As against this requirement, the current production stands at 70 million tons. At the present rate of increase, production in 1966, that is, at the end of the Third Plan, would rise to 82 million tons. leaving a shortfall of 28 million tons. This deficit of 28 million tons can hardly be made ... ports and

in consequence India shall have to depend on her own internal production. It is necessary for India to raise her rate of food production from 3.2 per cent during the period 1952-53 to 1958-59 to an average rate of 8.2 per cent during the next seven years. The current rate of increase in food output always lags behidd the growth of population and it is therefore needed that the productivity rate must be raised to a level of nearly 9 per cent a year.

There is, however, no immediate and simple solution to India's food problem. But there is also no need for despondency. The best in Indian agriculture can well stand in comparison with the best in other countries. But the average level of production is unduly low in India although she is the second largest rice producing country in the world, coming next only to China. India today requires to raise her rate of agricultural production and ways and means should be devised and directed towards the achievement of higher production target. The Ford Foundation Team warns that the target of 110 million tons of food production can be achieved only if an all-out emergency food production programme is undertaken.

The Ford Foundation Team recommends the adoption of an experimental and objective approach. It observes that the success of Co-operative Farming depends on competent management, and capable managers may not be available in the immediate future. The Report of the Team suggests that "management assistance to cultivators, combined with supervised credit, and perhaps with joint ownership of equipment, offers a way to obtain the advantage of better management, while still retaining the incentives gained by individual operation." The Report emphasises that limitation on food production are not set by physical resources. This country has the soil, climate, water and other physical resources for abundant food production. But to these physical resources must be added human effort in the form of improved agricultural methods in effective combinations suited to particular soils and crops. The importance of human effort can best be realised through co-operative farming, we think so.

The yield per acre in India in respect of all crops is very low as compared with the other countries of the world. The yield of rice per acre in India is about 750 lbs. as against 2,461 lbs. in Italy, 2,000 lbs. in Japan and 1,468 lbs. in the U.S.A. The most serious defect in the agricultural system of India accounting for the low yield is the small size of the holdings. The average holding in India varies from about 3 acres in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa to 12 acres in Bombay, as compared to 40 acres in Denmark, 82 acres in the United Kingdom, 159 acres in the U.S.A. and 234 acres in Canada. About one-third of Indian cultivators are landless peasants, while there still remain big landholders who are nothing but small zamindars in reality. If land is to be distributed among the landless peasants it is quite in the fitness of things that joint farming should be developed in India.

The consolidation of holdings will be a step in the right direction. Recently the Japanese method of individual farming is held out to be better than co-operative farming. But Japan has various advantages which India does not possess and therefore the Japanese method will not bring about the desired result in respect of food production in this country. From very ancient times there has been family farming in India, but in recet years the higher growth rate of population has rendered the system of family farming ineffective. Improved methods of farming is necessary and that will be possible only if the holdings are of sufficiently large size. Unless the size of holdings are not enlarged, farming cannot be improved. There are three ways of enlarging the size of the holdings, *viz.*, (1) acquisition of small holdings by the State and converting them into State farms in which the former owners will work as labourers; (ii) large landholders acquiring the interests of small holders who are then to work as labourers; and (iii) pooling of lands of the small holders for the purpose of joint farming, each landholder retaining his title to the land or in the alternative getting shares in the joint farming society to the extent of the value of land, cattle and implements contributed by him.

The first proposal does not seem to be feasible because agriculture cannot altogether

be converted into a State industry. There may be some State farms but their number will be insignificant and the whole field of agriculture should continue to be covered by private enterprise. The second proposal is not desirable from the social point of view. But since the abolition of the zamindari system, some States are trying to bring it back through backdoor at least to a moderate system. As for example, Bihar is reported to have decided that the ceiling of land holding will be 40 acres per head and this means that the individual holding of agricultural land will come to about 120 bighas and that is in a country where the average landholding does not exceed 3 acres. In other words, the authorities are in favour of maintaining landholders so as to use them for political purposes. The Leftist parties are no exception. In West Bengal, the Leftist parties are said to be supporting big landholding and they have suggested that the individual hloding should be not less than 40 acres or 120 bighas. In a village a person having 40 bighas is looked upon as a small zamindar. This rather high ceiling of individual landholding will defeat the purpose of zamindari abolition. All political parties are now in favour of maintaining big zotedari system and nobody is thinking in terms of land belonging to the tillers. That idea has been thrown to winds. It may be recalled that the Floud Commission recommended that individual landholding should not exceed 5 acres and 15 bighas per head would constitute an economic holding. But any way, the zamindari abolition system has created a vacuum in the land system of the country and this defies any easy solution because both the party in power as well as the parties in opposition still think in terms of big landholding.

The third proposal of pooling the land by small holders for the purpose of cultivation, or what is known as co-operative or joint farming, will enable the farmers to retain interest in their land and at the same time obtain all the economies of large-scale farming. In some countries where average holdings are small or where large holdings have been split up and allotted to a large number of small holders, the farmers have been encouraged to adopt joint farming. Co-operative farming is highly developed in a democratic country like Palestine.

In India, there is an erroneous notion that co-operative farming is an essential feature of a totalitarian economy and that it destroys the sanctity of a democratic set up. But the U.S.A., which is regarded as the leader of the democracies, has adopted co-operative farming system. In India, those who are raising their stentorian voice against the introduction of co-operative farming are doing so not on economic considerations, but on political grounds. The U.S.A. certainly is not a totalitarian State, and still she has introduced co-operative farming system because it has been effective in bringing about the more advanced farming methods into formerly backward rural areas. By pooling of resources cultivators have availed themselves of advantages of large-scale farming. By this method they have raised their output and increased their standard of living. The co-operative farming system is needed in India because it will make possible the large-scale exploitation of the land using all resources of science and machinery. It will raise food production and provide more food for a vast population that is insufficiently fed and suffers from concealed famine and food scarcity. The co-operative farming will liberate more labour for other industries and by this move the total divisible wealth of the country will augment.

Trend and Progress of Banking

The Report on the Trend and Progress of Banking in India during 1958 recently published by the Reserve Bank spotlights the impact on the banking system of the major developments in the Indian economy which generally reflect the progress of the Plan. The Indian economy in 1958 presented a mixed trend of inflationary conditions and recessionary tendencies in certain sectors of the economy. While the main inflationary influence stemmed from a further step-up in the public investment, its effect was to some extent offset by the slackening in the rate of growth of investment in the private sector which in its turn slowed down the credit expansion by banks. Thus the bank credit at Rs. 830.6

ores recorded a moderate increase of s. 11.1 crores as against Rs. 74.6 crores 1957 and Rs. 151.3 crores in 1956. This evelopment coupled with an impressive se in deposits rendered the liquid position banks very comfortable throughout the ear under review.

Despite the lower level of bank credit oth in the aggregate as also to particular ectors, the credit policy of the Reserve ank continued to be one of restraint and igilance especially in view of the underying inflationary trends in the economy. n the case of bank advances against foodrains, the situation warranted the continuance of the restrictive policy initiated n the eve of the 1957-58 busy season with further tightening up in respect of wheat. There was a shortfall of about 10 per cent in foodgrains output and this factor, rather than the rise in aggregate monetary demand, exerted a great pressure on food prices which increased by about 9 per cent over the year. In sugar also, the fairly high level of bank advances in the context of a sustained rise in prices, suggested some stockpiling by traders with bank finance. The Reserve Bank, therefore, tightened the existing restrictions against bank advances against this security. Apart from the close vigilance kept on foodgrains and sugar advances, the Reserve Bank also took action during the year to curb the speculative use of bank credit on the stock exchange. As a result of the fewer avenues of employment of funds it became evident that banks were seeking new outlets for credit and the extension of credit for stock exchange operations provided such a new outlet.

As a result, scheduled banks' advances against shares and debentures rose from Rs. 73.3 crores at the end of 1957 to Rs. 77.5 crores in August 1958 and the rise caused concern as it coincided with the speculative bulge in the prices of shares on the stock exchange. The Reserve Bank therefore directed banks to be cautious in extending credit against shares. On the whole the credit policy pursued by the Reserve Bank, though restrictive in its general tenor, continued to assist the flow of bank credit to essential sectors of the economy. This was evident from the fact that the share of industrial credit over the year ended October rose from 43.6 per cent to 47.9 per cent of the total scheduled bank credit.

Turning to the resources side of banks we find that the most striking feature was the continued growth of bank deposits and the reduced reliance on the Reserve Bank for funds. Net deposits of scheduled banks rose by Rs. 219 crores though the rise was largely confined to banks each with deposits of Rs. 100 crores and over. Apart from the deposit of U.S. counterpart funds and the inclusion of some of the non-scheduled banks in the second schedule to the Reserve Bank of India Act, the trends in deposit expansion revealed the growing evidence of the spread of banking habit amongst the people. The record expansion in time deposits of Rs. 228 crores over the year though partly accounted for by a shift from demand deposits was clearly indicative of a satisfactory growth of savings through the banking system.

The substantial accretion to deposit resources in conjunction with the moderate increase in bank credit resulted in improved liquidity position and induced the banks to enlarge their investment portfolio by Rs. 206 crores, Government securities alone accounting for as much as Rs. 202 crores—the highest on record in recent years. The share of the State Bank of India in the increase in investment was particularly large as a sequel to its policy of investing in gilt-edged securities the counterpart funds deposited with it by U.S. authorities.

On the organisational side, the Reserve Bank Report refers to the adaptation of the institutional and functional framework of the banking system to the requirements of the expanding economy. Further progress was made in bringing about integration of some State associated banks with the State Bank of India. As part of the scheme for mobilising rural savings, rural debentures are being issued by central land mortgage banks. The scheme has been modified in terms of which the Reserve

Bank has agreed to subscribe to the 15-year debentures issued to it at the relatively low rate of 4 per cent. The State Bank, apart from opening 105 additional branches during the year under review, particularly in places lacking in banking facilities, took further steps to liberalise remittance facilities to co-operative credit institutions as also to provide short-term accommodation to co-operative marketing and processing societies. In the field of bank finance to small-scale industrial units, the State Bank, in the light of experience gathered in the operation of the pilot scheme has now extended the scheme to all its branches. As regards provision of term-credit to industries, the Report draws attention to the setting up in June 1958 of the Refinance Corporation, which by the close of the year, had sanctioned refinance aggregating Rs. 178 lakhs to some specified industries.

The Report contains other useful information. It contains a broad assessment of the working of the Banking Companies Act, 1949, over a decade and shows how it has been instrumental in imparting strength to the banking system. As regards the personal loan scheme introduced by a few banks in India, the Report while welcoming this move as an evidence of the flexibility of operations of banks, sounds a note of caution to banks, particularly regarding extension of such scheme in respect of goods in short supply because of its inflationary consequences.

The Reserve Bank liberalised its Bill Market scheme by bringing within its purview export bills in order to enable banks to provide finance to exporters on a liberal scale. The minimum limit of a loan as also of the promissory note has been lowered making it possible for small exporters to obtain the benefit of the scheme. The amount to be advanced to a bank at a time for the amount of an individual usuance promissory note to be accepted as security have been fixed at Rs. 2 lakhs and Rs. 20 thousand respectively as against Rs. 5 lakhs and Rs. 50 thousand in other cases. Only those documentary time export bills as have a usance of not more than ninety days and are drawn on any place in any country outside India which is a member of the International Monetary Fund would be eligible for being held by the banks as security for the loans intended for conversion.

On account of rapid industrialisation of the country, inflationary finance both in the public sector as well as in the private sector is getting bigger in volume and without corresponding increase in the availability of consumer goods and prices are, therefore, progressively going up. Deficit financing in the public sector is almost equivalent to bank credit in the private sector. These are desirable to a certain extent to foster economic development of the country. But these have a baneful effect in an underdeveloped country like India where prices go up owing to the shortfall in the output of consumer goods. To counteract that evil effect the Reserve Bank can have resort to the use of variable reserve ratios to the maximum limit as provided under the Reserve Bank Act, that is, up to 20 per cent for the demand liabilities and 8 per cent of the time liabilities.

Curtain Drawn on L.I.C. Deals

Much ado about nothing—that is the result of the L.I.C. deals. We wonder why the Government of India rushed to appoint the Chagla Commission and the Vivian Bose Commission when their opinions have been ignored and when the Union Public Services Commission as well as the Central Government have acted in a manner as if they are the best known authority on the controversial deals and therefore they are the best judges of the issue. The Union Public Services Commission has been treated by the Central Government as the Court of Appeal over the Vivian Bose Commission and it is strange that administrative law has been brought into existence in manner most prejudicial to democratic ideals and principles. If the Central Government knew that Mr. Patel and Mr. Kamath were not guilty then why did they appoint the Chagla Commission and Bose Commission and ignored their verdict? The Central Government have

no right to waste public money on whimsical decisions.

It is admitted that the L.I.C. deals were improper and somebody must be responsible for it. But nobody is held respnsible for the deal that raised so much public consternation and disapproval. In the same day the news was published that Sri R. K. Dalmia was convicted for default of public money to the extent of about Rs. 2 crores, although the money was paid by him later on and the money was not lost. And it was also published that Mr. Patel was exonerated of charges brought against for the L.I.C. deals in Mundhra shares and that Mr. Kamath would be simply censured. These two high officials were responsible through their positions for a deal which cost the national exchequer nearly Rs. 2 crores, for, this money was not recouped. These two news, published on the same day gives a curious impression about the process of law as practised in India. The Government decision about these two officials indicate that many things have occurred behind the scene.

There should have been either a full dress trial or else, if the Government was not prepared to take that step, the matter should have been nipped in the bud by indicating a departmental or a U.P.S.C. enquiry when the matter was raised in the Indian Parliament. If the views of Enquiry Commissions are flouted in this manner by the Executive and if they take upon themselves the right to ride roughshod over semi-judicial decisions, then evil days are awaiting for this country where the Executive tends to constitute itself the final judge over all matters of judicial importance.

Water for Irrigation

One of the greatest handicaps of Indian agriculture is the absence of adequate facilities for the supply of water required for cultivation. Out of the total of an estimated 13,560 lakh acre-feet of water resources, approximately 4,500 lakh acre-feet are believed to be utilisable for irrigation. Actual utilisation in 1951, the latest year for which figures are available, did not exceed seven per cent of the total or about twenty per cent of the utilisable water resources. The construction of the various development projects in the intervening period has undoubtedly greatly facilitated the use of water but, providing one of the curious phenomena of present-day Indian life, actual utilisation has fallen far short of the opportunities available, while production has suffered from the scarcity of water. In the context of a severe food crisis and the acute difficulties confronted by the country in the field of international trade, the importance of increasing agricultural production needs no elaboration. If, therefore, production has suffered through the non-utilisation of available facilities it must necessarily become the country's first concern to know what has been responsible for such a paradoxical situation.

The Public Accounts Committee of the Lok Sabha in its report on the audit report on the accounts of the Damodar Valley Corporation had some sharp comments to make on this topic. "The Committee are distressed to see the poor rate of utilisation of the water for irrigation purposes," the report said. Among the reasons for the shortfall in the utilisation of water in the particular case were: (1) lack of adequate appreciation and co-operation from the public who opposed the removal of gaps at certain points and elsewhere interfered with the flow of the water by raising cross bunds; (2) sideslip of canal banks; (3) breaches at certain points of the canals and (4) the absence of legislation in West Bengal for the levy of compulsory water rates. If the technical defects, which might be peculiar to the D.V.C. are left out, the one significant point which remains for consideration is the lack of public co-operation.

Public co-operation, it would seem, has been slow to come in the matter of the utilisation of irrigation waters almost throughout India. Recently, there was a great agitation in the Punjab over the levy of betterment fee in which the Government's position was far from being above board. More often than not, the administration of the river valley projects is conducted as in other fields, on the presumption of the infallibility of the administrative bureaucracy. As the latter

...study cares to keep itself in touch with the needs of the people, frequently its decisions come up against popular hostility as it was the case in Punjab. The importance of public co-operation is given by the fact that one of the factors responsible for the slow or inadequate utilisation of water is the delay in the construction of field channels which is the responsibility of the farmers. Sometimes water rates are levied without due consideration of the factors involved which in turn gives rise to public hostility.

The Government of India had appointed a Committee of experts in November last to go into the problem of inadequate utilisation of water. In its report, which awaits publication, it is understood to have recommended for a phased levy of water rates. Under the proposed scheme no water rate will be charged for the first two or three years and the full rate will be collected only from the sixth year of the completion of the irrigation projects. This is a very sensible recommendation and its acceptance, coupled with other measures to induce public co-operation, will undoubtedly encourage the cultivators to make more use of the available water and thus to give the much-needed push to raise the agricultural output of the country.

Nationalization of Text Books

The importance of the preparation and the selection of proper text-books, which form a vital part of any sound scheme of education, cannot be over-emphasized. A person's knowledge and understanding are largely derived from what he has read or heard during his student days. To the beginner his book offers him the ultimate answer to all his questions. It is, therefore, not unoften that a man's initial interest in, or repugnance toward, a particular subject, which is largely dependent upon the manner in which it is introduced to him, determines his future altitude towards the subject for all time to come. Very few can succeed in totally disabusing their minds of what they had learnt during their school days. In a country like India where the overwhelming majority of the people are illiterate, where a good number of people even of those fortunate few who have a chance to gain admission into a school never can hope to go beyond the primary stage, where only one in fifty persons ever reads a book in a whole year, the printed word has a peculiar charm and an aura of infallibility—the need for ensuring balanced text-books at the prmiary classes thus assumes a bigger proportion than would have been the case if students could be expected to correct their notions in course of future study.

Notwithstanding much lip-service to the need for securing the preparation and the selection of proper text-books for schools and colleges, the situation in this regard has been very very disappointing in this country. For obvious reasons text-books meant for primary and secondary stages have assumed an importance in this country which is denied to them in the more advanced countries where the social system offers them further scope for education. And it is precisely in these fields that the situation is most deplorable. It would be no exaggeration to say that almost the greater majority of the titles which are prescribed, or relied upon, as text-books in schools and colleges are not only unsatisfactory, but are absolutely unsuitable for reading by anyone. What is of greater concern is the fact that no one—the authors, the publishers, the teachers or the Government—can escape criticism for this state of affairs. With notable exceptions, publishers in this country have not shown any particular concern for the authenticity and correctness of the text of their publications which are often full of factual and grammatical mistakes. The publishers consider their duty done so long as their prospect of a steady return is not disturbed. If the attitude of the publishers, who are openly out for money, is understandable (though by no means pardonable), that of some of the distinguished educationists and teachers, who either lend their name as authors to undeserving books or select such books for their students, is less so. It is not unoften that books, full of horribly shocking mistakes, are found to bear the names of some of the most illustrious professors and academicians as authors. Lastly, the Government has done nothing effective to discourage the dishonesty either of the publishers or of the authors. Education has not unnaturally been the chief casualty.

In the existing state of affairs there is undoubtedly a great scope for State intervention in the preparation and selection of text-books. Yet, as has happened in so many other fields, State intervention in this field has given rise to more problems than it has solved. In most cases the text-books prepared under the auspices of the departments of governments betray a lack of understanding and imagination on the part of editors and compilers. The Text-Book Inquiry Committee of Kerala has, for example, adversely commented upon the poor quality and scheme of text-books prepared under governmental direction. The Committee has correctly held that the poor quality of the text-books is a very serious defect and particularly so where the schools have no choice in the matter of selection of text-books and are under an obligation to use the books published by the State. The Committee has noted the following defects: errors in subject-matter which could have been avoided with careful scrutiny, unsatisfactory presentation of subject in social studies and general science and errors in printing and defective illustrations. Kerala certainly is not an isolated case and a similar enquiry will hardly fail to disclose comparable defects in the text-books published by other State Governments. While the Kerala Government will no doubt devote its earnest consideration to the specific points of criticism in the report of the Committee, the rest of the country can also derive much valuable lesson from the publication of the full text of the report which the State Government should arrange forthwith.

While the idea of a State monopoly of text-books is repugnant to any democratic mind in Indian conditions it seems unavoidable —for primary and secondary stages and for a specified period of at least a decade. Once a standard has been set in the removal of monopoly will not affect quality. However, if State publications should fail to show any superiority over privately produced books, or should even prove to be much worse than those, the arrangement for State intervention has to stop there.

In the case of Kerala there is, however, another question, that of indoctrination and prevention of free imparting of sceular and religious education. We have to emphasise on the point of education being free from political or 'party' control at all times.

Religious Funds

One of the arguments put forward in favour of the continued existence of the class of priests is that having renounced worldly pleasures they are eminently suited to cater to the spiritual needs of the people in general; consequently society should not grudge to bear the cost of their maintenance. If that be so, the organization of priests as guardians of property—the *mohants, sebaits* and *mutwallis* of temples, mosques, gurdwaras and churches cannot essentially be described otherwise—is hardly compatible with the calling of a true priest. Nevertheless, in almost all the countries of the world, we have the strange spectacle of men, openly pledged to repudiate world by pursuits, wielding authority over vast material treasures and even quarrelling among themselves to retain their position of supremacy. Clearly, therefore, the management of property by spiritual figures has not meant any real difference in the nature of such management nor has that meant any lessening of the attending evils.

On the other hand, experience has conclusively demonstrated that the institutionalization of spiritual authority has inevitably led to degeneration of values and the introduction of exploitation and other moral vices. In India, for example, there have been innumerable complaints and scandals involving centres of great public reverence. Most distressing facts have been revealed wherever an impartial investigation was carried out into the affairs of any religious institution with monetary involvements. Mismanagement apart, the holding of vast property by religious institutions raises the more important question of the most beneficial use of the resources. According to a very conservative estimate, the value of resources at the disposal of Hindu religious institutions in this country would alone exceed Rs. 300 crores. Add to this the vast property held by other religious institutions and the magnitude of the whole thing comes out in truer light. Except for enriching the pockets of a few this immense property remains largely unutilized. The benefits that can accrue to our society

from the utilization of these funds are obvious. In view of the marked reluctance of the holders of this property to part with their authority, the task can be achieved only through legislation. However, the use of legislative means to bring these funds into the general social pool to be used for "socially beneficial" purposes has some inherent danger whereby, unless proper safeguards are maintained, the whole process may degenerate into substituting a set of wasteful managers for a set of miserly and selfish managers.

Singapore Independent

Singapore—the 140-year-old British colony became an internally self-governing State within the Commonwealth on June 3, in accordance with constitutional agreement signed in London in April, 1957. Sir William Goodie, Governor of Singapore was sworn in as the State's first Yang Dipertuan Negara (Head of State). After six months a Malayan would take over as Head of State under the provisions of the Constitution. Singapore will have full powers regarding the internal administration of the country but the defence and foreign relations would continue to be the responsibility of the British Government.

In the first ever general elections in the territory, the People's Action Party (PAP) led by Mr. Lee Kuan Yew came out victorious with a thumping majority. The PAP won 43 seats to the 4 won by the ruling Singapore People's Alliance, 3 of the United Malay's national organization—Malayan Chinese Association and one Independent. Out of 194 candidates more than 65 including the Malaya Indian Congress President, Mr. A. K. Alexander lost their deposits. Among the defeated were Mr. David Marshall, a former Chief Minister, Mr. M. P. D. Nair and M. Jumabhory, Ministers in the outgoing People's Alliance Cabinet headed by Mr. Lim Yew Hawk.

The new Ministry was sworn in on June 5. It was headed by Mr. Lee Kuan Yew, Secretary-General of the People's Action Party. The Cabinet consisting of nine members was as follows: Lee Kuan Yew, Prime Minister; Dr. Toh Chin Chye, Deputy Prime Minister; Ong Eng Guan, National Development; Ahmad Ibrahim, Health; Go Keng Coo, Finance; Kenneth Byrne, Labour and Law; S. Rajaratnam, Culture; Ong Pang Boon, Home Affairs; Young Nyuk Lin, Education.

The majority of the people of Singapore are of Chinese origin. Six of the Ministers are Chinese, the other Malay, Eurasian and Indian.

Answering questions on the fiscal policy of the PAP Government, Mr. Lee said on June 1, that foreign capital was welcome to Singapore and they would be given stable conditions to operate. But foreign capital which entered into propaganda business (meaning foreign-owned papers), would be dealt with suitably. He added, Singapore's fiscal policy would continue to be in line with that of the Federation (for years the two territories have a common approach to this question). There would be no breach in the economic unity of the two territories. He said, his Government, once formed, would draw 100 million dollars out of 800 million dollars of assets in London for the development of Singapore's economy.

Regarding the attitude of the PAP towards secret societies (thugs' organisations which thrive on illegal activities, such as extortion, robbery, murder, etc., and they number hundreds), he said: "We will stop this menace once and for all."

On the future of the Singapore City Council, Mr. Lee said that its main functions would be taken over by the local Government Ministry. "We are not going to have any monkey business. If we govern, we govern efficiently and with the will of the people on our side." The PAP has a slender majority in the City Council and it was having a rough time until recently when Mayor Ong Eng Guan headed it.

In the interests of the public there should be no competition between the Council and the Government, Mr. Lee said.

Mr. Lee then turned his attention to Communist menace in Malaya and explained at length how his party would combat it. He said, the Communist menace was a long-term problem. "It will be futile to kill them if they could recruit more men that you could kill." He said, the former Government was shouting at Communists but it only made them recruit more. "The ultimate pull depends on whether we can convince the people of Singapore and whether we can make the democratic socialist system work in Malaya and make it succeed. He said, the momentum of revolution among the Chinese and the momentum of revolution among the Malayas were different. They could be best reconciled only through democratic socialism. "This is exactly what we are aiming at doing," he added.

Mr. Lee pointed out that there was no danger of Communists taking over Malaya. But, any false move in this question, he added, would bring down the entire organisation of PAP and its years of work. Touching on the problem of youths on which the PAP's main strength depended, Mr. Lee said that every year 30,000 youths entered the labour market in Singapore. It was estimated that 100 million dollars would be needed every year to provide them with employment.

One other question which Mr Lee referred to—rather delicate in the context of Singapore today—was the British National Anthem, "God Save the Queen." When asked whether the PAP would respect it, Mr. Lee said: "Surely you cannot expect Asians to respect that which symbolises British power."

Political observers expected that a compromise agreement would be reached with the Governor enabling the PAP to form the island's first home-rule Government.

India and Britain

The British Government has offered to mediate in the dispute between India and Portugal over the future of Goa. The British Prime Minister's offer was contained in a letter which he wrote to Mr. Anthony Wedgwood Benn, a Labour Member of Parliament, which was published in the London press on May 15. In that letter Mr. Macmillan said: "The United Kingdom would naturally be prepared to give any assistance in their power to bring the two parties (meaning India and Portugal) together, though it is not their practice to take such an initiative unless there is clear evidence that this would be welcome to the principals concerned."

The objects of the British mediation have not been made clear and as such it is very difficult to comment upon the merits of the proposal. Though India has intimate relations with Britain, the relations between the two countries during the past decade have been far from happy. On all major international issues, the British Government—whether Labour or Conservative—has been found to oppose India—whether the matter related to Kashmir, Goa or Indian nationals in South Africa. It is an open secret that but for the open encouragement given by the Governments of the U.K., U.S.A. and their NATO allies, Portugal would never have dared to antagonise India over the tiny territory of Goa.

The British Government's rejection of the Government of India's proposal for reconvening the International Supervision Commission for Laos comes as a fresh reminder of the continuing divergence between the British and Indian attitudes towards major developments in the Far East. It is difficult to think in this context that the news about British willingness to mediate over Goa is indicative of a point of new departure for British policy. Moreover, the term "mediation" itself connotes the possibility of some sacrifice on either side. What concessions are expected of India over Goa? While maintaining—correctly—that Goa is an integral part of India and should be integrated into the rest of the country without any further delay, the Government of India has all along refrained from taking steps which might precipitate armed conflict. The people of Goa on the other hand, have more than once and in more than one way indicated their eagerness to be reunited with their brethren in India. On the face of all this the Portuguese position—which has been upheld by the Western Powers—is that Goa is a part of Portugal. No amount of mediation can be of any use in reconciling these two mutually incompatible views—unless one of the parties agrees to see reason and give up its obstinacy. No one even faintly acquainted with the geography, history and culture of Goa can fail to see that it is only Portugal who can be asked to reconsider her stand in this case.

Accidents on the Rise

The statistics of accidents on the Indian railways for the year 1957-58 which have just been released discloses a disquieting rise in the number of accidents during the year. The total number of accidents of various types, including minor accidents

in that year was 15,397 as against 13,987 in the previous year. According to an analysis of the causes of 2,747 out of a total of 4,027 train accidents under main categories, 1,082 accidents had occurred due to failure of human element, 1,228 due to technical defects and the remaining 437 due to various miscellaneous causes. Out of eighteen accidents into which statutory enquiries were held eleven are ascribed to the failure on the part of the railway staff in fulfilling their duty. By no standard the number of train accidents on the Indian railways can be regarded as normal; nor does the proportion of accidents occurring due to the failure of the railway staff bring great credit to the railway administration. To the extent that the number of accidents arising out of technical defects could also be kept down if a greater care had been taken by the persons concerned in their examination, the responsibility of the administration would also seem to increase in proportion.

An unfortunate tendency has been evident on the part of the Railway authorities to put all, or the major share of the blame for their own failure upon the public. A section of the press has also been taken in unawares by this campaign. The laws regarding ticketless travel and the pulling of alarm-chains have been made more stringent giving almost dictatorial powers to the railways. It is, however, necessary to look at the inconvenience suffered by the travelling public. There is everywhere a terrific overcrowding, demanding of the passengers great patience and nervous strain. A man may be queuing for half an hour in a ticket counter to find that the booking clerk is absent, or there is no ticket or there is some other trouble. The number of such counters is hardly sufficient to cope with the heavy rush—particularly in Howrah and other big stations. The trains are almost always behind schedule. Without improving these if the efficiency drive should be construed to consist in creating greater harassment for the travelling public this can certainly bring no good.

Nehru on Kerala Situation

We reproduce from the weekly *Hindu* an extract from its correspondent's report dated June 6, on Pandit Nehru's speech. One has to only read it to realise the helpless attitude of the head Executive of India in an emergency:

Mr. Nehru, in a statement issued here today before his departure to Delhi, said that his concern and anxiety about the situation in Kerala had increased since his arrival at Ootacamund.

Mr. Nehru in his statement said: "For some time, I have been concerned about the situation in Kerala. Since I came to Ootacamund, I have had much more information about it from a variety of sources and my concern and anxiety have increased. It seems clear that a dangerous situation, full of the possibility of violent conflict, is rapidly developing in that State. I have remained silent over this issue because I have been reluctant to interfere in matters concerning the Kerala Government. I did not wish to take any step which might lead people to think that I was acting unfairly towards a Government which belonged to a different party. In many matters, I differ considerably from the policy of that party. In so far as the State Government is concerned, I had to deal wih such matters as were of all-India concern or such as might affect the Constitution of India. On a few occasions, I expressed my concern at some of the activities of the Kerala Government which I thought were not in keeping with the spirit of our democratic constitution and our basic policies. But, generally speaking, I refrained from even comment and did not interfere in any way.

"The situation, that is developing in that State now, is, however, such that I cannot remain wholly silent. The thought of going there myself occurred to me, but it is difficult for me to do so now as I am on my way from Ootacamund to Delhi. But if at any time I think that my visit to Kerala will be helpful, I shall endeavour to go there."

"I do not propose, in this statement, to enter into the merits of the controversies at present raging in Kerala, the chief of which is connected with the legislation passed in regard to education. It is clear to me that the basic differences in Kerala are much deeper. All kinds of forces are at play, such as communalism and casteism, apart from political rivalries, and the language used in the Press and in speeches is often full of violence. Apparently preparations for violent conflict are being made. The communalism and casteism of Kerala are somewhat different from the variety I am acquainted with in other parts of India, but they belong to the same species, and in so far as our Government and the great organisation to which I belong are concerned, we are entirely opposed to them as we are convinced that they are harmful to our unity and progress. Violence is even more oojectionable and cannot be accepted as a method of action in a democratic State.

"It appears that a very considerable upsurge among large masses of people is taking place in Kerala against the Government there. I cannot measure the extent of this, but there can be no doubt that it is on a big scale. I do not think that any particular legislative measure, even though it is disliked, could have led to this upsurge. It is rather due to a feeling of distrust against the Government that has grown in the course of the past many months. The *bona fides* of the Government are doubted by many people and many charges have been made against it. These include accusations of unfairness to other parties and partiality in many ways to the Government party in Kerala, that is, the Communists, charges of violence towards members of other parties have also been made. Normally, in a democratic Government whatever the differences may be, issues are settled peacefully. The majority treats the minority with consideration and there is even a measure of co-operation —the minority while opposing any measure that it disapproves of, yet functions within the limits of democratic conventions and practice and seeks to change that measure or even the Government by democratic methods. If these conventions and practices are not followed, then democracy breaks down and the law of the jungle prevails.

"If there is now a deep and widespread distrust of the Kerala Government among large sections of the people there, it is for that Government to consider how this has arisen and how it can be removed. It is the duty of the Government to prevent such developments by its policies and approaches to the people generally, and even to its opponents. In particular, it is unfortunate if the very basis of faith in Government's *bona fides* is shaken. There is no doubt that there is at present this feeling of unfairness in considerable sections of the people.

"Even so, however, the duty of those who oppose is to adhere strictly to democratic and peaceful ways. They are entitled to agitate peacefully and try to convince the people of the rightness of their views and policies. They may look forward to changing the Government, provided always that this is brought about by democratic and peaceful processes. The abandonment of peaceful methods might well lead to the abandonment of democracy itself. Peaceful methods, of course, mean an avoidance of violence. But they mean something more. The language of violence is itself opposed to peaceful methods. Indeed, all civilised life demands civilised and peaceful behaviour.

"Therefore, I would appeal most earnestly to all people of Kerala, to whatever party they might belong, to adhere strictly to peaceful methods and to avoid violence in speech or act at all cost. We seek the solution of even international problems through peaceful methds. It would be a tragedy for us to fail to solve our own problems through these methods and to have recourse to violence and coercion. We have been taught by our great leader, Mahatma Gandhi, that means are always important and often even more important than ends. If we forget this lesson, we do so at our peril.

"Our broad policies are well-known, whether in the political, social or economic spheres. Recently, the National Congress gave special emphasis to some basic policies for the progress of the nation and our people. I came to Ootacamund to join in a Seminar on planning and during the past week many eminent men and women from all over India have met to consider our basic problem connected with planning. We were not all of one opinion in some matters. But we laboured hard, and I believe that we have achieved substantial results which we hope will advance the great cause we have at heart. It is a matter of regret that when we face these mightly problems affecting four hundred million people, the people of Kerala

should be confronted with a situation full of mutual conflict and violence.

"I do not seek to impose my views or opinions on others of a different way of thinking, even though I would like to win them over to what I consider the right path. But I think that I have a right to ask the people of Kerala to avoid the path of violence and conflict which can do no good to them or to India. In Kerala, the primary responsibility for the peace and welfare of its people rests on its State Government. But Kerala also is an integral part of India, and the whole of India is interested that peace must prevail there and nothing should be done which causes injury to its people. All over India, people from Kerala occupy the highest positions in the public services. They do so because of their ability and worth. In the days to come, they will no doubt play an ever-increasing part in the great drama of an advancing and progressing India. For them to lose themselves in conflict would be tragic."

New Opposition Party

We reproduce below, from the *Hindu* of June 6, the texts of the speeches by Mr. Masani and Sri Rajagopalachari, on the question of an Opposition Party, with special emphasis on the demerits of co-operative farming. It is to be noted, however, that no remedy for the defects of small holdings has been suggested:

Both Mr. Rajagopalachari and Mr. M. R. Masani, who was put down as the principal speaker at a meeting—held under the auspices of the Council of Public Affairs at the Vivekananda College, Mylapore,—made a vigorous reply to the Prime Minister's speech at Ootacamund on June 1, in the course of which he had referred to their speeches made at a meeting in Bangalore earlier.

Mr. M. R. Masani, who spoke on "The present situation—a challenge to Democracy," said that Mr. Nehru had said that what he (Mr. Masani) had spoken might not be important, and said that he agreed with it, but he added that when people thought of something, that something was of great importance. "The views I expressed a few days ago do represent a substantial section of Indian public opinion," Mr. Masani stated.

Today, he ventured to think, that 10 years after freedom, there was a groundswell in India rising slowly against the socialistic pattern. People were getting disillusioned with that. People saw Ministers and others getting preferential treatment, a disproportionate growth in the size of the administrative services and increasing corruption. Hence, people were looking forward to the coming up of a new leadership, devoid of dogma, which could give a "realistic and practical leadership." Mr. Nehru had said that Rajaji's reasoning seemed to be based on fear. Mr. Nehru might not be afraid of India going 'Red,' but he must be a little afraid of Peking for the "bravery with which he attacked the French Government in Algeria" was not apparent when he was speaking of Peking.

As one who had heard Rajaji, the speaker would point out that the latter had said a situation had arisen in India where the farm and the family had to be protected. Proceeding, he said that it had been stated that Canada practised joint farming, and he himself had studied the available literature on the subject. He had found that there were only a few such farms, about 27, out of about a lakh of farms in one State in Canada.

"What he (Mr. Nehru) is proposing t do is to destroy peasant proprietorship a an institution," Mr. Masani charged. In thi part of the country and in his own peasants had owned their lands from time immemorial—unlike in Zamindari areas Joint farming, he explained, practically deprived the peasant of the ownership o his land. "If the Zamindari abolition wa right, then joint farming is wrong," h said. He did not believe that joint farmin was different from collective farming, a Mr. Nehru said, and the speaker stated tha "every item" of the Nagpur resolution ha been lifted from the Soviet collectiv system.

Mr. Nehru had said that Rajaji wa trying to live in the middle of the 18t century, the implication being that he, M Nehru, was up-to-date and the rest wer reactionary. The speaker personally ver

tured to think that Rajaji was much more up-to-date than Mr. Nehru.

Mr. Masani pointed out how in Poland and Yugoslavia, which were Communist countries, collective farming had been found unworkable, and how gradually a great many of these farms had gone out and the peasants had come into their own.

Rajaji, Mr. N. G. Ranga and himself, Mr. Masani said, were nearer such communist like Gomulka than Mr. Nehru, who, he stated, seemed to be 50 years behind the times. "He is a pre-Revolution Marxist, we are post-Revolution Marxists," the speaker added.

Whether their party was called Conservative or Liberal, did not matter. What mattered was it should be a People's Party, and it should have a clear answer to the problems before them. After setting out what all the Party should aim at, Mr. Masani expressed the hope that in the next few months, "with Rajaji's blessings, we shall be able to create such a party."

Mr. Rajagopalachari spoke of the reference made by Mr. Nehru about fear, and said that Mr. Nehru had been carried away and had said something which was a "bad example to the young." He was afraid Mr. Nehru must have been misled by the ambiguity of English words. There were many kinds of fear—some good, some bad. Amongst other things, we fear God. One of his friends, after reading Mr. Nehru's speech had written to him, quoting from the Psalms. "The fear of God is the beginning of wisdom." He personally did not think that Mr. Nehru really meant that he was not afraid of God. He must have been saying just as one did sometimes, "I do not fear Hitler, I do not fear Mussolini, or Stalin—I do not fear God himself."

But, when one was in politics, and every young man in India "is ready to copy Pandit Nehru and his manners—even in petulance and in anger—it is a dangerous thing for him to say, "I do not even fear God."

Here, digressing, Mr. Rajagopalachari said that the term, fear of God, was a new expression. In our own languages, so far as God was concerned, we did not often attach fear to that concept. The fear of God was a Semitic idea. An Indian would say, "I must be afraid of Papam, that is to say, wrong-doing."

Mr. Nehru was not a technical man and did not know the technique of farming, nor even that of co-operation, he would tell them. Generally, the word "co-operation" was very good, and Mr. Nehru said, "How can I understand Rajaji when he says he is against co-operation?" Mr. Nehru was so general in his outlook, so balanced, that he could not understand any point made against a particular aspect.

Rajaji asked: "Do I use ambiguous terms?" (Voices of "No, No.") "I say what I say very specifically," he added. Then, why did not Mr. Nehru understand? "I think he has not applied his mind to what I have said." Also, his mind was so full, that there was no room for anything else to go into it, Mr. Rajagopalachari said.

Proceeding, Mr. Rajagopalachari said, that Mr. Nehru did not like the name Conservative Party. "Why do I say a Conservative Party? Because, the opposite is fully represented in Parliament. What is absent is a Conservative Party." Yet, Mr. Nehru had said that he welcomed the formation of an Opposition Party. Therefore, he agreed with him (the speaker), fundamentally that a new kind of Opposition was necessary, only he did not like the name.

A Conservative Party was intended for the preservation of all those things that were good in our country, in our history and traditions. In a democracy what was wrong could not be preserved.

Mr. Nehru's co-operative farming scheme "not only attacks the farm, but it attacks the family," Mr. Rajagopalachari said. The result would be that when it came into effect, the families of the peasants would not go to work on the fields, as they did now in the villages of our country. "Mr. Nehru should not depend upon Socialism alone. Just as the word, conservative, is abhorrent in his case, slogans are abhorrent in my case," Rajaji said.

If Mr. Nehru swore to them "that co-operative services alone" would be there, and no collectivisation, nobody need object. In fact, they wanted more effective services in that regard, the speaker observed.

How were they going to get land for collective farming? They were going to take away lands from the bigger landlords. These lands had all been earned by them —and not been given to them by some Maharaja or other. How could those lands be taken away without compensation? In this connection, Rajaji referred to the amendments effected in the Constitution relating to the payment of compensation, and said, that compensation laws had been altered in recent years. They wanted all these badly amended laws to be abolished, and the original ones restored, Rajaji said.

It was no use opposing, Mr. Nehru had said. The speaker said, "I say, more opposition is necessary. It is very difficult to make people understand and accept the idea for an Opposition." People now had the impression that it was impossible to have an Opposition.

The wave of totalitarianism must be broken. Nobody knew what would happen to his house, his land, and so on. Everyone in India was weighed down by a sense of unhappy unrest. Now, was that state of affairs to be tolerated? The Opposition could prevent the Government from spreading out the uncertainties in the country. Today, nobody was interested in his family or his land. In the old days, a man was interested in providing for his son, nephew or grandchildren. Today, they thought they need not do so any longer, not even for their sons, as the Government would do it.

Mr. Rajagopalachari asked traders, merchants and the like not to be afraid of what would happen to them if they supported the Opposition or apprehend that the Government might take vindictive action against them if they joined it. If they thought so, these persons would be wrong, Mr. Rajagopalachari said. For, Mr. Nehru "won't be unfair," he assured. "I know him for many years. He won't do a wrong thing." By so thinking, they would be doing the Prime Minister a wrong, Mr. Rajagopalachari said.

Referring to the proposed party, Mr. Rajagopalachari said: "We must have freedom to do what we like with our property, which has been guaranteed under the Constitution." They did not want such taxation as would make life miserable. Taxation now had reached a limit. Tax gatherers should not become tyrants of the country.

Suggesting the name "Swatantra" for the new party. Mr. Rajagopalachari said that it would be appropriate, because it would stand for the freedom of the men on the farm, the freedom of the farm and of the family. It was a good name one which was common in Tamil, Telugu and other languages of the country.

If only there was a strong movement in the country, they would find Mr. Nehru coming down. If they were strong, and in course of time, they had capable leaders, then they could think of having the Prime Ministership of the country later on. "Meanwhile, the movement should be started for the protection of our Swatantra," Rajaji concluded.

The Swatantra Party

We append below an extract from the *Hindu* of June 9, giving the text of the speech by Sri C. Rajagopalachari on the reasons for the formation of his new party:

Addressing a largely attended public meeting held under the auspices of the Lakshmipuram Young Men's Association, in Royapettah last evening, Mr. C. Rajagopalachari explained the aims and policies that would be pursued by the new Opposition party, which he said, would be called the Swatantra Party and appealed to educated young men who were independent bread-winners, to join it in large numbers and work for its aims and objectives. Mr. Rajagopalachari added that he did not want to attract Congress members into the new party.

The new party, Rajaji said was a healthy baby and it would grow. There were wide feelings in the country that there must be a party of this nature. But some people thought,

out of fear, that it would be difficult to make it grow. The Prime Minister was not going to victimise anybody for joining this party or helping it to grow. It was not desirable, Rajaji said, that they should have fear, because the party could not grow if they had this fear and communicated this fear to others. "There is no danger whatsoever in handling this baby. You should not imagine that the step-mother will be very angry if you fondle this baby. That is not correct." As regards officials who ought to be rather more royal than the king, he could give the assurance that if at any time those who wanted to help the party, found any difficulty and complained to the Prime Minister, he (the Prime Minister) would surely punish the more-royal-than-the-king man.

Making a reference to Mr. Nehru's remarks about the formation of the new party, Rajaji said that when Pressmen asked him for his reaction, Mr. Nehru said that he welcomed it saying it was a very good thing. But he did not say anything in anger about it.

The new party which he was blessing, Rajaji said, was called the Swatantra Party, a very good name, and there was difference between the Government party that was now in power and this party. The name had been given to express the content of the philosophy of that party. *Swatantra* means oneself having control and power of action over oneself. *Paratantra* means a man or a woman who was in the hands of another and his activities and thinking, all depend on another person. As against *paratantra*, they should enjoy *swatantra*. Every citizen in India should have *swatantra* and should not be a *paratantra*. The socialist pattern of society, which corresponded to the *paratantra* philosophy, wanted that the State should have to regulate and control and be the master of the activities of other persons, the citizens being not independent. It meant that society should be so organised that the State took away all the *swatantra* of the citizens ultimately. There was a threat of confiscating *swatantra* from citizens by a gradual process. Therefore they had also to defend themselves by a gradual process. That was why the new party was necessary which claimed that social justice and social welfare could be attained without depriving individuals of *swatantra*.

Rajaji said that it was only when individuals were responsible for working they would produce and save. Men would save only if they could have a share of what they saved. Therefore *swatantra* was absolutely necessary, No man would save when everybody was given a pension by the Socialist State. The Socialist State would be committing suicide if it took away initiative from the individual, because the State was composed of individuals and its life and energy came from individuals.

Mr. Rajagopalachari said that although the rupee note was a simple understandable thing, the complexity of money was very great. Money made life very difficult to understand in modern times. They did not know why prices went up and why they went down. "We think that if the shopkeeper is a good man, prices go down and if prices go up, we infer that the shopkeeper is a bad man. But that is not a fact. All our shopkeepers on the whole are very simple, honest people." They were very vigilant and kept themselves informed about the day-to-day fluctuation in prices. Every little shopkeeper was not only diligent and efficient, but on the whole very shrewd. The little shopkeeper did not ask for much profit. "He just manages to keep his family going. He does not waste his money. It is these people who are the targets of attack day in and day out in Parliament." They did not want intermediaries between the wholesale producer and the Government.

"What is the Government for if all these people are not to be provided?" Rajaji asked. It was quite wrong in a country which was so populous with a high degree of unemployment. If the profits were distributed among a large number of middlemen, it was automatic socialism, he added.

Criticising the scheme of co-operative farming envisaged by the Government, Rajaji said that tilling of land required infinite patience and knowledge of the soil and the seasons, and the Government could not rely on the official experts possessing only book knowledge about farming methods. Whatever experience the official experts had gained was only because of interference. Referring to the suggestion that by removing bunds on paddy fields they could increase the area for cultivation, he said that bunds were as necessary as the cup was neces-

sary to hold coffee. Bunds in paddy fields were not mere superfluities, they really helped in cultivation. Every businessman and every cultivator knew his profession. Therefore, the duty of the Government would be to help those people with whatever facilities that were wanted, otherwise than in the actual practice of the profession. If the Government put its fingers into it, it would be something disastrous.

Referring to the defects of the Congress Party, Rajaji said that all organisations went wrong in course of time, but political organisations went wrong very quickly. Here was an old broom, which had gone wrong. There was more dirt on it than the dirt removed by it. "Therefore let us supply a new broom; it may do well for some time at least and it will be good enough for some time." They could not say what would happen to it in future.

Before concluding, he appealed to educated young men to join the party and work for its aims. The Congress Party had become a closed shop and it was not allowing new members to join it. Had the Congress taken in recent times any members from college graduates or professors? he asked. "I wish we must provide them room in the new party. It should be an enlightened party, which does not wish to close its shop,—members of which do not wish to live on the party. I do not want to attract Congress members into this—God forbid. Let them be in the Congress and let them carry on, and may be, they will improve also by competition. But it is a different matter." This party, he added should consist of people who were independent bread-winners, who were at least sons and brothers of bread-winners, who knew what their work was and how to depend on their work.

Tibet and India

We reproduce below from the *Statesman*, of May 31, a report on the opening days speeches, in the All-India Tibet Convention at Calcutta:

The Tibet situation should be presented to the world in its reality and no attempt should be made for reasons of diplomacy to play down, cover up, belittle or misrepresent what was happening in that country, said Mr. Jai Prakash Narain presiding over the All-India Tibet Convention which opened at Mahajati Sadan, Calcutta, on Saturday.

Mr. Narain, who strongly criticized India's acceptance of Chinese suzerainty over Tibet, felt that the Tibetan question should now be raised in the U.N. and that the Afro-Asian bloc must present a common front on it.

Sonam Gyatso, a Tibetan Lama, who has recently arrived in India, suggested that an impartial commission constituted by representatives of neutral Asian countries should visit Tibet and find out the facts. There should be no delay in taking this step "if this has to be fruitful," he added.

In his speech Mr. Narain said that the Tibetans were fighting to win their national freedom and not to defend the feudal rights of a few nobles and monasteries. The leaders of the movement were not feudal lords but the most progressive elements in the Tibetan society, who stood for reform and change. These facts must be made known and on their basis a strong and united world opinion created against Chinese aggression and for Tibetan independence.

Mr. Narain felt that India's acceptance of Chinese suzerainty over Tibet was a major mistake. The idea that a country might have suzerain powers over another was imperialist in conception. It was also wrong to believe that a powerful totalitarian State could be trusted to honour the autonomy of a weak country.

It was true that Tibet's annexation to China could not be prevented. But India's acceptance of Chinese suzerainty gave the Chinese action in Tibet a moral and legal sanction and prevented the formulation of Afro-Asian opinion on the question.

If communism had been a truly liberating and anti-imperialist force the Chinese Communists, on assumption of power, should themselves have proclaimed Tibet's independence and foresworn, the old imperialist notion of suzerainty and made a treaty with Tibet of equality and friendship. But Communism in Russia and China had become expansionist and aggressive just as 19th century capitalism had been in Britain, France and Germany.

Tibet was not a region of China. The country had sometimes been under Chinese authority by virtue of conquest and never out of its own choice. Still Chinese suzerainty had always been nominal and meant hardly more than some tribute from Lhasa to Peking. After the fall of the Manchu empire in 1911 Tibet had been an independent country till 1951 when Communist China invaded it.

The question of reforms in Tibet did not worry the Chinese. The question plainly was that of subjugation of the country. The Chinese interfered in everything. Revered lamas were purposely ill-treated and humiliated. Monasteries were demolished and their properties confiscated. A new system of administration was imposed in which the Chinese were posted to all key points. Post and telegraphs, the mint and the hydro-electric plant were taken over. Printing of Tibetan currency was prohibited. The powers of the Dalai Lama were clipped. A vast scheme of colonization was taken up by the Chinese. This process to steal Tibet from Tibetans had roused bitter resentment which took the form of a national resistance movement.

"Is Tibet lost for ever? No, a thousand times no. Tibet will not die because there is no death for the human spirit." Tibetan freedom, he added, would be resurrected.

Sonam Gyatso thanked India for her hospitality towards the Dalai Lama and the refugees and asserted that the national movement for Tibet's freedom was led by people whose declared policy was to bring about radical reforms and improvement of living conditions of the Tibetan people. But the Tibetans resisted the so-called reforms which were imposed and did not suit their conditions. The movement wanted complete and unconditional independence for Tibet (Tibet Chhokha Sum) with the Dalai Lama as its head. It was the true voice of the Tibetan people.

Mr. H. V. Kamath said that the Chinese Embassy in India had circulated a pamphlet in which Tibet had been compared with U.P. or Assam. He had visited Nathula and the Sikkim border a fortnight ago and the roads from Yatung and Gyantse built by the Chinese did not appear to him to be for peaceful purposes. He alleged that vandalism was rampant in Tibet where images of Buddha and priceless ancient scrolls were being burnt. Indian merchants in Yatung and Gyantse were not having a peaceful time. They had been threatened with confiscation of their radio sets if they listened to Indian broadcasts. The other day an Indian trader was insulted by a Chinese at Yatung.

Mr. Soumyendra Nath Tagore said that no occupation was for altruistic motives. The progressive benefits that an annexed territory received were natural and a by-product of history. Expansionism could not be supported on this ground. He accused Mr. Nehru of selling Tibet to China, an act he had no right to do and blamed him for the present Tibetan crisis. He also condemned "Stalinist imperialism."

Dr. P. C. Ghosh attacked the Communist Party for a perennial policy of owing allegiance to Moscow even where there were changes in leadership and criticized Mr. Nehru and the Congress for their drift towards totalitarian dictatorship. India wanted to be friendly with China but China should recognize the self-determination of Tibet.

Dr. R. C. Majumdar, Chairman, Reception Committee, criticized Mr. Nehru for pre-judging the Convention whose main object was to make known to the world the real attitude of India towards Tibet. Chinese suzerainty must recede and Tibetans must have the right to self-determination.

"Able and Baker"

We give the news-report on the first safe journey into outer space by man's nearest relations:

Cape Canaveral, May 28.—Two monkeys—Able and Baker—were today recovered alive from the nose cone of a Jupiter missile which was fished out of the Atlantic after a 1,500-miles space flight.

The Army announced the successful recovery from the compartment of the Jupiter nose cone after the missile had climbed to a height of 300 miles and flown at speeds up to 10,000 m.p.h.

The tiny female monkeys thus became the first living creatures known to have travelled into space in an American missile and returned alive.

The Army's accomplishment means a major step towards man's travel in space and return to earth.

Scientists reported that instruments attached to the monkeys showed they suffered little ill effects from the stress of violent acceleration and a period of weightlessness for some nine minutes of the 15-minute journey.

The Army announcement, 6½ hours after the launching, said simply: "Both animals are alive and perfect with no injuries."

The seven-pound Able was given a telegraph key to press and release throughout the two-way trip. This was to test her reaction during the planned nine-minute period in which she felt no gravitational pull. Her companion Baker was a squirrel monkey, weighing only a pound. She was wired to provide scientific readings of breathing, body temperature, heart action and pressure within the capsule by means of electronic circuits.

As there was no plan to put up an earth satellite containing the monkeys, the experiment differed from the earlier Air Force's Discoverer III attempt, involving the launching, orbiting and recovery of an earth satellite containing four black mice.

The present attempt from Vandenberg Air Force base in California, was set for last week but postponed for technical and weather reasons.

Able was trained before the space flight to push a Morse key when a red light flashed once each second. This was tried out during the flight to show how she responded to the feeling of weightlessness, but the signals were not received. Experts said the experiment with the Morse key apparently failed because of telemetry difficulties.

Other instruments did record and relay back to earth information about the monkey's heartbeat and breathing rate.

A message sent from the U.S. fleet tug Kiowa, which picked up the monkeys said they would be taken to Puerto Rico and then flown in a special plane to Washington.

The Kiowa had been on watch in the target area with two destroyer escorts, the Snowden and the Brough. The nose cone was reported to have come down within 10 miles of the recovery ship in the selected area 30 to 60 miles north of Antigua Island.

The Jupiter Rocket was fired from here at 07.35 G.M.T. (about 1.5 p.m. I.S.T.). The nose cone containing the monkeys was recovered from Atlantic 92 minutes later.

Able has proved a pioneer. Never before had such a "psychobehavioural" test as the one involving the telegraph key been attempted during extended weightlessness.

Baker is similar to a monkey sent up with similar wires and experimentation in a launching last December, which provided important scientific data about that monkey's physiological reactions, but efforts to recover the nose cone ended in failure.

Besides the monkeys, tooday's rocket carried biological experiments, chiefly for radiation studies, involving such cellular systems as those possessed by yeast, maize, mustard seeds, fruitfly larvae and human blood.

In addition, the nose cone carried a mould spore and egg fertilization experiment to study the effects of radiation and weightlessness on cell division and the fertilization process.

AGRICULTURE AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN INDIA

By Prof. KHETRA MOHAN PATNAIK, M.A., A.M. (Stanford)

The Agrarian Situation

The problem of the under-developed countries like India is essentially the problem of the poverty of their farm populations. This is so, since an overwhelming majority of the population in these countries depend on agriculture as their mainstay. In India nearly 70 per cent of the population are agricultural, whereas the same percentage for Europe is 33, U.S.A. 4, and U.S.S.R. 50. Heavy population pressure on land gives rise to small and uneconomic agricultural holdings which have long been the most difficult problem in the development of the rural economy. It is estimated that the average size of farms in most states in India is between 4 and 5 acres. Small and fragmented holdings limit the application of scientific methods of cultivation, decrease the productivity of land and render agriculture a way of life rather than a business proposition. As a result, the farmer has to approach the village money-lender for financial help to meet his unforeseen expenditures or for purchase of seed, cattle, implements and the like. Once in debt, he remains always in debt since the agriculturist derives such a low income from land which leaves him no surplus to clear off his obligations. Rigid and oppressive land tenures enrich the landlords and increase the misery of the tenant-farmers; in most cases, of the net income from cultivation, less than one-fifth is enjoyed by the actual cultivator and the rest goes to the absentee owner of land. Thus absentee landlordism and economic serfdom of tenants coupled with the rapacity of the money-lender weaken incentives and become responsible for backward agriculture and low productivity.

Necessity of Agricultural Improvement

Under these conditions, if economic development is to be brought about then the problem of the cultivators should engage our primary attention. If economic development means "the growth of output per head of population," it necessarily means increasing the productivity of the seventy per cent of the population now engaged in land. For, "it cannot be expected that industrial development can be successful if the standard of living in rural areas does not rise, since otherwise the low level of incomes of the farm population will prevent an expansion of the market. So long as a large proportion of the additional income generated by industrial development is absorbed by rents and interest, the domestic market for industrial products will remain restricted. Agrarian reform, by changing the distribution of income, will allow industrial expansion to generate its own purchasing power and create its own market. The approach to the problem of raising living standards in under-developed countries must be an integrated one; and in this approach the reform of the agrarian structure should play an integral part."[1]

Not only are agrarian reforms necessary to provide a wider market for the industries but also to provide the initial capital for industrial development. This point can be explained in some detail. Small and uneconomic holdings, which are the outstanding evils of the agrarian structure in under-developed countries like India, do not provide full employment for the farm families. In other words, there is disguised unemployment in the sense that, even with unchanged techniques in agriculture, a large part of the population engaged in the subsistence sector could be removed without reducing farm output. The same agricultural output could be got with a smaller labour force. As Ragnar Nurkse points out: "Population pressure has led to a steady reduction in the average size of the farm. In consequence peasants and their family members simply do not have enough to do: they are underemployed. The subdivision of land into

1. "Land Reform, defects in agrarian structure as obstacles to economic development." (U.N.O.), page 87.

smaller and smaller holdings means that, given the prevailing state of techniques, the work to be done on the land is shared among growing numbers of people. It amounts to a system of work-spreading."[2] The extent of such under-employment is indicated in the Second Five-Year Plan in the following terms: "There appears to be an agreement on the broad conclusion that under existing conditions, with present techniques of agriculture being continued, if cultivating units were to approach what might be described as family holdings affording the possibility of fairly full-time work in agriculture for a family of average size, agricultural production could be maintained with about 65-75 per cent of the number of workers now engaged in it. In other words, on certain assumptions, one-fourth to one-third of the existing labour force in agriculture may be surplus to its requirements." (P. 35.) According to the 1951 census the agricultural labour force (including persons classified as "self-supporting" together with "earning dependents") numbered just over 100 million people. This means that the extent of overcrowding in agriculture today is between 25-30 million people.

This state of disguised unemployment implies to some extent a disguised saving potential which can be tapped for industrial development. As things stand, the unproductive surplus labourers on the land are sustained by the productive labourers.[3] The productive labourers are performing 'virtual' saving; they produce more than they consume. But the saving runs to waste, the saving is abortive, it is offset by the unproductive consumption of the people who could be dispensed with. If the productive peasants were to send their useless dependents to work on capital projects and if they continued to feed them there, their virtual saving would become effective saving. The unproductive consumption of the surplus farm population would become productive consumption.

The above analysis is perhaps clear in explaining the sense in which disguised unemployment in overpopulated peasant economies may be said to contain a hidden source of saving available for economic development. Everything depends upon the mobilisation of the concealed saving potential in the shape of the food surplus that becomes available to the productive peasants when their unproductive dependents go away. This mobilisation will be incomplete if the remaining peasants cannot be stopped from eating more than before.

The saving potential inherent in disguised unemployment emphasises the necessity of effective measures to stop the remaining peasants from consuming more, when the 'unproductive' members go away to work on capital construction. The peasants are not likely to save the surplus voluntarily since they live so close to subsistence level. It may be possible to tax them through increasing their rents and taxing the landowners. Japan passed a new land tax law in 1873, which was highly effective and apparently very important in Japan's economic development in the late 19th century. Until 1882, indeed, it furnished over 80 per cent of the revenues. This crucial problem of collecting agricultural surplus was solved in Soviet Russia by the system of collective farms.

All this shows that overpopulated countries like India should tackle the problem of heavy population pressure on land in order that the saving potential inherent in conditions of disguised unemployment may be canalised in the direction of industrial development. Such a step becomes indispensable in view of the paucity of capital in such countries for large-scale industrialisation. This would also enable these countries to have substantial technical progress in agriculture, which is not possible without reducing the numbers engaged in agriculture.

Thus agricultural improvement helps industrialisation by releasing people from

2. "Reflections on India's Development Plan," by Ragnar Nurkse, in *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*, May, 1957.

3. It is convenient to use these terms even though personal identification and hence separation of the two groups is impossible.

land for employment in the urban sector, providing food for the growing population and thereby counteracting the inflationary pressure; and, by making food imports less necessary, it relieves pressure on the balance of payments.

The Experience of other Countries: The Case of Japan

The experience of countries like Japan and Russia bears out the truth of the statement that agricultural development is always the basis of industrialisation. Let us take up the case of Japan first. The year 1868 marks the beginning of an era of economic development. In 1873 about 78 per cent of the employed Japanese population were engaged in agriculture, but this percentage came down to 52 by 1920. Rough estimates of the growth of national income and the contribution of agriculture to it are indicated in Table 1. A study of these figures shows that income from agriculture and fishing increased by about 75 per cent between 1887 and 1914, while total income rose by 121 per cent. The increase of income from agriculture and fisheries accounted for about 40 per cent of the growth in national income during this period of 27 years.

Table 1

Estimate of National Income of Japan (Million yen at 1935 Prices)*

Source	1887	1897	1908	1914	1925
Agriculture and fishing	1,860	1,950	2,490	3,250	3,269
Other	1,065	1,460	2,620	3,210	9,085
Total	2,925	3,410	5,110	6,460	12,354

(*Data from Colin Clark, *The Conditions of Economic Progress* (New York, 1940, p. 113, quoted in B.F. Johnston's article in *Journal of Political Economy*, sec. 1951).

The increase in agricultural productivity was siphoned off through land taxes into investment projects. Consequently, a large proportion of the increased agricultural product was available for urban consumption and for capital accumulation. This was achieved through the stiff land tax introduced in 1873. The tax was based on the assessed value of farm land and, unlike the collections in kind, did not vary with fluctuations in the farmer's harvest. The tax was fixed initially at 3 per cent, which seems to have amounted to about 13 per cent of the value of a normal crop.[4] The growth of farm tenancy in Japan has been attributed to changes in land taxation which led farmers to increase their indebtedness and eventually to lose their holdings. The growth of tenancy is shown in Table 2. "At the beginning of Japan's industrialisation the land tax accounted for nearly all the revenue of the national government—50 out of 58 million yen of tax revenue in 1875-76 (nearly 86 per cent). In 1893-94 the land tax yielded approximately 38.8 million yen, or 45 per cent of the tax revenue....the land tax revenue... in 1906-7 still represented 22 per cent of the tax revenue."[5]

Table 2*

Year	Tenant land as Percentage of Total Cultivated Land.
1873	31.1
1883	36.8
1887	40.0
1915	45.5

*Reproduced from B.F. Johnston's article in *Journal of Political Economy*.

It is evident that the gains in productivity in agriculture were drawn upon by taxation in order to finance a larger share of the government's programme for fostering industrial development. "It has been estimated that, during the decade 1900-1909, capital investment average about 12 per cent of national income, increasing to about 17 per cent of national

4. "Agricultural Productivity and Economic Development in Japan" by B.F. Johnston, in *Journal of Political Economy*, December 1951," p. 502.

5. *Ibid.*

income in the following decade. Applying the 12 per cent figure to Kaya's estimate of national income in 1905, we obtain an indication that capital investment was perhaps of the order of 150 million yens (in current prices), as compared to the revenue from the land tax in 1906-7, which amounted to 86 million yen."[6]

The Case of Soviet Russia

Planned economic development was initiated in Soviet Russia in 1928. The First Five-Year Plan laid emphasis on the collectivisation and mechanisation of agriculture to step up agricultural production. Collective organisations accounted for only 1.7 per cent of the peasant households and 2.3 per cent of the crop area in 1928. By 1938, 93.5 per cent of the households and 99.3 per cent of the planted area had been collectivized.[7] Collectivisation was stressed, not so much as a means to increase agricultural productivity, but for ensuring food supplies to the urban sector and giving the state effective control over the disposal of farm produce. In the words of Dobb, "The significance of the collectivisation-drive in agriculture during the First Five-Year Plan, and of its close connection with a program of industrialisation and high investment, is to be sought less in its effect upon total production and yield per acre than in its effect the marketable surplus."[8] By permiting mechanisation and improved organisation of labour they raised the per capita productivity of labour in agriculture, released labour from the land, and thus enabled both man-power and a larger share of the produce simultaneously to move towards industry and the towns. In addition to this, there was a political reason behind this programme. According to Baykov, there were almost 26,000,000 separate peasant farms in the Soviet Union in 1928. To the Soviet leaders, it was obvious that such an unwieldy mass of individual small producers was incompatible with the centrally directed, large-scale industrial economy they hoped to build.

6. *Ibid*, p. 504. 7. *Ibid*., p. 508.
8. *Some Aspects of Economic Development*, by M. Dobb, p. 74.

The collectivization programme achieved its aims of providing labour for carrying out the stupendous industrialisation programme. Lorimer estimates that the population dependent on agriculture and rural industries declined from 114 million in 1926 to between 92 and 97 million in 1939. By contrast, the numbers in manufacturing, mining, construction, transportation and trade increased from 15 million in 1926 to an estimated 41-45 million in 1939, and the population dependent on public administration and social services rose from less than 5 million to 17-18 million.[9] The total agricultural output increased by about 15 per cent between 1928-1939. This represents an increase in the productivity of labour in agriculture of between 30 and 40 per cent.[10] Dobb estimates that the marketable surplus of agriculture, available to supply the expanding towns and industry, increased considerably; and, in the case of grain, it was in 1938 some 2½ times what this surplus had been ten years previously.

The increase in productivity in agriculture in the Soviet Union was of great significance as a source of finance for industrialisation. With the system of compulsory collection of food-grains enforced through the Machine Tractor Systems, the farm population was squeezed enough to supply the wherewithal to carry out industrial development programmes. Thus forced collection of grains appears to have played the same role in the U.S.S.R. as land taxation in Japan; it was the principal weapon through which the gains in agricultral productivity were canalised in the direction of rapid industrial development.

Objectives of Agrarian Reforms in India

Planned economic development was initiated in our country since April, 1951 through the Five-Year Plans. In both the plans the objectives of land reforms have been two-fold: firstly, to remove such impediments upon agricultural production as arise from the character of the agrarian

9. & 10. "Agricultural Productivity and Economic Development in Japan," by B. F. Johnston in *JPE*, December 1951, page 509.

structure; and secondly, to create conditions for evolving, as speedily as may be possible, an agrarian encomy with high levels of efficiency and productivity. These aspects are interrelated; some measures bearing more directly on the first aim, others to a greater extent on the second. Thus the abolition of intermediaries, which was carried out during the First Plan period in most of the states, was intended to give to the tiller of the soil his rightful place in the agrarian system. The work of consolidation of holdings carried through in the same period was intended to reduce waste and create conditions of efficient production.

Land Reform During the Second Five-Year Plan Period

During the First Five-Year Plan period substantial progress was attained in the abolition of intermediaries giving security of tenure to the tenants by legislation and consolidation of scattered holdings. But the question of redistribution of land was not tackled during this period. It is felt that in the conditions of India large disparities in the distribution of wealth and income are inconsistent with economic progress in any sector. This consideration applies with even greater force to land. "Land is the only form of capital which is not reproducible. One can always create new machines or new stocks; one can very seldom create new land. Land, therefore, has especially in an agricultural country, a very special scarcity value of its own. This value reflects itself in the feeling people have about land; a man takes joy in his ancestral acres; he scraps his ancestral machines. It also reflects itself in the special position which attaches to those who hold land. Power has always been attached to land ownership, whether by squire or kulak. No corresponding power attaches to the ownership of Tata Ordinaries or Government of India 3½% stock. A case can, therefore, be made for land ceilings on the basis, first, that since land is a commodity in short supply, it should be rationed, and secondly, that since power and land go together, land must be split more evenly amongst groups (which really means castes) so that the Harijan and the tribal, for instance, can rise from their present low position." This has led the Planning Commission to advocate that during the Second Five-Year Plan period steps should be taken to redistribute land in excess of a ceiling so as to afford opportunities to landless sections of the rural population to gain in social status. This is also essential for developing a co-operative rural economy, for, co-operation thrives best in homogeneous groups in which there are no large inequalities.

It is proposed that by the end of 1959 steps should be taken in each state to impose ceilings on existing agricultural holdings. An important question which has to be considered in this connection is whether the ceiling should apply to holdings of individuals or to holdings of families. In favour of the latter proposal, the main consideration is that in agriculture the appropriate unit is the family rather than the individual. On the other hand, in the census of land holdings and cultivation carried out in the different states in the recent past, the entire agricultural land held by a person in a State was taken to constitute a single holding, and in the case of joint holdings, the share of each co-sharer was treated as a separate holding. Since land census records and other returns which may be obtained will generally be the basis for carrying out the policy of ceilings in different parts of a State, there would appear to be administrative advantages in adopting the view taken in the census. Against this has to be set the consideration that thereby the area available for redistribution would be smaller.

Next comes the question of determining the level at which the ceiling should apply. It is suggsted that for this multiples of what may be regarded as a "family holding" in any given area may be used. A family holding is described "as an area equivalent, according to local conditions and under existing conditions of technique, either to a plough unit or to a work unit for a family of average size working with such assistance as is customary in agricultural operations." Each State should work out the area of land which may be declared to be a family holding, according to the condi-

tions in different regions, classes of soil, irrigation and the like. The Planning Commission suggests that it will be convenient to put the ceiling at about three times the family holding. But it is left for the States to decide it as they think fit. The categories of farms exempted from the operation of the ceiling are:

1. Tea, coffee and rubber plantations;
2. Orchards where they constitute reasonably compact areas;
3. Specialised farms engaged in cattle breeding, dairying, wool-raising etc.;
4. Sugarcane farms operated by sugar factories;
5. Efficiently managed farms which consist of compact blocks, on which heavy investment or permanent structural improvements have been made and whose break up is likely to lead to a fall in production.

In the settlement of lands acquired in consequence of the application of ceilings, tenants displaced as a result of resumption of land for personal cultivation, farmers with uneconomic holdings and landless workers will receive preference. Settlements are proposed to be made as far as possible on co-operative lines. Farmers with uneconomic holdings below the basic level will be admitted into co-operatives constituted with surplus lands if they also agree to pool their lands.

Reflections on the Proposed Land Reforms In India

The question that crops up is how far such a land reform programme is helpful in the context of economic development. Breaking up of large holdings and redistribution of land among the uneconomic holders and landless labourers would increase the already innumerable small holdings existing in India. Will such a state of affairs enable us to get a higher investible surplus from agriculture? Would it not have been better if the Planning Commission had aimed at collective farming of the Russian type and mechanised cultivation? The question then boils down to the size of the farming unit in the context of economic development in India.

Under the conditions prevalent in India —where 59 per cent of the farms are 5 acres or below, while those up to 25 acres are 94 per cent of the total—employment of heavy machines by establishing large holdings does not appear feasible and desirable. The necessary background for such a change pre-supposes a fundamental structural reorganisation within agriculture and a rapid expansion of the non-agricultural sectors to absorb a large labour force which will be thrown off the land. Apart from numerous other favourable factors, it will be agreed that rapid advance in farm mechanisation in the West was and is even today conditioned by the scanty supply and the consequent heavy cost of human labour and the need to effect substantial economies in its employment in agriculture. In contrast, in India we have an abundant supply of labour while land and capital are extremely scarce. Hence in any plan of agricultural development or technical change in India, we are inevitably bound down to labour-intensive rather than capital-intensive techniques.

Estate farming has been indicated as an alternative under which it would be possible to mechanise agriculture and achieve substantial measure of increase in productivity without displacing agricultural population to any considerable extent. It has been pointed out that the peasants would find employment not only in these commercialised farms but also in the factories that would rise as ancillary growth to process and manufacture the agricultural products. Under Indian conditions, the peasant would earn a better wage, as a labourer than as an independent cultivator. But it will be too much to expect that this process of change in the scale of farming operations would be universally adopted in India. This will not bring about an equitable distribution of land and social justice which are essential to increased productivity. Judged by whatever standards, peasant farming will inevitably remain the basis of Indian agriculture and hence we should aim at such technical changes which are suitable to it. Given certain conditions, the superiority of peasant farming over large-scale farming has been established. Under the rural set-up obtaining in India, and other countries similarly situated, the peasant farm leaves scope for intensification of cultivation, and for a combination of enterprises to ensure to the peasants fair incomes and living standards. That is why Shri-

an Narayan points out: "It is wrong to think iat in large mechanised farms production per ire is greater than in small-scale and intenvely cultivated farms. In fact, figures of agriltural production per acre clearly indicate iat, in general, it is larger in smaller and insively cultivated farms than in 'giant' farms. 'or example, smaller farms in Japan yielded wice as much, and in Denmark and Switzerand four times as much as the bigger farms in imerica and Australia. It is true that on the giant' farms, productivity 'per man' increases, ut 'not per acre.' This is an important point vhich must be clearly understood by all those vho are interested in the development of agriulture in India."[11] The attachment of the Indian peasant to his land is so great that a large-scale conversion of the economic status of the agricultural population from that of the independent peasants to landless labour is fraught with serious socio-economic consequences and would gravely undermine the democratic set-up in our country. Structural reorganisation of the farms to improve the layout and pave the way for heavy mechanisation is possible in two stages. The consolidation of farms and their subsequent voluntary conversion into co-operative units of operation would open out possibilities for agricultural mechanisation without disturbing the social values. Till this can be done—and the forces to bring these changes are already at work in India—reliance will have to be placed on minor technical innovations and the use of improved practices to increase productivity which have demonstrated their utility and efficacy.

All this points out that overpopulated and capital-poor countries like India cannot afford to have large-scale farming with mechanised cultivation for fear of heavy displacement of labourers, who cannot be employed in the urban sector. "If labour is super-abundant, as it is in India or China, the main effect of introducing mechanisation is to create still more unemployment, at the cost of using up scarce foreign exchange to import the mechanical equipment and its fuel. In such a situation the objective of economic policy is to maximise output per acre, and not output per worker."[12] These considerations have, perhaps, led the Planning Commission to put emphasis upon the more intensive use of land which would result if some of the large holdings are broken up and converted into small family farms.

Redistribution of land, to be successful, should probably be followed by certain complementary measures. These are:

(a) The area of economic holding should be fixed for different regions and surplus land taken out after the fixation of ceilings should be redistributed among such holders who would come up to this basic level. Unless this yardstick is fixed for the land-distributing authorities, there might be scope for nepotism in actual distribution.

(b) All farms with uneconomic holdings, after redistribution, should be compulsorily organised under co-operative joint farming societies. Here ownership of land, which is pooled together for purposes of cultivation, is preserved and the area of land contributed is one of the factors which is taken into account when income is shared.

(c) The present law of inheritance and succession should be changed so that the holdings that are economic today may not get fractionalised in the next generation. Here the experience of the East European countries during the inter-war years may be of some help to the policy-makers in India

All these measures of land reform, no doubt, are aimed at expansion of agricultural output. Abolition of intermediaries, transfer of land from the absentee landlord to the tiller, fixation of ceilings on land-holdings have a profound psychological and political value; and these reforms coupled with the growth of 'Service Co-operatives' give incentive to the farmer in the direction of greater productive effort. But the question is: how far are they helpful for capital accumulation? Can they mobilise the 'saving potential' inherent under

11. 'Co-operative Farming,' by Shriman Narayan, in *Hindusthan Standard*, March 3, 1959.

12. *The Theory of Economic Growth*, by Arthur Lewis, p. 129.

conditions of disguised unemployment in agriculture?

The Dark Side

A little reflection would reveal that, if redistribution of land after fixation of ceilings is not accompanied with *compulsory organisation of at least the uneconomic holders* under co-operative joint farming societies, the above policy of land reform would augment the number of small holdings in India. That this realisation has dawned in the minds of the policy-makers is evident from the Nagpur Resolution that "the surplus land should vest in the Panchayats and should be managed through co-operatives of landless labourers." It is true that co-operative joint farming is our ultimate ideal and hence it has been laid down that "the main task during the Second Plan period is to take such essential steps as will provide sound foundations for the development of co-operative farming so that over a period of ten years or so, a substantial portion of agricultural lands is cultivated on co-operative lines." But at this moment co-operative joint farming, which would have increased the size of the farming unit, seems to have the same tinge of incorrigible optimism as Tennyson's "far-off-divine event towards which the whole creation moves." That multiplication of small holdings prevents capital accumulation and that the expansion of the size of farms has a healthy effect in this sphere have been proved by the available statistical data. The estimates of capital formation for big cultivators for all-India averaged to Rs. 618 as against Rs. 56 for the small cultivators. The average for both small and big cultivators amounted to Rs. 160 as against an average of Rs. 41 for non-cultivators in the rural areas.[13] That is why it seems that the best way to increase the percentage of capital accumulation is to increase the size of farm business.

The land policy of the Second Five-Year Plan might result in increased agricultural production; but the latter, though important, is not enough in the context of a developing economy, as the Japanese or Russian experience shows. The history of economic development in these countries shows that it is the surplus from agriculture which sets the tempo of industrialisation. But our land policy does not seem to have been based on this lesson. Increased primary production may enlarge the marketable surplus and to that extent counteract the pro-inflationary bias of development in under-developed countries. But this does not necessarily mean an increase in savings in the agricultural sector, which is the basis of rapid economic advance. As the U. N. Report points out, "The more equitable income distribution resulting from land reform does not ordinarily promote savings for productive investment but leads to higher consumption of essential goods by the peasants and a reduction in non-essential consumption by the landlords."[14] In other words, the land policy of the Government does not make a clear distinction between the "marketable surplus" and the "investible surplus" of agriculture. "The farm sector's marketable surplus of farm products evidently determines the volume of non-farm employment. It has no direct bearing on the volume of employment in investment. . . . A large marketable surplus is surely compatible (i) with a zero rate of investment in the economy or (ii) with a substantial rate of investment financed by (a) non-farm saving or (b) saving originating in the farm sector. The last case may become relevant when surplus labourers are transferred and farms appropriately reorganised."[15]

Finally, let us consider whether it is reasonable to hope for any *substantial* improvement in agricultural production significant for economic development by adopting a land policy which does not aim at wiping out the problem of over-crowding on land. Deliberate creation of innumerable small holdings by a policy of fixation of ceilings and re-

13. *Reserve Bank of India, All-India Rural Credit Survey, The Survey Report*, Vol. I, Part I, p. 726. Quoted by Dr. K. V. Sriram in his article "The Possible Anti-Inflationary impact of Co-operative Credit in a Developing Economy," *I.J.E.*, April 1958.

14. *Economic Bulletin for Asia and the Far East*, Vol. VIII; No. 3; November 1957 page 58.

15. "Reflections on India's Development Plan," by Ragnar Nurkse, in *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, May 1957, pp. 201-202.

distribution of land among the landless do not represent a progressive land policy consistent with the exigencies of a growing economy, since it does not attack the root of the agricultural malady. Instead of pushing people out of land, it leaves them with greater incentive to aggravate the problem of disguised unemployment. It represents, as it were, a policy of "back to the village," which is contrary to the experience of other countries which have progressed through the division of labour and the saving of overhead capital made possible by urban concentration. As a result, there cannot be any farm-reorganisation and substantial investment in the urban sector by tapping the saving-potential inherent in agriculture under conditions of disguised unemployment. It is worthwhile in this connection to take heed of the warning given by the U.N. Experts, who point out: "In a country where there is no surplus labour, industrialisation waits upon agricultural improvement. The way to industrialisation lies through the improvement of agriculture . . . . The reverse is the case in a country where population is so large in relation to cultivable land, that the land is carrying more people than can be fully employed in agriculture. Substantial technical progress in agriculture is not possible without reducing the numbers engaged in agriculture."[16]

The experience of Japan or U.S.S.R., as discussed above, indicates that the surplus extracted from agriculture plays a crucial role in the early stages of economic development. That is why the U.N. Experts, writing about "Economic Development and Planning in Asia and the Far East," point out that "in most countries of the region, agriculture, which supports 60 to 80 per cent of the population and contributes 40 to 60 per cent of the national income, has to make a sizable contribution to development programmes despite its low per capita income.[17]" But it may be argued that the agriculturists in our country are already over-taxed and it would be unreasonable to expect them to bear the brunt of heavier taxation. The answer to this objection is ". . . . while the smaller farmers may sometimes have been taxed rather heavily (mainly through indirect taxes), the larger owners and tenants have got off lightly. . . . . The land tax, which until recently has been the major tax in a number of countries, has proved inflexible and non-progressive and has failed to keep pace with increases in production and prices. The only exceptions are in those countries where this tax is collected in kind, as for example, in China (Taiwan and mainland). Although some States in India and Pakistan have introduced an income-tax in the agricultural sector as a complement to the land tax, its yield has been too small to cause any significant change in land taxation. One of the major fields of tax reform would therefore be to introduce flexibility and progressivity in the taxation of land and its income."[18]

Table 3

(Rs. Crores)

	Rural Sector	Urban Sector	Total
1952-53			
National Income (at current prices)	6850	2980	9830
Tax Revenue	289	386	675
1955-56			
National Income (at current prices)	6580	3410	9990
Tax Revenue			776
1956-57			
National Income (at current prices)	7900	3500	11400
Tax Revenue			860
1957-58			
National Income (at current prices	7900	3500	11400
Tax Revenue	430	576	1006

(Source: "Resources for the Third Plan," by Dr. K. N. Raj, in *The Economic Weekly*, Tenth Annual Number January 1959. Dr. Raj has given elaborate explanations of his estimates in his article).

16. *Measures for the Economic Development of Underdeveloped Countries*, p. 59.

17. *Economic Bulletin for Asia and the Far East*, Vol. VIII, No. 3; Nov. 1957, p. 76.

18. *Ibid*, p. 76.

Unlike other countries in the early phases of their industrial development, we have not squeezed agriculture enough. This is evident from Table 3, which shows that though the rural sector accounts for 70 per cent of the national income of our country, it contributes only 40 per cent of the national tax revenues. Thus the surplus extracted from agriculture for purposes of investment in India is of the order of 6 per cent of the value of agricultural produce. In China, the corresponding figure lies between 10-15 per cent of the agricultural produce, derived largely from a grains tax. In this connection, Dr. K. N. Raj remarks that "A preliminary analysis of the available data, based inevitably on a great deal of guesswork, suggests that the increase in tax revenues since 1952-53 has been realised more from the urban rather than the rural sector and that, while Government taxation has probably absorbed nearly 40 per cent of the increase in incomes in the urban sector, the share of the Government in the increased income of the rural sector has been perhaps not more than about 14-15 per cent."[19] This can be calculated from the figures furnished in Table 3. Again, Dr. Raj, with the help of figures given by the Taxation Enquiry Commission, shows that while the lowest income groups in the rural sector (*i.e.*, households, earning Rs. 600 per annum and less) paid, by way of indirect taxes as much as 2.2 per cent of their total expenditure (in 1952-53), the share of such taxes in the income-groups Rs. 600-1200, Rs. 1200-1800, and Rs. 1800-3000 per annum was only 2.3, 2.7, and 2.8 per cent respectively of their total expenditure. These statistical data substantially prove the thesis of the U.N. experts that the bigger farmers are not comparatively heavily taxed. It may also be mentioned that, in the urban sector, the households in the expenditure groups Rs. 1200-1800, Rs. 1800-3000, and over Rs. 3000 per annum pay, by way of indirect taxes alone, 5.1, 5.1 and 8.3 per cent respectively of their total expenditures as compared to 2.7, 2.8 and 4.4 per cent respectively in the rural sector (in 1952-53).

19. "Resources for the Third Plan," by Dr. K. N. Raj in *The Economic Weekly Annual*, January 1959.

The Task Ahead

To sum up, agriculture in the over-populated under-developed areas is called upon to foster the process of economic growth in four principal ways: to serve as a reservoir for an expanding labour force; to provide for food consumption standards at levels designed to foster increased productivity of labour and the maintenance of political stability; to furnish a source of foreign exchange; and to supply the initial wherewithal for larger investment in the urban sector. But in India, agriculture has not even fulfilled the elementary purpose of providing food enough to the population for a bare existence. This is evident from the persistent food imports and the per capita availability of foodgrains per day of 18 ounces as against 25 ounces as recommended by the nutrition experts. That is why Prof. Ragnar Nurkse remarks: "In any case there is some doubt whether an agricultural revolution such as occurred in England, Japan and Russia as a basis for industrialisation has yet begun in India. In particular, the deep-seated concern with employment may be a serious obstacle to the necessary reorganisation of farm holdings and to other improvements as well. Without such reorganisation the labour surplus in agriculture remains largely potential. On the other hand, reorganisation may well prove impracticable without an active policy of absorbing the surplus manpower. The way to absorb it is by putting it to work on capital construction—the familiar roundabout way of increasing productive efficiency."[20] If this is the result of planning for eight years, the common man seems justified in losing faith in the efficacy of planning. Hence, the necessity has arisen for serious thought on the task ahead so as to avoid the danger of snap decisions at the last moment.

Agriculture must be regarded as the hard core of the Third Plan. *Immediate steps should be taken by different states towards fixation of "economic" or "family holdings" and all surplus land after fixation of ceilings should be utilised to raise up all holdings above the "economic" level so as to bring them to the point at which the ceiling is fixed. Other holders below the economic level should be compulsorily organised under co-operative joint*

20. "Reflections on India's Development Plan," by Ragnar Nurkse in *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, May 1957.

farming societies. Such a step has definite advantages. It would eradicate the problem of small and uneconomic agricultural holdings which have long been the most difficult problem in the development of the rural economy. Again, it would facilitate the introduction of co-operative joint farming without any more delay by circumscribing the area of application of compulsion. As against this, if the Nagpur resolution of vesting surplus lands in the Panchayats and managing them through co-operatives of landless labourers is put into effect, co-operative joint farming would, of necessity, have to be introduced in a wider area so as to wipe out tiny and fragmented holdings from the rural scene. This would result in heavy displacement of labour from the villages with all its repercussions on the industrialisation programme. For, as J. L. Buck remarks: "Where three men are required to do the work on individual farms, only two are needed for the same amount of land in a co-operative. But those who propose extending this system over all China fail to say what will be done with the third man."[21] But every thinking man would be sceptical about the ability of our country to afford the high degree of industrialisation, which is the inevitable corollary of translating into actuality the Nagpur resolution about the redistribution of the surplus land. Finally, our leaders fail to understand one thing. If agriculture is considered to be the basis of any industrial development, it is high time that our Government should abandon its policy of tinkering with this fundamental problem and adopt a bold policy which strikes at its roots.

Not only should the land policy be shaped on the lines indicated above but there should be also greater reliance on resources still available in the agricultural sector for financing industrial development. In this connection, the following proposals for additional taxation proposed by Dr. K. N. Raj are worth considering:

(1) Doubling of land tax on holdings above five acres;
(2) A tax on agricultural rent;
(3) A surcharge on holdings, above five acres, under commercial crops.

The above suggestions may look unpopular and hence may be rejected on the ground of political feasibility. But the results of any alternative policy, it should be remembered, appear to be dangerous and suicidal.

21. Quoted by Ragnar Nurkse in "Reflections on India's Development Plan," *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, May 1957, p. 192.

SOME ASPECTS OF OUR CONSTITUTION
(XVIII) Fundamental Rights: Right to Constitutional Remedies

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IV

What we have shown above with regard to the position of our High Courts, and particularly of our Supreme Court, in relation to our Fundamental Rights, is an illustration, in the Indian context, of the operation of the doctrine of judicial review of legislation (and executive action). This doctrine is, as is well-known, a salient feature of the American constitutional jurisprudence. It has been deduced in the United States of America as a "reasonable and necessary implication"[33] from the following provisions[34] of the American Constitution:

"This judicial power 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 judicial power shall extend to all cases, in law and equity, arising under this Constitution, the laws of the United States, and treaties made, or which shall be made, under their

33. Also see in this connexion Howard Lee, *The Story of the Constitution*, 1932, pp. 213-15.

34. See Articles III and VI of the Constitution of the United States of America.

authority . . . . This Constitution, and the laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof; and 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 . . . . All . . . . judicial officers, both of the United States and of the several States, shall be bound by oath or affirmation, to support this Constitution."

Explaining this feature of the American Constitution, Professor Willoughby has observed:[35]

"The fundamental principle of American constitutional jurisprudence is that laws and not men shall govern. This means that when a power, exercised by an official or by a governmental organ, is challenged, legal authority therefore derived from some existing law must be shown, and that no valid law can exist save that which is recognised as such by the Courts . . . . Independently of express statement to that effect, it has become axiomatic that no provision of a statute law is valid if not consistent with the provisions of the Constitution from which the enacting legislature derives its powers. A State statute inconsistent with the Constitution of that State is, therefore, invalid, and an act of Congress not warranted by the provisions of the Federal Constitution is similarly void. And the same legal invalidity attaches to the unconstitutional act of an executive or judicial organ of government. In addition to being subordinate to the provisions of the State Constitution, every act of a State official or organ must conform to the requirements of the Federal Constitution, and this applies as well to the provisions of a State Constitution, as to the statutes of its legislature . . . . The principle that statutory law, in order to be recognised as valid by the courts, must, in all cases, be in conformity with constitutional requirements, is a product of American law, and though now found in the jurisprudential systems of some other countries, has nowhere received the development and extended application that it has received in the United States."

Although in 1796 the Supreme Court of the United States had for the first time taken "jurisdiction of a case[36] involving the constitutionality of an Act of Congress" and upheld the Act to be constitutional and valid, the doctrine of judicial review of legislation "first found formal and explicit statement and application by the Supreme Court" in 1803 in *Marbury* V. *Madison*.[37] In this case the Supreme Court held unconstitutional and invalid that provision of the Act of Congress known as the Judiciary Act of 1789, "which purported to give original jurisdiction to the Supreme Court to issue writs of mandamus to public officers of the United States."[38] It declared that the Constitution of the United States did not give to Congress any "authority to grant this authority."[39] Delivering the opinion of the Supreme Court in *Marbury* V. *Madison*[40] Chief Justice Marshall stated on 24th February, 1803, among other things:

"The (Judiciary) Act (of 1789) to establish the judicial courts of the United States authorizes the Supreme Court 'to issue writs of mandamus in cases warranted by the principles and usages of law, to any courts appointed, or persons holding office, under the authority of the United States' . . . . The authority . . . . given to the Supreme Court, by the Act[41] establishing the judicial courts of the United States, to issue writs of mandamus to public officers, appears not to be warranted by the Constitution; and it becomes necessary to inquire whether a jurisdiction so conferred can be exercised.

"The question whether an Act repugnant to the Constitution can become the law of the land, is a question deeply interesting to the United States; but, happily, not of an intricacy proportioned to its interest. It seems only necessary to recognise certain principles, supposed to have been long and well established, to decide it.

"That the people have an original right to establish, for their future government, such principles as, in their opinion, shall most conduce to their own happiness, is the basis on which the whole American fabric has been erected. The exercise of this original right is a very great exertion; nor can it nor ought it to be frequently repeated. The principles, therefore, so established, are deemed fundamental. And as the authority from which they proceed is supreme, and can seldom act, they are designed to be permanent.

"This original and supreme will organizes the government, and assigns to different departments their respective powers. It may either stop here, or establish certain limits not to be transcended by those departments. The Government of the United States is of the latter description.

"The powers of the legislature are defined or limited; and that those limits may not be mistaken, or forgotten, the Constitution is written. To what purpose are powers limited, and to what purpose is that limitation committed to writing, if these limits may, at any time, be passed by those intended to be restrained. The distinction between a government with limited and unlimited powers is abolished, if those limits do not confine the persons on whom they are imposed, and if acts prohibited and acts allowed are of equal obligation. It is a proposition too plain to be contested, that the Constitution controls any legislative Act repugnant to it; or, that the legislature may alter the Constitution by an ordinary Act.

"Between these alternatives there is no middle ground. The Constitution is either a superior paramount law, unchangeable by ordinary means, or it is on a level with ordinary legislative Acts, and, like other Acts, is alterable when the legislature shall please to alter it.

"If the former part of the alternative be true, then a legislative Act contrary to the Constitution is not law; if the latter part be true, then written constitutions are absurd attempts, on the part of the people, to limit a power in its own nature illimitable.

"Certainly all those who have framed written constitutions contemplate them as forming the fundamental and paramount law of the nation, and, consequently, the theory of every such government must be, that an Act of the Legislature, repugnant to the Constitution, is void.

"This theory is essentially attached to a written constitution, and is consequently to be considered, by this court, as one of the fundamental principles of our society. It is not, therefore, to be lost sight of in the further consideration of this subject.

"If an Act of the Legislature, repugnant to the Constitution, is void, does it, notwithstanding its invalidity, bind the courts, and oblige them to give it effect? Or, in other words, though it be not law, does it constitute a rule as operative as if it was a law? This would be to overthrow in fact what was established in theory; and would seem, at first view, an absurdity too gross to be insisted on. It shall, however, receive a more attentive consideration.

"It is emphatically the province and duty of the judicial department to say what the law is. Those who apply the rule to particular cases, must of necessity expound and interpret that rule. If two laws conflict with each other, the courts must decide on the operation of each.

"So if a law be in opposition to the Constitution; if both the law and the Constitution apply to a paricular case, so that the court must either decide that case conformably to the law, disregarding the Constitution; or conformably to the Constitution, disregarding the law; the court must determine which of these conflicting rules governs the case. This is of the very essence of judicial duty.

"If, then, the courts are to regard the Constitution, and the Constitution is superior to any ordinary Act of the Legislature, the Constitution, and not such ordinary Act, must govern the case to which they both apply.

"Those, then, who controvert the principle that the Constitution is to be considered, in court, as a paramount law, are reduced to the necessity of maintaining that courts must close their eyes on the Constitution, and see only the law.

35. See Willoughby, *The Constitutional Law of the United States*, 1929, Vol. I, pp. 1-3.

36. *Hylton* V. *United States*, 3 Dallas, 171, U.S., 1796.—See Howard Lee, *op. cit.*, pp. 213-14; also Dowling, *Cases on Constitutional Law*, 1950, pp. 67-68; also Dodd, *Cases and Materials on Constitutional Law*, 1949, pp. 13 and 63.

37. See Willoughby, *op.cit.*, pp. 3-4; also Howard Lee, *op.cit.*, p. 214.

38. See Willoughby, *op.cit.*, pp. 3-4.

39. *Ibid.*

40. Supreme Court of the United States, 1803. 1 Cranch 137. See Dowling, *op.cit.*, pp.94-104; also Dodd, *op.cit.*, pp. 1-6.

41. *I.e.*, the Judiciary Act of 1789.

"This doctrine would subvert the very foundation of all written constitutions. It would declare that an Act which, according to the principles and theory of our government, is entirely void, is yet, in practice, completely obligatory. It would declare that if the legislature shall do what is expressly forbidden, such Act, notwithstanding the express prohibition, is in reality effectual. It would be giving to the legislature a practical and real omnipotence, with the same breath which professes to restrict their powers within narrow limits. It is prescribing limits, and declaring that those limits may be passed at pleasure. . . .

"The judicial power of the United States is extended to all cases arising under the Constitution. Could it be the intention of those who gave this power, to say that in using it the Constitution should not be looked into? That a case arising under the Constitution should be decided without examining the instrument under which it arises?

"This is too extravagant to be maintained . . . .

(Some extracts from the Constitution of the United States are quoted here.)

"From these, and many other selections which might be made, it is apparent that the framers of the Constitution contemplated that instrument as a rule for the Government of Courts, as well as of the legislature. Why otherwise does it direct the judges to take an oath to support it? This oath certainly applies in an especial manner to their conduct in their official character. . . . . The oath of office, too, imposed by the legislature, is completely demonstrative of the legislative opinion on this subject. It is in these words: 'I do solemnly swear that I will administer justice without respect to persons, and do equal right to the poor and to the rich; and that I will faithfully and impartially discharge all the duties incumbent on me as——, according to the best of my abilities and understanding, agreeably to the Constitution and Laws of the United States.' Why does a judge swear to discharge his duties agreeably to the Constitution of the United States, if that Constitution forms no rule for his Government—if it is closed upon him, and cannot be inspected by him? If such be the real state of things, this is worse than solemn mockery. To prescribe, or to take this oath, becomes equally a crime.

"It is also not entirely unworthy of observation, that in declaring what shall be the Supreme Law of the Land, the Constitution itself is first mentioned; and not the laws of the United States generally, but those only which shall be made in pursuance of the Constitution, have that rank.

"Thus, the particular phraseology of the Constitution of the United States confirms and strengthens the principle, supposed to be essential to all written Constitutions, that a law repugnant to the Constitution is void; and that courts, as well as other departments, are bound by that instrument."

The reasoning of Kent, Webster, Story, and Cooley is essentially the same as we have shown above in the judgment of the American Supreme Court in *Marbury* V. *Madison*. Thus we find in Kent[42]:

"The people of the United States have declared the Constitution (of the United States) to be the supreme law of the land, and it is entitled to universal and implicit obedience. Every act of Congress, and every act of the Legislatures of the States, and every part of the Constitution of any State, which are repugnant to the Constitution of the United States, are necessarily void. This is a clear and settled principle of constitutional jurisprudence. The judicial power of the Union is declared to extend *to all cases* in law and equity arising under the Constitution; and to the judicial power it belongs, whenever a case is judicially before it, to determine what is the law of the land. The determination of the Supreme Court of the United States, in every such case, must be final and conclusive, because the Constitution gives to that tribunal the power to decide, and gives no appeal from the decision."

Again:[43]

"It is a principle in the English law, that an Act of Parliament, delivered in clear and intelligible terms, cannot be questioned, or its

42. James Kent, *Commentaries on American Law*, Volume 1, 10th Edition, 1870; pp. 349-50.

43. See *Ibid.*, pp. 502-506.

authority controlled, in any court of justice . . . . The principle in the English Government, that the Parliament is omnipotent, does not prevail in the United States; though, if there be no constitutional objection to a statute, it is with us as absolute and uncontrollable as laws flowing from the sovereign power, under any other form of Government. . . . . The law with us must conform, in the first place, to the Constitution of the United States, and then to the subordinate Constitution of its particular State. . . . . The courts of justice have a right, and are in dutybound, to bring every law to the test of the Constitution, and to regard the constitution, first of the United States, and then of their own state, as the paramount or supreme law, to which every inferior or derivative power and regulation must conform.[44] The constitution is the act of the people, speaking in their original character, and defining the permanent conditions of the social alliance; and there can be no doubt on the point with us, that every Act of the legislative power, contrary to the true intent and meaning of the constitution, is absolutely null and void. The judicial department is the proper power in the Government to determine whether a statute be or be not constitutional. The interpretation or construction of the Constitution is as much a judicial Act, and requires the exercise of the same legal discretion, as the interpretation or construction of a law. To contend that the courts of justice must obey the requisitions of an Act of the legislature when it appears to them to have been passed in violation of the Constitution, would be to contend that the law was superior to the Constitution, and that the judges had no right to look into it, and regard it as a paramount law. It would be rendering the power of the agent greater than that of his principal, and be declaring, that the will of only one concurrent and co-ordinate department of the subordinate authorities under the Constitution, was absolute over the other departments, and competent to control, according to its own will and pleasure, the whole fabric of the Government, and the fundamental laws on which it rested. The attempt to impose restraints upon the exercise of the legislative power would be fruitless, if the constitutional provisions were left without any power in the Government to guard and enforce them. . . . . It has accordingly become a settled principle in the legal polity of this country, that it belongs to the judicial power, as a matter of right and of duty, to declare every Act of the legislature, made in violation of the Constitution, or of any provision of it, null and void."

"The Constitution," says Webster,[45] "being the supreme law, it follows, of course; that every Act of the legislature contrary to the law must be void. But who shall decide this question? Shall the legislature itself decide it? If so, then the Constitution ceases to be legal and becomes only a moral restraint for the legislature. If they, and they only, are to judge whether their acts be conformable to the Constitution, then the Constitution is advisory and accessory only, not legally binding; because if the construction of it rest wholly with them their discretion, in particular cases, may be in favour of very erroneous constructions. Hence the courts of law, necessarily, when the case arises, must decide upon the validity of particular acts.[46]"

"Two ends", says Story,[47] ". . . . of para mount importance, and fundamental to a fre Government, are proposed to be attained b

44. As Bryce has pointed out, there are in the United States "laws of four different degrees of authority. . . . .

I. The Federal Constitution.
II. Federal statutes.
III. State Constitutions.
IV. State statutes.

"Of these, the Federal Constitution prevails against all other laws. Federal statutes, if made in pursuance of and conformably to the Constitution, prevail against III. and IV. If in excess of the powers granted by the Constitution, they are to that extent invalid. A State Constitution yields to I, and II, but prevails against the statutes of the State. Treaties have the same authority as Federal statutes (they may be altered by statute)."

See Bryce, *The American Commonwealth*, Vol. I, 1928, pp. 248 and 248-49n.

45. See Willoughby, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 4-5 also see Howard Lee, *Op. Cit.*, p. 217.

46. Also see in this connexion Bryce, *Op Cit.*, Chapters XXIII and XXIV, and Dice *The Law of the Constitution*, 9th Edition, p 157-65.

the establishment of a national judiciary. The first is a due execution of the powers of the Government; and the second is a uniformity in the interpretation and operation of those powers, and of the laws enacted in pursuance of them. The power of interpreting the laws involves necessarily the function to ascertain whether they are conformable to the Constitution (of the United States) or not; and if not so conformable, to declare them void and inoperative. As the Constitution is the supreme law of the land, in a conflict between that and the laws, either of Congress or of the States, it becomes the duty of the judiciary to follow that only which is of paramount obligation. This results from the very theory of a republican Constitution of Government; for otherwise the Acts of the legislature and executive would in effect become supreme and uncontrollable, notwithstanding any prohibitions or limitations contained in the Constitution, and usurpations of the most unequivocal and dangerous character might be assumed without any remedy within the reach of the citizens. The people would thus be at the mercy of their rulers in the State and national Governments; and an omnipotence would practically exist, like that claimed for the British Parliament. The universal sense of America has decided that in the last resort, the judiciary must decide upon the constitutionality of the Acts and laws of the general and State Governments, so far as they are capable of being made the subject of judicial controversy. It follows, that when they are subjected to the cognizance of the judiciary, its judgments must be conclusive; for otherwise they may be disregarded, and the Acts of the legislature and executive enjoy a secure and irresistible triumph."

Again, referring to Clause 2 of Article VI[48] of the Constitution of the United States, Story has observed[49]:

"From this supremacy of the Constitution and laws and treaties of the United States, within their constitutional scope, arises the duty of courts of justice to declare any unconstitutional law passed by Congress or by a State legislature void. So, in like manner, the same duty arises, whenever any other department of the national or State Governments exceeds its constitutional functions."

Cooley has stated[50]:

"In Great Britain constitutional questions are for the most part to be discussed before the people or the Parliament, since the declared will of the Parliament is the final law; but in America, after a constitutional question has been passed upon by the legislature, there is generally a right of appeal to the courts when it is attempted to put the will of the legislature in force. For the will of the people, as declared in the Constitution, is the final law; and the will of the legislature is law only when it is in harmony with, or at least is not opposed to, that controlling instrument which governs the legislative body equally with the private citizen."

Further[51]:

"Under some circumstances, it may become the duty of the courts to declare that what the legislature has assumed to enact is void, either from want of constitutional power to enact it, or because the constitutional forms or conditions have not been observed. . . . . The courts may declare legislative enactments unconstitutional and void in some cases, but not because the judicial power is superior in degree or dignity to the legislative. Being required to declare what the law is in the cases which come before them, they must enforce the Constitution as the paramount law, whenever a legislative enactment comes in conflict with it. But the courts sit, not to review or revise the legislative action, but to enforce the legislative will; and it is only where they find that the legislature has failed to keep within its constitutional limits, that they are at liberty to disregard its action. . . . 'In exercising this high authority, the judges claim no judicial supremacy; they are only the administrators of the public will. If an Act of the legislature is held void, it is not because the judges have

47. See Joseph Story, *Commentaries on the Constitution of the United States*, Vol. II, 5th Edition, 1891, Section 1576.

48. Previously quoted by us. Also see the Constitution of the United States.

49. See Story, *Op. Cit.*, Section 1842.

50. See Thomas M. Cooley, *A Treatise on the Constitutional Limitations*, 7th Ed., 1903, p. 6.

51. See *Ibid.*, Chapter VII and in particular pp. 227-28.



The opening scene of the two-day conference, May 4, on India and the United States in a Washington hotel ball-room



Madame Kaissuni (*second from left*), wife of U. A. R. Minister of Economy opened recently in Cairo an exhibition of Indian handicrafts of feminine interest



Accompanied by Dr. Mordecai Johnson (*left*), President of Howard University, and Secretary, Miss Sarojini Nanavati, Kakasaheb Kalelkar visits the Lincoln Memorial in Washington D.C.



One of the forty-three Indian steel engineers who came to the United States in 1957 in a "take and learn" exchange programme, on reaching Pittsburgh receives a welcome.

any control over the legislative power, but because the act is forbidden by the constitution, and because the will of the people, which is therein declared, is paramount to that of their representatives expressed in any law."[52]

Perhaps the classic argument for the judicial review of legislation has been put forward by Alexander Hamilton. He has said[53]:

"The complete independence of the courts of justice is peculiarly essential in a limited constitution. By a limited constitution, I understand one which contains certain specified exceptions to the legislative authority; such, for instance, as that it shall pass no bills of attainder, no *ex post facto* laws, and the like. Limitations of this kind can be preserved in practice no other way than through the medium of the courts of justice; whose duty it must be to declare all acts contrary to the manifest tenor of the constitution void. Without this, all the reservations of particular rights or privileges would amount to nothing.

"Some perplexity respecting the right of the courts to pronounce legislative acts void, because contrary to the constitution, has arisen from an imagination that the doctrine would imply a superiority of the judiciary to the legislative power. It is urged that the authority which can declare the acts of another void, must necessarily be superior to the one whose acts may be declared void. As this doctrine is of great importance in all the American constitutions, a brief discussion of the grounds on which it rests cannot be unacceptable.

"There is no position which depends on clearer principles than that every act of a delegated authority, contrary to the tenor of the commission under which it is exercised, is void. No legislative act, therefore, contrary to the constitution, can be valid. To deny this would be to affirm that the deputy is greater than his principal; that the servant is above his master; that the representatives of the people are superior to the people themselves; that men, acting by virtue of powers, may do not only what their powers do not authorize, but what they forbid.

"If it be said that the legislative body are themselves the constitutional judges of their own powers, and that the construction they put upon them is conclusive upon the other departments, it may be answered that this cannot be the natural presumption, where it is not to be collected from any particular provisions in the constitution. It is not otherwise to be supposed that the constitution could intend to enable the representatives of the people to substitute their *will* to that of their constituents. It is far more rational to suppose that the courts were designed to be an intermediate body between the people and the legislature, in order, among other things, to keep the latter within the limits assigned to their authority. The interpretation of the laws is the proper and peculiar province of the courts. A constitution is, in fact, and must be, regarded by the judges as a fundamental law. It must, therefore, belong to them to ascertain its meaning, as well as the meaning of any particular act proceeding, from the legislative body. If there should happen to be an irreconcilable variance between the two, that which has the superior obligation and validity ought, of course, to be preferred; in other words, the constitution ought to be preferred to the statute, the intention of the people to the intention of their agents.

"Nor does the conclusion by any means suppose a superiority of the judicial to the legislative power. It only supposes that the power of the people is superior to both; and that where the will of the legislature declared

52. *Lindsay* V. *Commissioners* (1796), 2 Bay, 38, 61-62 (S.C.). See *Ibid*; p. 228n; also Willoughby, *Op. Cit.*, p. 9.

53. See *The Federalist* No. 78 (written by Alexander Hamilton). It may be noted here that *The Federalist* "is the name given to a series of essays written and originally published in a serial form in the New York press between October, 1787, and August, 1788, with a view to influencing votes in favour of the proposed new Constitution of the United States which had just (September, 1787) emerged from the deliberations of the Federal Convention at Philadelphia," and that "the single signature Publius stood for three authors Alexander Hamilton and John Jay of New York, and James Madison of Virginia."—See Max Beloff, *The Federalist Or, The New Constitution,* 1948, Introduction; p. vii; also Howard Lee, *Op. Cit.*, Chapters III and V.

in its statutes stands in opposition to that of the people declared in the constitution, the judges ought to be governed by the latter, rather than the former. They ought to regulate their decisions by the fundamental laws, rather than by those which are not fundamental."[54]

Again*—

"I admit . . . . that the constitution ought to be the standard of construction for the laws, and that wherever there is an evident opposition, the laws ought to give place to the constitution."

Regard being had to the time when it was given, this is really a remarkable exposition by Alexander Hamilton of the doctrine of judicial review of legislation. However, it should be evident from what has been shown above in this connexion that in the United States the judicial "power to veto is latent," to quote the words of Professor Fenn,[55] "in the power to interpret." It is, as noted before, implicit, rather than explicit, in its Constitution. As Professor Dowling[56] has rightly said, "there is no express provision in the Constitution (of the United States) authorizing judicial review by the Supreme Court as established in *Marbury* Vs. *Madison* . . . . Article III (Section 2) and Article VI (Section 2)[57] are the usual Constitutional premises from whcih the power of national judicial review is deduced."[58] Although the doctrine of judicial review has been deduced from its Constitution in the United States as an implied doctrine, yet its importance in American constitutional jurisprudence is great indeed. Attorney-General[59] Howard Lee is hardly guilty of any exaggeration when he says:[60]

"The authority of the Supreme Court (of the United States) to determine the constitutionality of Acts of Congress is the keystone of the arch which not only preserves our priceless constitutional guarantees of personal and political freedom, but supports the whole fabric of our government. Tear it out and the whole structure will collapse like a house of cards."

V

We have dealt above, at some length, with the American doctrine of judicial review of legislation as it has a bearing on our constitutional system. Although this doctrine has been well established in the United States for a long time now, yet it was the subject of a bitter controversy among American publicists in the early days of its history,[61] chiefly on account of the absence, as we have seen before, of any express constitutional provision for it. Fortunately, so far as our Fundamental Rights are concerned, the authors of our Constitution have expressly provided for judicial review of legislation and executive action in Articles 32 and 226 of our Constitution, read along with Article 13[62] thereof. Thus what is implicit in the American Constitution has been made explicit in the Indian Constitution. In this way the doctrine of judicial review has been rightly placed in India above all controversy. Moreover, as in the United States, and as will appear from what follows, the Judges of our Supreme Court as well as the Judges of our High Courts are bound, by oath or affirmation, to support our Constitution:

"I, A.B., having been appointed Chief

54. See Max Beloff, *op.cit.*, pp. 397-99; also Story, *op.cit.*, pp. 393-94n.

* See *The Federalist* No. 81 (written by Alexander Hamilton).—Max Beloff, *op.cit.*, p. 412.

55. See Fenn, *The Development of the Constitution*, p. 4.

56. See Dowling, *op.cit.*, p. 59. Also see in this connexion *The Federalist*, No. 81 (written by A. Hamilton).

57. Previously quoted by us. Also see the Constitution of the United States.

58. We also find in Howard Lee: "The authority exercised by the Supreme Court (of the United States) to determine the constitutionality of Acts of Congress is neither conferred upon that tribunal by the Constitution in express terms nor given by any statute. It was established by decisions of the Court itself as a necessary *implied* power in order to make the Constitution the '*supreme law of the land*'. The question was definitely settled by Chief Justice Marshall in the celebrated case of *Marbury* V. *Madison* . . . decided in 1803." —See Howard Lee, *op.cit.*, p. 177.

59. Of West Virginia (in 1932).

60. See Howard Lee, *op.cit.*, pp. 203-204.

61. Howard Lee, *op.cit.*, Chap. XIII.

Justice (or a Judge) of the Supreme Court of India (or, as the case may be, Chief Justice or a Judge of the High Court at, or of, ...) *swear in the name of God! do solemnly affirm* that I will bear true faith and allegiance to the Constitution of India as by law established, that I will duly and faithfully and to the best of my ability, knowledge and judgment perform the duties of my office without fear or favour, affection or ill-will, and that I will uphold the Constitution and the laws." The Judges are required by our Constitution[63] to take this oath, or make this affirmation, as the case may be, before they enter upon the duties of their respective offices.

The authors of our Constitution acted very wisely in expressly providing in the Constitution for the judicial review of legislation and executive action relating to our Fundamental Rights. As we have stated before,[64] our Constitution has been duly enacted and adopted by the People of India acting in its aggregate and sovereign capacity through the Constituent Assembly of India, and is, therefore, an Act of the sovereign People of India in its collective capacity. As such, it is the supreme law of the land—"the paramount and Fundamental Law" of our nation. Any rule of human conduct therefore claiming the force of law in India, whether existing before the 26th of January, 1950, the date of the commencement of the Constitution, or since that date, found to be in any way inconsistent with any provision in Part III of the Constitution which is, to use an American expression, our "superior paramount law," will, to the extent of such inconsistency, be void. This is one of the basic principles of our Constitution. When, therefore, our courts of law declare void any legislative or executive Act inconsistent with any constitutional provision relating to our Fundamental Rights, they only give effect to the real will of the People of India as has been previously embodied in our Constitution with a due solemnity. This does not, however, mean any superiority of our judiciary over our Legislature or our Executive. It only means that the will of the People must prevail against everything else; that where the will of the Legislature or of the Executive "stands in opposition to that of the People as declared in the Constitution," our Judges are to be "governed by the latter, rather than the former;" and that they are "to regulate their decisions by the Fundamental Laws" of our country, "rather than by those which are not fundamental.[65]" It need not perhaps be pointed out here that under Clause (2) of Article 13 of our Constitution, read along with Article 12 thereof, our Parliament, functioning in its ordinary capacity with a simple majority, as well as our State Legislatures are all non-sovereign law-making bodies. Under the said Clause (2) they cannot make any law which takes away or abridges any right conferred by Part III of the Constitution.

Before we conclude our discussion of our Fundamental Rights, we may just refer to Articles 33, 358 and 359 of our Constitution.

Article 33 lays down:

"Parliament may by law determine to what extent any of the rights conferred by this Part[66] shall, in their application to the members of the Armed Forces or the Forces charged with the maintenance of public order, be restricted or abrogated so as to ensure the proper discharge of their duties and the maintenance of discipline among them."

The object of this enabling provision in our Constitution is evident. It is neccessary in the interests of efficiency and discipline in the Armed Forces and the Police Forces of the nation. The members of these Forces cannot always have the same Fundamental Rights as an ordinary Indian citizen who does not belong to either of these Forces. This is the price which they have to pay for their official posi-

62. For Article 13, see our article in *The Modern Review* for November, 1954, pp. 377-82.

63. See Articles 124(6) and 219 of the Constitution of India as well as the Third Schedule to the Constitution.

64. See our articles in *The Modern Review* for September and November, 1954.

65. See Alexander Hamilton's views in this connexion as set forth in *The Federalist* No. 78, quoted before.

66. *I.e.*, Part III of the Constitution of India which deals with our Fundamental Rights.

tion with all that it implies, in the governmental organization of the country.

As will appear from what follows, Articles 358 and 359 provide for a *virtual* suspension of some or all of our Fundamental Rights, as the case may be, during the period when a Proclamation of Emergency which the President of India is empowered by Article 352 of our Constitution to issue in certain circumstances, is in operation:

"358. While a Proclamation of Emergency is in operation, nothing in Article 19 shall restrict the power of the State as defined[67] in Part III (of the Constitution) to make any law or to take any executive action which the State would but for the provisions contained in that Part be competent to make or to take, but any law so made shall, to the extent of the incompetency, cease to have effect as soon as the Proclamation ceases to operate, except as respects things done or omitted to be done before the law so ceases to have effect."

"359. (1) Where a Proclamation of Emergency is in operation, the President may by order declare that the right to move any court for the enforcement of such of the rights conferred by Part III (of the Constitution) as may be mentioned in the order and all proceedings pending in any court for the enforcement of the rights so mentioned shall remain suspended for the period during which the Proclamation is in force or for such shorter period as may be specified in the order.

"(2) An order made as aforesaid may extend to the whole or any part of the territory of India.

"(3) Every order made under Clause (1) shall, as soon as may be after it is made, be laid before each House of Parliament."

As these self-explanatory emergency provisions of our Constitution are of a purely temporary character for meeting a crisis, we need not discuss them in connexion with our present article.

67. See Article 12 of the Constitution of India.

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HIMALAYAN SALT—A POLITICAL BAROMETER

By A. R. FIELD*

India's Defense Perimeter

Since 1949 political writers have written reams about the limited activities of the Chinese Peoples Republic throughout the sub-Himalayan region. Nepal, Sikkim, Bhutan, and Northern Burma have been subjected from time to time, to the undermining of their sovereign status either through military intervention or through the activities of agents. Even Prime Minister Nehru has taken an unalterable stand regarding this area. During parliamentary debate in 1950, he said:

"Where the question of India's security is concerned, we consider the Himalaya mountains as our border. Therefore the principal barrier to India lies on the other side of Nepal (i.e. Tibet). We are not going to tolerate any person coming over that barrier. Therefore much as we appreciate the independence of Nepal we cannot risk our own security by anything not done in Nepal which permits that barrier to be crossed or otherwise leads to the weakening of our frontiers."[1]

Sri Nehru, as a responsible member of government would be among the first to re-affirm his words today.

Geo-political Significance of Salt in Himalayan Region

It is indeed extraordinary that not one of the countless political commentators has noticed the geo-political importance of salt throughout this salt-scarce region. Historically salt has had an abiding significant political influence upon the peoples of the world. A famine, whenever or where-ever it occurs, calls forth the sustained efforts of government, not only for humanitarian reasons. Governments realize that a hungry people constitute a danger to the State itself. In like manner, mankind and even the animals require salt to survive. It is a truism that man is an economic animal and thus his behavior is often influenced by economic goods. Salt (i.e. the lack of salt) has caused revolts. Indians need only recall Gandhiji's march to the sea to make salt. The significance of a salt tax is as great as a head tax—there is no escape for anyone.

The peoples of Nepal, Sikkim, Bhutan, and Upper Assam depend upon salt from outside, either Tibetan or Indian in origin. Historically both the Tibetans and the East India Company have used salt as an indirect weapon to influence both trade and politics.

Salt As Medium of Exchange

Marco Polo appears to be the first European to have noticed the importance of salt in this region. He mentioned people who lived on the Tibetan marches who made half-pound moulds of salt which were used for "small change." The basic requirements of any commodity that is employed as money are: it must be acceptable, be capable of being easily carried, have divisibility, be easily recognized, and have homogeneity. In Ramusio's edition of Marco Polo, published in 1559, we learn that merchants "travel also about the mountains and districts of Tibet, disposing of this salt money in like manner to their own great gain. For those people, besides buying necessaries form the merchants, want this salt to use in their food; whilst in the towns only broken fragments are used in food, the whole cakes being kept to use as money."[2]

The Tibetan Government, in the Me-Yo (Fire-Hare) year of the 18th century (1747 A.D.) sent one Rabden Sharpa to Sikkim to act as Regent for the young Raja Chogyal Namgyal Phuntso. This Tibetan Regent made it a practice to give a plateful of salt to everyone who came to pay his respects. Salt was rare and the Regent's actions were spoken of, near and far. "It induced every one to come to him, so that they might secure the Bakshis of the plateful of salt. Thus it was a means to obtain a pretty correct census. He had all the names of the recipients of the salt Bakshis, noted down in a roll, and next year the first assessment of taxes was made according to the above roll. This was the beginning of the collection of annual rents from the people of Sikkim."[3] We may question the magnitude of the rent roll but certainly not the efficacy of the method. On the other hand, Prithvi Narayan Shah, Raja of Gorkha and conqueror of Nepal valley from its Newar rulers in 1768 imposed a siege on the three main cities of the Valley, Kathmandu, Bhatgaon, and Patan, prior to their fall. Anybody found trying to smuggle salt into these beleagured cities "was hung upon a tree."[4]

East India Company and Himalayan Salt Trade

Two of the earliest British political and economic intelligence agents of the Himalayan region, George Bogle (1774) and Captain Samuel Turner (1783) have both dealt at some length with the importance of the Tibetan salt trade in the

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1. *Hindu,* December 7, 1950; *Amrita Bazar Patrika*; January 10, 1952

2. *The Book of Ser Marco Polo, The Venetian Concerning the Kingdoms and Marvels of the East,* Trans. and Edited by Colonel Henry Yule, Volume 2, Second Edition, Revised, John Murray, London, (1875).

3. Mss. Eur. E78, India Office Library. *History of Sikkim* compiled by Their Highnesses the Maharaja Sir Thutob Namgyal, K.C.I.E. and Maharani Yeshay Dolma of Sikkim (1908).

4. Additional Mss. 29,210, British Mus. Volume 2 *A Short Description of the Kingdom of Nepal with an Account of the Wars with the King of Gorka,* drawn up by Father Joseph, Prefect of the Mission.

sub-Himalayan region. Bogle reported that all the wild tribes north of Burma, Nepal, Sikkim, and Bhutan were supplied with salt from Tibet. Their reports undoubtably had some influence upon the thinking in London.

The Court of Directors of the East India Company advised the Government of Bengal in 1785 to consider whether the export of salt to the countries to the north of Bihar could not be used as an opening wedge, to promote a market for English woolens being sold to Assam, Bhutan, and Tibet. "If the trade to that part of Hindustan could be promoted in the article of salt even by allowing a considerable drawback of the duty at Patna customs house, important advantages must unavoidably result to the Company's interest."[5]

Brian Hodgson, by far the most astute British statesman-scholar ever to have occupied the Residency at Kathmandu, the Nepalese capital, managed to arrive at a rough estimation of the Valley population by dividing the daily average consumption of salt with the imports of this commodity, based on customs revenue returns. He had successfully used this method of population approximation while assistant commissioner of the Himalayan State of Kamaun, which the British took from the Nepalese during the Anglo-Nepali War of 1814-16.

The British policy of opening Nepal as a transit zone to Tibet, and as a short cut to the Chinese trading areas, was resisted by the Nepalese Government who had watched one Indian State after another come under British domination. Consequently the Nepalese Durbar abrogated a trade treaty which granted safe passage to the natives of India, to trade in Nepal and the regions beyond. Hodgson advised the British Government in Calcutta to require passports from all Nepalese nationals wishing to cross the border into India. The closing of the frontier affected the Nepal produce trade of the Terai, with its natural markets within India. As a result, "daily petitions to the Durbar from its revenual authorities in the Terai praying for speedy adjustment of the differences between the two Governments" were received. In a secret letter to the British Government dated 11 January 1841, Hodgson reported that "the Nepalese cultivators again could not be kept from abandoning their lands and passing over the border, if the least obstruction were experienced in regard to those supplies of salt and other bulky necessaries of life which had always come to them from the British Zillahs but were now interrupted."[6]

5. Bengal Despatches, Separate General Letter, Letter from Court of Directors, London; September 21, 1785. India Office Library.

Political Importance of Trade in Salt and Nepal

For over a century, the Nepalese Government at Kathmandu has realized the political importance of salt to its people and has classified salt into six catagories:

(1) Sambhar salt (Samar Nun); (2) Khari salt (Khari Nun); (3) Rock salt (Lahori Nun); (4) Black salt (Kala Nun); (5) Tibetan salt (Bhotia Nun); (6) Coarse salt (Panga Nun).

The Durbar is fully aware that Kathmandu received salt from the North as well as the South.

Modern salt statistics for Himalayan trade are not generally available in any meaningful form. In 1890 the British-Indian Government signed a Sino-British Convention which dealt with political and geographic matters relating to Sikkim and Tibet. Trade was mentioned in only one of the 8 articles of the Convention. Article 4 reads: "The question of providing increased facilities for trade across the Sikkim-Tibet frontier will hereafter be discussed with a view to a mutually satisfactory arrangement by the High Contracting Powers." The records show that the British yearly increased the amount of Tibetan salt *imported for re-distribution in the sub-Himalayan region,* and some parts of Northern India. Unfortunately no exact breakdown is supplied for the amount re-distributed throughout the Himalayas.

6. Enclosures to Secret Letters from India, Jan.-Feb. 1841: From B. H. Hodgson Resident of Nepal, To T. H. Maddock, Sec. to Government dated 11 January 1841. India Office Library. Italics added.

Year	Quantity in CWT.	Rupee value
1890-91	21,914	1,18,269
1891-92	24,210	1,30,361
1892-93	27,047	1,47,566
1893-94	29,067	1,56,559
1894-95	19,884	1,12,445
1895-96	24,029	1,29,889
1896-97	25,633	1,37,942
1897-98	25,744	1,38,644
1898-99	29,113	1,56,703
1899-1900	26,065	1,40,592
1900-01	28,590	1,53,624
1901-02	27,023	1,44,763
1902-03	33,307	1,79,134[7]
1914-15	239,106	5,70,132
1915-16	278,680	8,00,322
1916-17*	....	43,71,624
1916-17*	298,446	9,43,644
1917-18	250,692	10,29,317
1918-19	281,292	9,48,569
1919-20	276,155	9,15,554
1920-21	270,686	8,67,710
1921-22	286,861	10,57,805
1922-23	293,171	10,70,667
1923-24	288,542	12,79,812
1924-25	307,013	10,08,401[8]

When Sino-British relations became strained over Tibet (the attack on Lhasa by the Younghusband Expedition) during the first decade of the 20th century, the British reduced the Tibetan salt flow and began to re-export European and Middle Eastern salt through India to Nepal and throughout the Sub-Himalayan region. The salt was carried by country boats and river steamers between Patna and Calcutta and other places on the Ganges and Nadia rivers, and by country boat between Patna and Nepal.

The annual report on the Trans-Frontier trade of Bihar and Orissa with Nepal discloses the following salt statistics. It must be noted that the table relates to the traffic registered at selected points in Uttar Pradesh.

Year	Qauntity in maunds	Rupee value
1910-11	309,856	5,96,579
1911-12	323,580	6,83,500
1912-13	397,104	8,23,297
1913-14	346,963	6,93,267

7. *Tibet Trade Statistics* . . . . relating to trade with Tibet since the date of the signing of the Convention of 1890, Ordered by the House of Commons, to be Printed, 12 February 1904, His Majesty's Stationary Office.

A schedule of import duties levied on salt, from whatever source, by the Nepal Durbar throws some light on the double listing for 1916-17 of salt exported from India to Nepal. From 1913 to 1915 all duties remained constant on salt imported into Nepal. But in 1916 *only Tibetan salt duties* were raised for Resident and non-Resident Traders alike to 0|8|0 from 0|2|6 and 0|3|0 respectively; and remained at 8 annas per maund from 1916 through 1925, the period under survey. The fighting of World War I in Europe raised the price of Tibetan salt for the Nepalese "jaypo." Perhaps the Nepal Durbar was trying to shut out the ill-winds of political ferment taking place across the Himalayas during this period. This takes on added importance when one remembers that a great shortage of shipping had developed in the Indian Ocean because of the war.

Salt and Current International Policies

It is significant that the Government of India, duly concerned with the political expansion of the Chinese Peoples Republic into Tibet and the ensuing revolution in Nepal of 1950, with its continuing instability, saw fit to rush train loads of salt to Raxaul, a rail-head on the Indo-Nepali border, in 1952. Quite obviously, the Government of India saw a connection between salt and international politica developments in the Himalayan region.

*There is no explanation given for th double listing for 1916-17.

8. "The Annual Report on the Tran Frontier Trade of Bihar and Orissa with Nep for the Official Year Ending 31st March 1913 Government Press, Patna (1913). Seri carried through 1925.

The Government of India, through its Department of Commercial Intelligence and Statistics, publishes the *Indian Trade Journal*, which gives a breakdown of accounts relating to the Foreign (Sea, Air, and Land) trade and Navigation of India. However statistics relating to India's trade by land with Nepal, Tibet, Sikkim, and Bhutan were totally excluded until October 1955. Since then cursory statistics are issued on salt exports to the Himalayan region, some statistics were published retroactively to 1953.

Salt in mds.

	1953	1954	1955
Month of May	23,388	70,819	46,373
Month of June	34,939	70,353	21,377
Month of July	28,335	27,532	13,701
Two Months, April and May	58,516	110,992	109,717
Three Months, April to June	93,455	181,345	132,743
Four Months, April to July	121,790	208,877	146,444[9]

These figures relate to salt registered at certain selected railway stations, adjacent to India's northern land frontier routes leading to Nepal, Sikkim, Bhutan, and Tibet. The trade with those countries through Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, West Bengal and Assam are mainly covered. Quantities are recorded but not the rupee value. Occasionally information is given in regard to place of entry of salt from India into Nepal.

Salt exports through Nepalganj (W. Nepal) for Sept. '56 : 594 maunds.

Salt exports through Biratnagar (East Nepal) for Sept. '56 : 6,458 maunds.

It is very evident that salt has been used for other than eating, within the Himalayan region. The scarcity of common table salt in the mountainous region extending from Kashmir eastward through Nepal, Sikkim, Bhutan, Upper Assam, and Northern Burma is therefore a geo-political factor of great interest. Without exception, every Himalayan traveller who has reduced his experiences to writing, has mentioned the lack of salt; or the salt trade carried on from Tibet. British officers of Gurkha regiments, during World War II, were often dismayed by the reaction of Nepalese recruits when they first viewed the ocean. The vast expanse of water did not impress these mountaineers but the fact that the water tasted salty, never failed to cause comment. Prof. Fruer von Haimendorf, recently engaged in anthropological research in the Himalayas, during a prior expedition in 1944-45 into Upper Assam, commented on the fact that the peoples of the Upper Subansiri river valley would hardly go through the difficult and involved process of making a synthetic, ill-tasting "black salt" from plant ash, if salt were available to them.[10]

Theoretically, there exists a control within the Himalayan region, which with the use of idodized salt, could inform interested officials at what point Indian influence ceased and the influence of another power commenced. That control is the incidence of endemic goitre throughout the Himalayas. Simple goitre may be prevented by the addition of iodine to the diet.

Dr Francis Hamilton-Buchanan, an early 19th century expert on Nepal noticed the frequency of swollen necks in Nepal and the alpine regions of Europe. Simple goitre and mountain water appeared to him to be the common factor between the peoples of the Alps and the Himalayas. He found goitre common, "everywhere north from Patna."[11] To this day, it is not uncommon to meet people with enormous goitres which are carried on their shoulders.[12] Snow water or something contained therein was believed to be the causative agent of goitre. Then it was realized that this disease was just as prevalent in Sumatra where snow was unknown. Colonel Robert McCarrison, working as a medical officer in Kashmir, recorded that local people believe "goitre springs" and "wells" exist and that animals and fish are infected in the same manner as people in the area.

In 1912 an exploration party under the leadership of Mr. Bentinck, I.C.S. worked in the Dihang Valley of Upper Assam. This is the routeway of the Tsangpo river, flowing from Tibet into India, where its waters are called the Brahmaputra. The most northerly tribal peoples contacted by this expedition spoke of a tribe called Mimats (the Abor name for Tibetans) as "a race of cave-dwelling cannibals who were described as Loma-mani Trunshar (neckless savages)."* Endemic goitre could easily account for this description. Lower Assam produces small quantities of salt at Saidiya but is almost totally dependent on Bengal for supply. There is little published material on Upper Assam but it is very likely that it receives Tibetan salt.

Many Indian nationals have become more and more concerned with the gap on the North-east Frontier zone of India. This concern was reflected by Prime Minister Nehru. "The essence of our struggle for the unleashing of a liberating force in India." "This force did not even affect the frontier people in one of the most important tribal areas. The result is that while we have had several decades in which to prepare ourselves psychologically for basic changes, the tribal people have had no such opportunity."

Trade is the key to penetration of the Dafla, Miri, Abor, and Mishmi Hill areas from Tibet, Sikang, and Yunnan, and *salt* is the key product which can direct the flow of the trade pattern in the hill country. Traditionally Tibet has supplied most of the Himalaya region with salt. The trade pattern all along the North-eastern frontier could be reversed by the introduction of iodized salt into this region, from India. This would have an incalculable effect in the whole of the Himalayan region for it would reduce endemic goitre which causes discomfort in breathing, to a people that are for ever climbing upon one hill and down another. As the incidence of goitre was reduced, more northerly peoples would seek the iodized salt and the trade pattern would be reversed. A medical team dispatched to this area could plot a "salt line" based on the positions of goitrous and non-goitrous peoples. New Delhi would then know where Indian influence ceased in this little known part of the world.

Salt can thus be used to close the gap on India's North-eastern Frontier. Its use can serve as an effective peaceful weapon to strengthen India's position both to the advantage of India and the Himalayan people. Ample supplies of salt to this region may have the same effect as a plentiful supply of rice during times of famine.

9. *The Indian Trade Journal*, Vol. CXIV No. 2565, Oct. 29, 1955, Calcutta.
The Indian Trade Journal, Vol. CXCIV No. 2571, Dec. 10, 1955; Calcutta.

10. *Himalayan Barbary* by Christoph von Furer-Haimendorf, John Murray, London (1955).

11. *An Account of The Kingdom of Nepal* by Francis Hamilton (formerly Buchanan), M.D., Archibald Constable and Company; Edinburgh (1819).

12. *More Than Mountains* by John A. Jackson, George G. Harrap & Co., Ltd.; London (1955).

Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. V, Extra No. "Abors and Galongs: Notes on Certain Hill Tribes of the Indo-Tibetan Border" by George Duff-Sutherland-Dunbar.



PUNJAB STATE MUSEUM, SIMLA

To the Punjab State Museum at Simla goes the distinction of possessing by far the richest single collection of paintings belonging to what is known as the Pahari School of art.

The bulk of these paintings once formed part of the Central Museum at Lahore, which, consequent upon the partition of Punjab in 1947, was also split



A painting showing ladies feeding the pheasants in spring
(Kangra Kalam Group)

into two parts, one remaining in Pakistan and the other shifted to India and set up temporarily at Simla.

Some 880 original Persian, Moghul, Rajasthani and Kangra paintings were brought as India's share from the Lahore Museum. A substantial number of these belong to the Pahari School, which can be regarded as Punjab's major contribution to the enrichment of art in India.

Pahari paintings in the Simla Museum collection represent all the major branches of the art of painting which flowered in the Punjab Hills. There is a fairly representative number of paintings from Sujanpur, Teera, Basohli, Guler and Jammu. The collection includes portraits of some former rulers of the Hill States. There are also paintings illustrating well-known incidents from the Ramayana, Mahabharata and other Hindu classics like Bhagavat Puran, Harivansa and Geeta Govinda.

In the course of the last few years, many valuable additions have been made to the original collection. Among the new acquisitions are more than a thousand paintings of the Kangra School and its numerous branches. The enlarged collection contains more than a hundred paintings dealing with Shiva and Pravati legend alone. An equally large number depicts exploits of the goddess Chandi. The lyrical love-tales of Radha and Krishna form the theme of innumerable other paintings.

The Museum is equally gifted in its collection of modern paintings. Practically all the major currents and tendencies are represented by outstanding works of such well-known contemporary artists as Nandalal Bose, Jaimni Roy, Sarada Ukil and K. N. Dhar.

Graeco-Buddhist Sculptures

Another major set of exhibits at the Punjab State Museum relates to the famous Graeco-Buddhist School of art. They cover a wide range of what is known as the Gandhara Art which flourished in the north-western region of pre-partition India at the dawn of the Christain era. These pieces, which include sculptures, fragments and decorative pieces in black slate stone, are characteristic of the composite Indo-Greek art and, though retaining their essentially Buddhist character, carry traces of powerful Hellenistic influence which persisted in the country in the wake of Alexander's invasion of India.

The Indian Antiquities Section of the Museum contains a large number of Jain and Brahmani sculptures and inscriptions on stones. These include beautiful architectural pieces from the famous Murti Temple near Choya Saidan in Shahpur district, and interesting fragments from Agroha near Rohtak and several other places of historical importance in northern India.

There is a small section devoted to the Nepalese and Tibetan wares, comprising images, temple banners, imabronze and marble Buddha ges of deities, metallic ceremonial utensils, clay and wood figures and a variety of bone and stone wares from Nepal and western Tibet.



Depiction of an incident from Life of Krishna
(Kangra Kalam Group)

Ancient and Modern Carfts

Closely allied to this section is the section which displays a large number of illustrated and illuminated manuscripts of various periods. These include palm leaf and block printed volumes from Nepal and Tibet, and religious and literary documents in Sanskrit, Pali, Bengali, Gurmukhi and Persian.

Over 160 weapons of offence and defence characteristic of Punjab of the pre-British days constitute the arms and armours section of the Museum. Another section contains antique objects of decoration made of cheap alloys, semi-precious stones, copper and silver. These objects display characteristic designs and patterns presenting ornaments worn by Punjab peasantry.

A unique feature of the Punjab State Museum is the section devoted to the ancient as well as modern cottage crafts of rural Punjab. This collection includes some of the rarest and the most beautiful specimens of Punjab handicrafts. All kinds of products are represented here ranging from wood, leather and ivory works to cotton, wool and silk textiles.

With its unique collection of Pahari paintings and rare specimens of ancient and modern arts and crafts of Punjab, the State Museum at Simla is an excellent aid to the study of the cultural heritage of this colourful land.—*PIB*

ISWARCHANDRA PATHABI
A Day Students' Home in C_____

By MOHONLAL CHATTOPADHYAY

The usefulness of the Directive Principles of State Policy embodied in the Constitution of India is evident from the different kinds of welfare work taken up by the different state authorities. We shall deal here with a concrete economic activity of the West Bengal State Government.



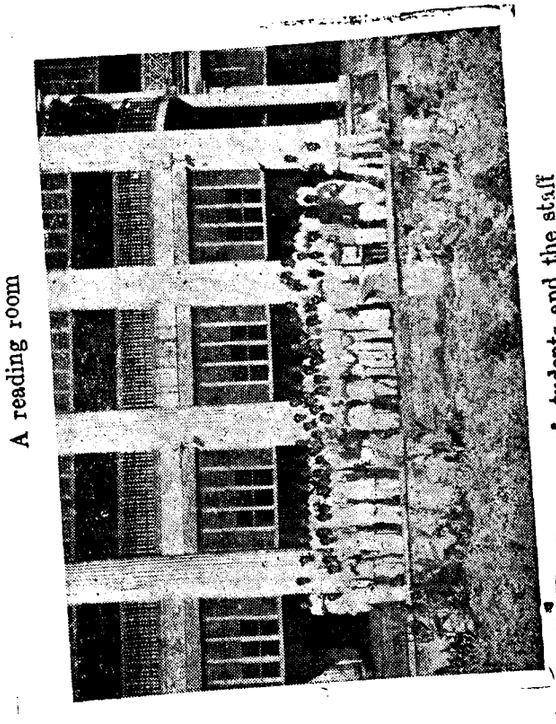
A portion of the Reading Hall

In 1956 under the guidance of the University of Calcutta, a survey of the living and working conditions of the undergraduate students in Calcutta was undertaken. Anyone—who is fully aware of the post-partition pressure of population in the city and of the fact that after independence was attained in 1947 there has been a tremendous rush of students from the many newly-started schools and intermediate colleges in muffasil areas—could have easily anticipated the findings of the Report. Many students residing in Calcutta and suburbs live in an extremely wretched condition. Separate reading rooms are almost a dream to them. Most of the lower Middle-class families in Calcutta have to live in two rooms only, which are unpleasantly small and with practically no ventilation at all. One is used as kitchen and the other at day-time is used alternately as a drawing-room and a reading-room, and at night as the principal retiring room for the members of the family. Imagine a scene of one of these reading-rooms for a proper understanding of the situation. A student begins to prepare his lessons in the morning. Two of his school-going brothers, a sister and one or two nephews reading in primary schools—all require their tasks to be prepared. The slow humming voice of each of them jointly produce a considerable high pitch of sound and as a result none of the readers in the room remain undisturbed. There are other disturbances also. As a result the keen attention of our serious-minded hero is automatically diverted. Sometimes due to some illness of one of peaceful study is the extreme environment must necessarily change from a reading-room to a hospital-ward. But the most serious hindrance to the prosecution of peaceful study is the extreme poverty of the family, the low income of the father or guardian of the family. Perplexity and helplessness overpower our young hero. The high and noble ideas in the text-books seem to him meaningless and dull.

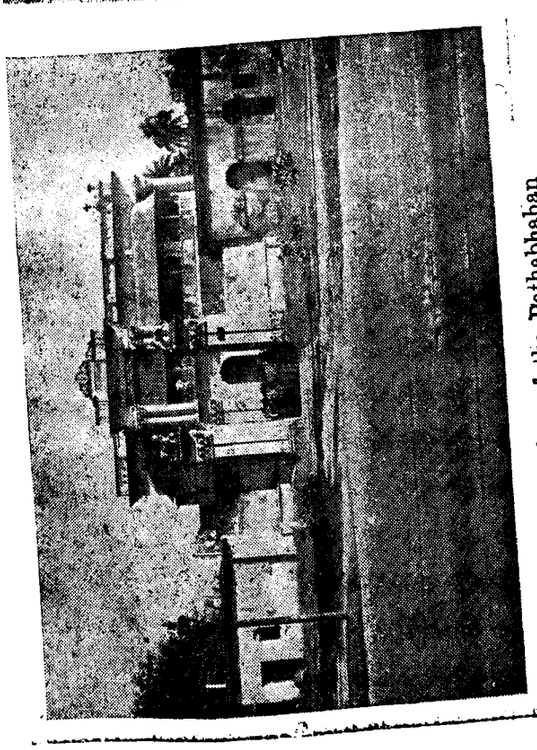
The Survey Report of the University of Calcutta greatly influenced the Government of West Bengal. The Government immediately took the case of the students' welfare as one of its essential functions and started a few Students' Homes in Calcutta to provide "free reading-room facilities to needy undergraduate bonafide students of colleges by providing text-books in quiet places for study from morning to evening." Iswarchandra Pathabhaban in north Calcutta is one of these Homes. Situated at 299, Upper Circular Road, Calcutta-9. Iswarchandra Patha-



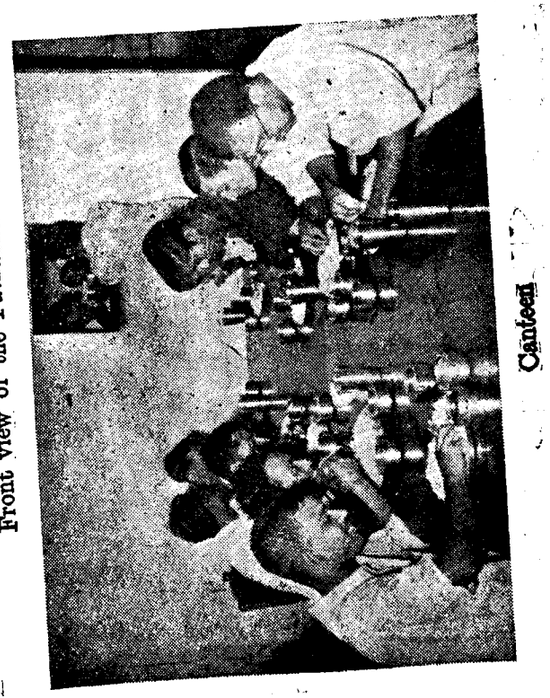
A reading room



A group of students and the staff



Front view of the Pathabhaban



Canteen

bhaban was originally a palace owned by the Taki Zaminder Family. The State Government after purchasing the large building reformed and rebuilt it so that it might be suited to the required purpose.

Generally at 8 o'clock in the morming is the Home opened. Member-students come one by one and enter the Home-yard after showing the gatekeeper their cards. To be a member of the Home a student has to take first of all a prescribed form from the gate-keeper who keeps a record of the names of the candidates to whom the forms are supplied. The candidates return their forms duly filled up and attached with certificates of two respectable gentlemen. All applications are judged primarily on the merit of the candidates' pecuniary condition. Students whose family income is no more than Rs. 300|- per month or Rs. 30|- per capita are called for an interview. The names of the selected candidates are hereafter hung on the notice-board and provisional cards for fifteen days are issued to them. Before the period is over a new form on which the principal of the college must certify is given to the candidate, which he must submit at an early date and if everything is all right, the student becomes a permanent member of the Home. Students who read in night-shift classes may also enjoy the Home-facilities provided the necessary conditions are fulfilled. The gate-keeper (Darwan) of Iswarchandra Pathabhaban is a very dutiful person. He follows every instruction regarding the entrance and exit of the members seriously and searches the students' bags, etc., everytime they come out of the gate.

From the gate-keeper the students go straight to the Requisition-room, where slips are given to them against their membership numbers. Bags, anything except paper, note-books, ink and pen must be deposited here by the students. The students with their requisition slips at last reach the library-room on the ground-floor. The word 'Silence' in beautifully written black letters suddenly present itself on the white wall just in front of the threshold and the young members within the hall become aware of their responsibilities all at once. Silently they come to a particular book-shelf, take the required books, put their numbers on the requisition slips, duly sign them and after depositing their cards and slips to the lending assistants leave the room quickly through the exit door. The smart and busy lending assistants of the Iswarchandra Pathabhaban assist the students in every possible way.

On the ground floor there are 8 rooms, big or small and on the first floor there is a hall and 11 other rooms well-furnished with electric light and fans. There are well-equipped bath-rooms also on both the floors which the students may use at their own sweet will. Though the Home is under the administrative control of the Assistant Director of Public Instruction, the real management is in the hands of the Managing Committee consisting mainly of non-official members, one of whom is the Warden of the Home who is to serve as the Assistant Secretary. The Warden is a constantly smiling and tender-hearted personality. He resides in his quarter on the second floor. At the particular time he comes down and sits in his chamber on the first floor. The students in the ante-room are busy in their tasks. Somewhere a little buzzing sound is heard. A few seconds pass. A little door with glass pane which separates the Warden's chamber and the reading hall at a corner is silently stretched open. Within a moment or two, the unnoticed figure of the Warden is in the centre of the hall and a soft but heavy hand is slowly laid on the shoulders of a group of two friends, the buzzing voice of whose conversation is even now being heard. The boys turn their heads round and immediately stand up. "That's all right, but do not disturb others by gossiping." Thus the pardoning Warden tactfully manages the strict observance of the rules of the Home. It must be noted here that the Warden is ably collaborated by his young and energetic Assistant who has a separate chamber on the ground floor.

The library had a stock of 4,117 books valued at Rs. 48,453·52 up to 1958. Books are issued exclusively for reading-room purposes. Notes and help-books are also not neglected as these series are thought to be acted as instructors. Honours students face no difficulty in getting their reference-books. In case of non-availability of any book in the library the student may place a demand before the authority and these are immediately paid heed to. In 1958 there were 589 student-members (out of them 250-300 would get reading facilities at a time) who fully utilised the facilities available from the Home. The activities of the students as can be generally expected in all such public institutions are not merely limited to the routine job (i.e. reading) but also express themselves in many voluntary works, the non-performance of which does not harm in any way their rights of membership to the Home. The personal interest and care with which some students of Geology have built up a small collection of rocks and minerals are really praiseworthy. The labour and determination of these students, in our opinion, must have been influenced by the example of the hardworking Warden, who, though a middle-aged man, does not mind the trouble of standing for two hours at a stretch in operating personally the educational films on Saturdays with the help of a 16 m.m. projector fitted with sound equipment worth Rs. 5,544.43.

Generally 10 A.M. is the canteen time. Now and then you may hear some hurried footfalls toward the canteen yard. Then coupons—issued on payment of twelve Naye Paise in cash in advance on the day before against their names—are crossed and signed by the students. The canteen of the Home is manned mainly by female staff. They remind one of mothers and sisters at home. From the date of its actual operation in 1956 up to 1958 Rs. 1,373.59 worth of utensils of stainless steel have been bought, the staff has been paid Rs. 9,000.00 and the total expenses for food have amounted to Rs. 11,024.63. Students may take either the meal within 9.30 A.M. to 12 A.M. or the tiffin within 2-30 P.M. to 5-30 P.M. The canteen menu is generally as follows :

	Meal	Tiffin
Monday	Rice, Dal, Vegetables, Fish	Bread, Butter, Sweets, Banana, Tea
Tuesday	Rice, Dal, Meat, Chatni	Bread, Egg curry, Banana, Tea
Wednesday	Rice, Dal, Vegetables, Egg curry	Same as Monday
Thursday	Rice, Ghee, Dal, Vegetable	
Friday	Rice, Meat, Chatni	Bread, Meat, Chatni, Tea
Saturday	No meal	Same as Monday

It is the canteen time when students feel quite at ease at their tables and relax themselves in talks and jests and exchange opinions about their respective personal difficulties. After the meal or tiffin is taken, the plates, glasses and cups, etc., are to be soap-cleaned by the students themselves at the tap-water basin near-at-hand.

Again the reading-rooms are filled up with the students. At 7-40 P. M. when the bell-man with his usual bell-sounds passes the corridors attached to the rooms, the students at once become alert, return the books and get their membership cards returned. Just at 8 P.M. the Home is closed down. The students beginning to leave the yard give a sideway glance and it may possibly occur to the mind of any one of them that what splendid silence and peace the little flowers in bloom in the corner of the large green garden belonging to the Bhaban will enjoy throughout the night and if only their own nights would be like that.

WASHINGTON'S TREASURE HOUSE OF MIDDLE-EAST ART

SPRING, to the city of Washington, D.C., brings the blossoming of its famed Japanese cherry trees, and the first waves of an annual tourist invasion. Hotel employees labor wearily to put up thousands of extra guests. Sightseeing guides enjoy a land-office business. And the museums of the nation's Capital bulge with the curious—young and old.



Carved rock crystal bottle is an Egyptian glassware on display

Along the green, expansive Mall, chartered buses discharge their loads of 'teen-age passengers' most of them bent upon seeing in the Smithsonian Institution, man's first flying machines, his cantankerous early autos or gowns of the White House First Ladies.

But some of the youngsters go on to a low granite edifice just west of the main Smithsonian building. Inside the structure, which is built in the likeness of a Florentine Renaissance palace, they wander about the halls, eye the exhibits with curiosity, and read—sometimes with obvious disbelief—the identifications that speak so glibly of antiquity.

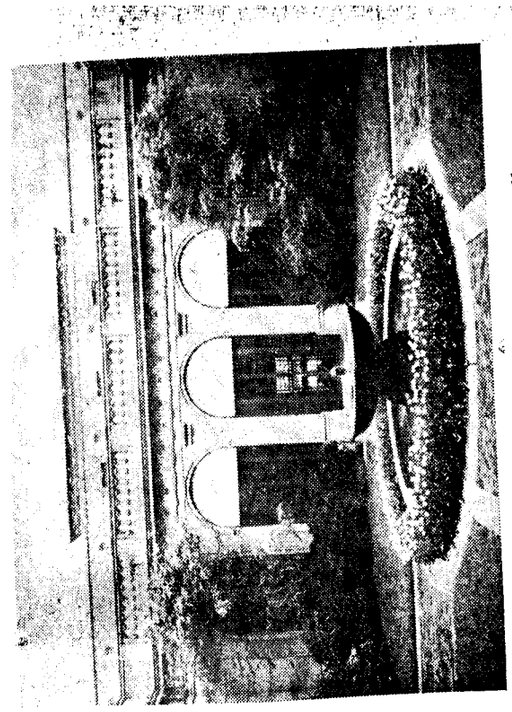


Bronze image of the Hindu goddess Parvati
(*South Indian, 12th century*)



Persian kashan vase of the 13th century

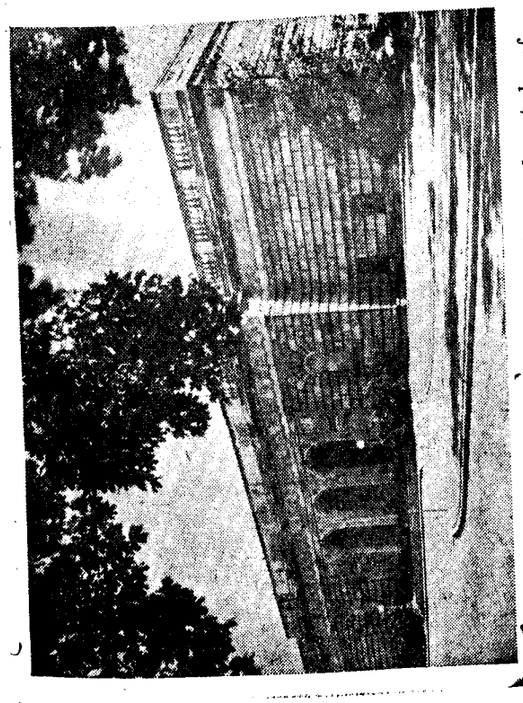
It is the parents of these young people and other adults from the United States and



Open-air courtyard of the Freer Gallery



Foreground—the brass basin (*Syrian, 13th century*); Left—brass ewer (*Syrian, 1232 A.D.*), and Upper right—pottery (*Persian, 12-13th century*)

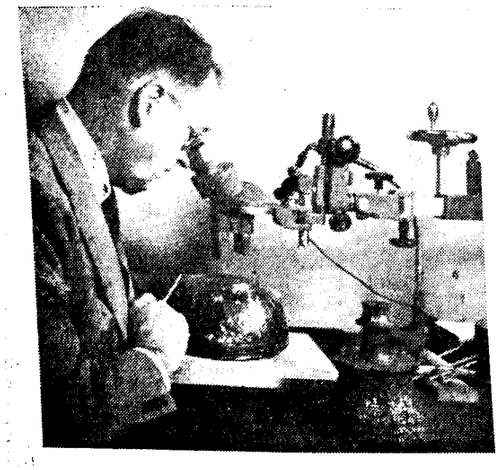


The building of the Freer Gallery is in the style of Florentine Renaissance palace architecture



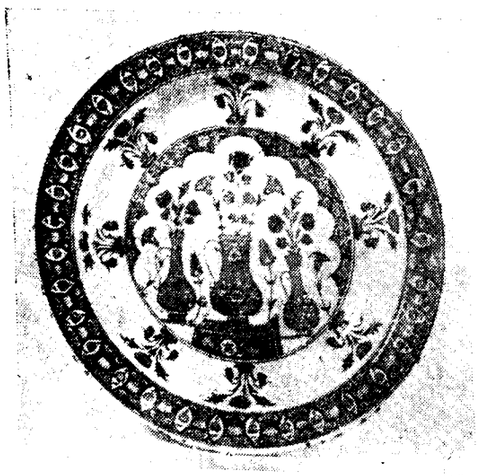
A pottery platter with kufic inscriptions from Eastern

abroad, who more and more are discovering one of America's unique treasure-troves, the Freer Gallery of Art.



Corrosion on a Persian bronze bowl is examined with a binocular microscope

In the Gallery's display cases and vaults lie more than 10,000 items, among them some 2,700 pieces of rare Near Eastern art: sculpture, glass metal work, paintings; pottery and



A handsome plate produced by an Ottoman craftsman in the 16th century

virtually priceless manuscripts. For the most part, they are from Persia, Iraq, Egypt, Syria, Turkey, and India, and their designs and inscriptions, more often than not, tell an important chapter in the history of those lands.

"The Freer" is exceptionally rich in pottery (there are some 600 Persian pieces alone). And its 600-odd Persian and Indian miniatures are the envy of curators in the States and abroad. Under a magnifying glass their exquisite painted detail is even more remarkable than when glimpsed by the casual gallery passerby.



Technical researchers examine pieces of pottery preparatory to cleaning

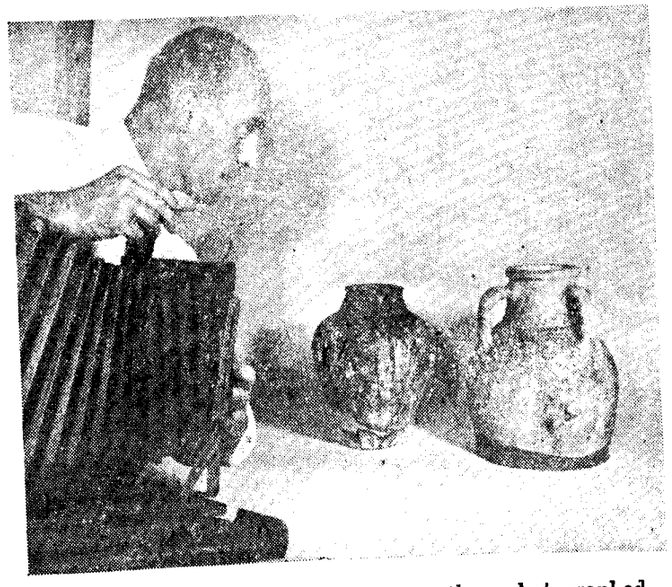
As fascinating as the Gallery's exhibits, however, are its origin and history; the story of how an American industrialist brought up in modest surroundings came to be interested in the art of the East and in giving others an opportunity to see it firsthand.

Charles Lang Freer was born of French-Huguenot ancestry over a century ago in Kingston, New York. He commenced collecting paintings and art objects in the early 1880's. In his fiftieth year (on May 5, 1906) a formal deed was executed, assigning to the Government on his death, his already sizeable collection, a building to house it, and an endowment fund "to provide for the study and acquisition of Oriental Fine Arts."

Ground was broken for the new gallery on September 23, 1916. When Charles Freer died three years later, the building was still un-



An Indian Gandhara frieze (*2nd century*) showing four scenes—Birth, Enlightenment, First Preaching and Nirvana—from the life of Buddha



Ancient Near Eastern pottery are thus photographed for museum catalogues

finished. But by 1921—36 years ago this spring —it was completed, and on May 2, 1923, the official opening took place.



A 13th century silver inlaid brass basin is among the art objects from Syria

Charles Freer was a farm boy who went from public school to work in a cement factory at 14 and to a general store clerkship at 16. By the early 80's, he had helped organize and had become an officer of a railroad car works in Detroit. By 1900, he was a man of great means, had completed his work in a merger of his industrial interests with the not-inconsiderable American Car and Foundry Company, and had retired from active business.

In the 80's, Freer began buying lithographs and etchings, including a number produced by the great James McNeill Whistler. Spurred by Whistler's interest and debt to Japanese art, Freer soon turned to studying and acquiring works from Japan and, in time, from China. Trips to Europe and the Orient provided him the opportunities to visit not only Japan and China but Egypt, India, Ceylon, and Java, and to explore avidly the artistic legacy of those other countries.

Never the scholar, Freer understood nonetheless the need for serious study and competent scholarship in the Oriental art field. His bequest, left in the care of the Smithsonian Institution and under the leadership of its second director, Archibald Gibson Wenley, pays for such endeavors and provides the Gallery with funds to buy new items for the collection. (Acquisitions in the form of loans or gifts are forbidden by the original gift deed).

Today, the Freer Gallery visitor making his rounds sees only about eight per cent of the museum's holdings. The other 92 per cent are kept in storage. (Two men from the staff are available to show items in the latter category upon request).



A brass canteen of the Syrian Mosul School
(*Mid-15th century*)

The Gallery's theory of revolving its displays is simple.

"We try not to show too much at once," says Richard Ettinghausen, Freer's Associate in Near Eastern Art. He and other Gallery officers believe it is unfair to befuddle the visitor with vast spreads of intricate design and antique craftsmanship.

Actually, while Near-East items comprise only about a fourth of the Gallery's holdings, their rare qualities sometimes outshine the more familiar works in the Freer collection by Western artists like Whistler, Winslow Homer, John Singer Sargent, Joseph Lindon Smith and others.

There are 1,000 pieces of Egyptian glass on hand and some 200 illuminated manuscripts from Persia and India, but the Freer appraises its possessions not on the strength of numbers alone. The criteria for purchasing new items are: good state of preservation and the determination if a piece is the best available example of its type.

What is the Gallery's most valuable Near-East piece? With true academic disdain for the commercial price tag, its department heads probably would decline to answer that question. Certainly, the brilliant partially gilded Fourth Century Persian silver dish with its high relief of King Shapur II hunting boar is one of the rare items in the collection. And the Gallery's Greek, Aramaic and Armenian Biblical manuscripts—some of which were put on papyrus in the Third Century A.D.—are among the antiquities most exciting to students of the past, and, in particular, students of the history of religion.

Besides its exhibit halls, the Gallery maintains a reference library of more than 32,000 books, pamphlets and periodicals, an auditorium, a publications program, a lecture series, and all the offices and laboratories neccessary to carry on its work. (Infinite care is required just to preserve the delicate pieces on view or in the storage. The color pigment on Persian miniature paintings, for example, has a tendency to chip off due to the gum arabic and, possibly, the egg-white vehicle with which it was originally mixed. And aged bronzes, unless cared for painstakingly, corrode easily in a damp atmosphere.)

When Charles Freer conceived of the collection and gallery that now bear his name, the art of the Near-East and Asia was for Americans at least, little more than the sacred preserve of rich men and scholars. But today—thanks in great part to his discriminating taste and generosity, a vast number of people have come to know its meaning. Last year, for example, there were 80,000 visitors at the museum.

They came for a variety of reasons—some to draw upon its exhibits for fabric and jewelry designs—others, to learn more about the artisans who created them, and virtually every visitor came to marvel at those craftsmen's eternal skills.—From *Land East*: Courtesy: The Middle-East Institute, Washington, D.C.



INDO-AFRICAN RELATIONS THROUGH THE AGES

By HARI SHARAN CHHABRA

India and Africa are next-shore neighbours and largely because of this geographical juxta-position, the people of India and those of the African Continent have maintained intimate and friendly relations with each other for the past many centuries. Much before the Europeans colonised Africa and even before Vasco da Gama reported about the route to India via Africa, Indians and Africans had known the route and free and flourishing trade used to flow between the two peoples.

Early Indo-African Trade

The Indian Ocean has been a great highway of commerce and intercourse for at least three thousand years. The Indians, the Phoenicians, the Arabs—in fact all the seafaring nations of the East—have considered this to be the chief area of trade and navigation.

There is a peculiar device of nature that has facilitated human intercourse in the Indian Ocean, ever since men first went down to the sea in ships. Every December the trade winds or the monsoons begin to blow from north-north-east and continue blowing with remarkable steadiness till the end of February. Every April till September the process is reversed; a strong wind blows from south-south-west. It is admitted by many historians that this useful phenomenon of trade winds must have been known to the Indian and other Eastern seafarers at a very early date—certainly long before it was known to the Europeans in 45 A.D. and given the name Hippalus after its reputed discoverer. The straight course over the Indian Ocean from Bombay to Zanzibar is little over 3000 miles. Bombay is 20 degrees north-east of Zanzibar and Karachi lies 30 degrees in that position, so that the merchants from north-western India, having learnt to trust in the persistence of the winds, could make the voyage across the ocean very safely.

The earliest recorded proof of the ancient Indo-African relations is to be found in the Puranas of the Hindus. Colonel John Speke, an officer in the Indian army, who went in search of the source of the River Nile from 1859 to 1861 and who was financed by the Royal Geographical Society, has categorically affirmed that he took a lot of help from the Puranas in his exploration of the source of Nile—the river that is born at Jinja from Lake Victoria. He writes :[1]

"Colonel Rigby gave me a most interesting paper with a map attached to it about the Nile and the Mountain of the Moon. It was written by Lt. Wilford from the Puranas of the ancient Hindus. It is remarkable that the Hindus had christened the source of River Nile. This I think shows clearly that the ancient Hindus must have had some kind of connection with different parts of Arrica."

Speke ridicules the Egyptian geographers for their ignorance of the source of the Nile and adds :

"All our previous information concerning the hydrography of these regions originated with the ancient Hindus . . . . and all those busy Egyptian geographers who disseminated the knowledge with a view to be famous for their long-sightedness in solving the mysteries, which shrouded the source of Nile (the holy river), were so many hypothetical humbugs."

As per directions in the map, he went from Zanzibar to Kenya and thence to Uganda, where he found the sweet water lake (Lake Victoria) and to his joy found the River Nile flowing out from it. In his book Speke has given the map which was prepared by Lt. Wilford with the help of information provided in the Puranas.

This discovery of the source of the Nile with the help of the Puranas is also referred to at length by Kakasaheb Kalelkar in his book, *Our Next-Shore Neighboure*. He says that our ancients who wrote the Puranas knew of Misir, the ancient Egypt. They knew of the great sweet-water lake—Victoria, which our

1. *Journal of the Discovery of the Source of Nile* by J. H. Speke, p. 13.

ancients called Amar or lake immortal. They also knew the Mountain of the Moon —Ruanzore—near about the place where the Nile took its source from Amar Lake.

The reference about the Nile in the Puranas can be easily explained from the fact that the Hindus had been trading with Rome, Greece, Egypt and Eastern Africa much before the birth of Christ. A number of Greek travellers wrote about the trade in the first century A.D. This voyage from India to Egypt consumed two years and the centres of trade were Broach and Calicut on the western coast of India.

Towards the latter half of the first century A.D., a Greek sailor in Egypt, undertook a voyage to India along the Red Sea Coast, passed through the Horn of Africa and went southward down the Indian Ocean and recorded a minute account of his experiences in a book called, The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea. This book[2] has served as a navigational manual for many centuries. Periplus refers to the arrival of Indian ships in the East African coastal towns. We also learn that there was an active trade between India and western world. There were important harbours on the coast such as Barbarika, Barygaza, Korkai and Pohar. Ships built and fitted up by Indians sailed from the ports with their merchandise, which consisted, among other things, of pearls, precious stones, spices, wheat, rice, sugar and fine cotton cloth called muslin, all of which were in great demand in the world. The exports from Africa to India were ivory, alabaster and slaves.

In Periplus there are some interesting references of the slave trade by Indians with the east coast of Africa. But such references are casual and have not been commented upon in details by W.H. Schoff, who translated Periplus and also made a classical commentary on it. Probably Schoff considered slaves, part of normal export from the African Continent.

From Periplus we gather that cocoa-nunt, the well-known fruit of Indian origin, was found in Zanzibar. The lac insect also came from India along with many Indian plants and herbs. From this Schoff says that one can easily confirm that India had trade relations with Zanzibar and other parts of Africa much before the voyage of the Greek sailor in the first century A.D.

Further and still more convincing proof of the historic Indo-African relationship is to be found from the writings of various historians and archaeologists, who have taken part in the excavations of the famous Zimbabwe ruins in Southern Rhodesia. R. N. Hall, Caton Thompson, L. Pouche and several others have come to identical conclusions about Indian beads and coins being found in these ruins. Caton Thompson believes that Southern Rhodesian commodities like gold and copper found a steady market in south-western India before the 8th and 9th centuries A.D. Another archaeologist L. Fouche hold the view that iron spear-heads, coiled wire, bronze object and some imported glass beads found in the ruins are of Indian manufacture.

African Slaves in India

It has already been told that there was some import of African slaves in India during the time of Periplus. Slaves then ranked high among the raw materials of Africa, which the Arabs were busy exchanging for manufactured goods, cloth, metal works and beads of India, Persia and Arabia. A very large number of these slaves came from Abyssinia—the Horn of Africa. In the seventh century and later, with the Arab and Indian settlement on the east coast of Africa, the African slaves were being imported in India, cargo by cargo. Some indication of the extent of

2. The Indian Ocean and its adjuncts the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf were known to Greek and Roman geographers as Erythraean Sea. The title "Periplus" was applied in Greek and Roman times to what would be termed today a guide book. Scholars are now agreed that the author was a Greek shipmaster, engaged in eastern trade, whose name is unknown. The earliest surviving text is a parchment MS. of the 10th century, which has been preserved in the library of Heidelberg.

the slave imports in India is afforded by the fact that the Muslim King of Gaur in Bengal, who ruled between 1459 and 1474 possessed some 8000 African slaves.

These African slaves are reported in the pages of Indian history to be brave and magnificent fighters. Some of the African names went down gloriously in these pages and legendary tales are told about their bravery, ability and adventurism.

We have the story of Razia Sultana, whose ruling career was largely influenced by an African slave called Yakut, who was a stable boy. Her name is romantically linked with Yakut, whom she elevated to the post of master of stables. Razia's undue favours to this Abyssinian youth offended the nobles of the Court, who revolted against her and this revolt led to the arrest of Razia and the murder of Yakut.

In India many of these slaves joined the armies of various rulers. Many a time these soldiers revolted against their rulers and usurped power, as it happened in Bengal in the year 1486, when the Kingdom of Bengal was ruled by an African slave. In 1490 came to the throne another Abyssinian, who seized power under the title of Shams-ud-din Abu Nassar Muzzaffer Shah. This rule by the two Africans was marked by tyranny and disorder, which caused widespread discontent among officers and the public. Commenting on above, a well-known author Coupland has this to say: "Had they (African slaves) suffered to stay in Bengal, it is conceivable that they might have mastered the Kingdom as the Mamelukes, three centuries later, mastered Egypt."[3]

Ibn Batuta, who was in India in 1342, has talked at length about the African slaves in India. He writes of his visit to Alapur a small town south-east of Gwalior. The Governor of Alapur, he writes, was an Abyssinian, who was once a slave of the Sultan. His bravery passed into a proverb. He was tall and corpulent and used to eat a whole sheep at a meal and Ibn Batuta was told that after eating, he would drink about a pound and a half of ghee, following the custom of the Abyssinians in their own country.[4]

During the Moghul rule in India, the Africans continued to play an important part in the political life. In Deccan when the Moghul Emperor Jahangir came into conflict with the Hindu ruler of Ahmednagar, he could not make much headway, largely because an African Minister called Malik Amber was in command of all power. Amber was a born leader of men, a great statesman and an experienced general in the predatory warfare.

It was not only in the army, but also in the navy, where these Africans distinguished themselves. They have shown a wonderful record of service in the navy during the time of Sivaji. It was in the year 1670, that recognising the ability of these Africans, Emperor Aurangzeb appointed one Siddi as his Admiral.

Africans were also found in the armies of the Nizam of Hyderabad till the Police Action. The Nizam's forces are now disbanded, but these Africans[5] who call themselves ex-fojis, have settled in Hyderabad as labourers, rickshaw-pullers and petty vendors. On the west coast of India as well, these Africans have settled. In Junagarh District of Bombay State there is a complete village inhabited by the Abyssinians. These sturdy Africans are now working as labourers in the famous Gir Forests—the home of Indian lions.

3. *East Africa and Its Invaders* by R. Coupland, p. 32.

4. Ibn Battuta, *Travels in Asia and Africa 1325-1354*, trans., by H.A.R. Gibb, p. 223.

It is interesting to note that these slaves also reached Ceylon. Ibn Battuta also records that in Kalambu (Colombo), he found some 500 Abyssinian slaves with the ruler. P. 260.

5. In 1956, these Africans were invited to Delhi at the Folk Dance Festival during the Republic Day Celebrations. They brought with them their drums and other instruments and gave a very vigorous and manly display of their Siddi Dance with swords and spears.

Indian Settlers in Africa

While the African slaves were being imported in India, a large number of Indians had at the same time settled on the east coast of Africa for the purpose of trade and commerce. It is not exactly known as to when the first Indian settlement grew up in Africa, but Coupland believes that some sort of Indian settlement came about the same time as that of Arabs in the 7th century. The number of Indians and Arabs in East Africa kept on increasing year after year.

There was, however, a vast difference in the social and economic life of the Indian and Arab settlers. While the Arabs were real colonists and behaved like aristocrats, being closely associated with the ruling class, the Indian settlers were only interested in trade and commerce. The Arabs owned lands and in general never showed any aptitude for the technique of business and shopkeeping, even though they did keep the prosperous slave trade in their hands. The Indians were from the earliest days what they still are in East Africa—the masters of finance, the bankers and also shopkeepers. Much of the actual trade was either directly in their hands or managed by them for wealthy Arab land-owners. But if the Indians thus rendered an essential service to the community as a whole, the Arabs had to pay in the long run for not doing it themselves. Dependence on Indian industry and skill did help the Arabs to get rich for sometime, but it did slowly and slowly weaken their economic independence and initiative.

Modern historians associate the name of Vasco da Gama with the discovery of the trade route between Europe and India via Africa, But they generally ignore an important historical fact that the men who actually guided him from East Africa to India were Davane, the Arab broker of Bombay and a Gujrati Muslim pilot named Kanji. It was on May 20, 1498 that led by Kanji, the Portugese explorer reached the Court of the Zamorin of Calicut.[6]

Vasco da Gama in his report to the King of Portugal writes of the Indian shops he saw on the east coast of Africa. He purchased a cap from an Indian trader in Mozambique. When Vasco da Gama left Malindi for India on April 4, 1498, he saw four Indian ships anchored in the port.[7]

In the next two centuries after Vasco da Gama, with the spread of news in India about the prosperity of Indians in East Africa, the immigration from India to Africa increased considerably, so much so that Col. Rigby in 1860 wrote that nearly all shops in Zanzibar were kept by Indians.

The Said of Zanzibar, who took control of the island by usurping the sovereignty of Muscat in 1806, gave all sorts of encouragement to Indians in East Africa. Said fostered the growth of the Indian community, not only by giving them complete religious, social and economic freedom, but also by personal relationship with some of the ablest Indians and use of their services in administration and finance. And this he did for the good reason that Arabs in general lacked the aptitude and the industry needed for management of business.

When Kirk, the Political Agent of India in Zanzibar from 1866 to 1887, arrived in Zanzibar, there were five or six thousand Indians settled in the coastal towns and at the trade posts in the interior. Of these about 3,660 came from British India or from Indian States in Gujarat, Kathiawar and Cutch and the rest from other parts of the country. The large majority of Indian immigrants were Moslems belonging to Khoja and Bohra com-

6. Early in the 10th century, El Masudi, the famous traveller, travelled in the company of some Indian merchants from Bombay to Kilwa in Tanganyika.

7. It is not known with certainity, whether during the time of Vasco da Gama, any Indian ship went south and rounded the Cape and sailed up the west coast of Africa, but K. M. Panikkar says by referring to Hudson, Covilham and Fra Mauro's map that two Indian ships before Vasco da Gama did sail round the Cape and touched West Africa.

munities. Unlike the Hindus who came without wives and children to make money and return someday to their motherland, the Moslems were true colonists, bringing their families with them and making East Africa their home.

The Indians had a monopoly of trade and with it naturally was linked the Indian monopoly of finance. Kirk estimated that the amount of British Indian capital invested in Zanzibar at no less than £16 lakhs. About £2 lakhs of this had been advanced to Arabs residing in Zanzibar. Besides the Indian monopoly of trade and finance, an incidental point is that Indian rupee and not sterling was the .East African currency till the end of the First World War.

Recent Indian Immigration

While Indians had settled in East African coastal areas for the past many centuries, it is important to note that the large majority of the present Indian population in Africa is of recent growth. Heavy influx of Indians started after the abolition of slavery in the British Empire in 1833. The abolition of slavery in British Africa and especially in Natal and Transval was about to sound the death-knell of the vast sugar plantations. Thus it became necessary for the white planters to obtain labour from somewhere to continue the sugar plantations. The African native after emancipation from slavery was unwilling to come under any sort of contract with the European planters.

The owners of the sugar plantations began to look for labour towards India, because they knew of the adaptability of the Indians to the life in Africa. Thus from 1860 onwards indentured labour from India, with the connivance of the then Government of India, has entered in South Africa.

In East Africa, the Indian population till the end of the nineteenth century mostly comprised of traders. With the start of the construction of Kenya-Uganda Railway in 1897, a large number of technicians and some efficient labour were brought from India to East Africa to help in the construction of the railway. It is estimated that over 18,000 Indians were employed during the construction of the railway. Of them more than 90 per cent returned home after the expiry of their contract. Fresh lots of professionals—doctors, lawyers, engineers and teachers—from Gujarat and Punjab entered East Africa in the early days of the twentieth century and later. This fact is contrary to the usual belief of the Africans and the Europeans in East Africa, who are convinced that the present Indian population is composed of the descendants of the "coolies" employed during the railway construction.

It is noteworty that the early Indian settlers always remained on the coast and they did not venture to settle inland. There was not a single Indian duka (shop) inland. But with the coming of the railway, the Indian traders began to develop business enterprises along the new railway line. Outstanding among those merchant traders was Alladin Visram, perhaps the greatest single figure in the economic history of East Africa. This "charming little gentleman," who entered in response to the challenge of great economic and social change was respected by everyone in the country, high or low, black or white. An early advertisement described him as "dealer in provisions, beads, piece goods, copper and iron wires, equipment of caravans, enamel ware, etc. Buyer of ivory, rubber, hides and skins and all kinds of East African and Uganda produce. Importer of merchandize from Europe, America and India." By 1904 his activities extended from Dar-es-Salaam to Hoima, and from Zanzibar to Gondokoro. There were then 30 Visram branches. His services were recognised by the Kabaka of Buganda as well as by the Kenya and Uganda Governments. He even acted as a banker advancing cash against cheques and in time issuing his own cheques.

The Indians who followed Visram were not pioneers on the grand scale like him. But they all played an important part in Kenya, Uganda and Tanganyika by carrying trade enterprises into the tiniest and the most isolated villages. Today there is hardly any important village or town in East Africa, where one will not come across Indian shopkeeper or a professional.

In the present day Indians are to be found in many parts of Africa; in the Union of South Africa, Madaghascar, Central Afica, East Africa, the Congo, Ethiopia, the Sudan, Ghana, Nigeria and even in Portugese territories of Mozambique and Angola. The total population of Indian settlers in Africa is estimated at 700,000; 90 per cent of them being in the Union of South Africa and East Africa.

Trade and business still remains the major occupation of a large section of Indian population. Their role in the development of the general economy of the Continent has been significant and has been aptly recognised by several European writers. However, Indian contribution in supplying the services of professionals—lawyers, doctors, engineers, civil servants—is not in any way small. Indian contribution in every field is the most apparent in East Africa.

In spite of the above services rendered by the Indians, their present status and position is none-too-rosy. The white oligarchy in the Union of South Africa has deliberately made the Indians, along with the Africans, suffer through many discriminatory laws based on the policy of apartheid. The position of East African Indians, of course not as bad as that of their compatriots in the Union, has been made awkward by the white settlers, who are, for obvious reasons, jealous of the present prosperity of the Indians. These white settlers talk in terms of Indian menace, Indian competition and even Indian imperialism..

The Government of India have nothing much to do with these Indian settlers in Africa, because they are no more Indians. But since the Government of India were a party to the immigration of the Indians to Africa, the former consider it a moral obligation to help the Indians, when they are made to suffer through discriminatory laws.

Without in anyway trying to interfere in the internal affairs of the various Governments of Africa, the Government of India have tried to advise the Indian community in Africa to identify themselves with the people of Africa, and that they should not ask for any special privileges, but should see to it that they co-operate with the indigenous poulation of Africa. The relations between Indians and Africans have been a matter of concern to us in India. In the Union, it is encouraging to find that Indians and Africans have made a common cause against the white imperialist rule. In East Africa, the Indians have sympathised with the African cause all along, but till lately it was only a lip sympathy. Today the Indians have totally changed their political outlook and are giving a fuller political support to the Africans in their nationalist movements, especially in Kenya and Tanganyika.

In the previous paragraphs we have been trying to study the Indo-African relations going down the ages. Today it is the intense desire of the people and the Government of India to increase our relationship with the people of Africa on the basis of friendship and absolute equality. In view of the fact that the people of Africa have undergone immense sufferings at the hands of imperialist powers, it is the desire of the Indians here to help the Africans to stand on their own legs. In a modest way, we are giving them help in the matter of education, because proper educational facilities are still not available in many parts of Africa. Government of India have during the past ten years offered hundreds of cultural scholarships to the students from Africa to come and study in the various universities of Africa.

INDUSTRIAL FINANCE CORPORATION—A REVIEW

By DHIRENDRA MOHAN KAR, M.COM.

A DECADE has passed since the inception of Industrial Finance Corporation in India. It will be worthwhile to attempt a review of what achievements and progress I.F.C. has made during these years with a view to making an appraisal of its working. Industrial Finance Corporation has been established under the Industrial Finance Corporation Act, 1948, in order to make long-term credits, more readily available to "industrial concerns" in India particularly in cases where normal banking accommodation was inappropriate or recourse to capital issue method was impracticable. In absence of a well-developed capital market and dearth of issue houses and underwriting firms in India and due to the policy pursued by the commercial banks on the analogy of British Banking practices, to eschew long-term industrial financing, the Industrial Finance Corporation has been assigned to play a distinct role in the promotion and development of "industrial concerns" in India, by contributing to the solution of at least one particular kind of their problems, *viz.*, the problem of long-term finance.

An "industrial concern" under the Act has been defined to mean any Public Ltd. Co. or Co-operative Society incorporated by an Act of legislature and registered in India, engaged in the manufacturing or processing of goods or in mining or in the generation or distribution of electricity or any other form of power. The Original Act was amended in 1952 and included Shipping Companies in the schedule of "Industrial Concerns."

SCOPE

The Corporation was empowered to provide financial assistance by:

(i) granting loans or advances to or subscribing to the debenture of "industrial concerns" repayable within 25 years;

(ii) granting loans floated in the money market by "industrial concerns" repayable within 25 years;

(iii) underwriting the issues of stocks, shares, bonds and debentures floated by "industrial concerns" subject to their being disposed of in the open market as early as possible, but in no case later than 7 years;

(iv) acting as an Agent for the Central Government and/or, with its approval, for the International Bank of Reconstruction and Development (I.B.R.D.) in respect of loans sanctioned by them to "industrial concerns."

I.F.C. (Amendment) Act, Nov. 1957, extended the scope and empowered the Corporation to guarantee deferred payments by importers of capital goods who are able to make such arrangements with foreign manufacturers.

LIMITATIONS

(i) The Corporation does not grant and guarantee any loan unless it is secured against a sufficient pledge, mortgage, hypothecation or assignment of Government or other securities, stocks, shares or secured debentures, bullion, movable or immovable property or other tangible assets.

(ii) The maximum limit on the amount advanced to a single industry was originally 50 lakhs. I.F.C. (Amendment) Act of 1952 increased the limit to 1 crore. Again by virtue of this Amendment, the Corporation can now advance money more than Rs. 1 crore if and/or only if the Central Government guarantees such advances.

(iii) The Corporation may impose such conditions as it considers neccessary, including the appointment of a Director on the Board of the concern assisted, to take over the management of the concern which makes default in repayment and to appoint Directors of such concerns. It can proceed against its defaulting debtors and can also call for repayment before the due date.

(iv) I.F.C. (Amendment) Act, Nov. 1957, enables a large number of industries including new industrial concerns, which are not in a position to offer adequate security but deserve encouragements from the point of view of the national economy, to avail themselves of the Corporation's loan assistance, if such assistance is guaranteed as to the repayment of the principal and payment of interest by the Central Government, State Government, a Schedule Bank or a State Co-operative Bank.

RESOURCE STRUCTURE

(i) *Share Capital*:—The Corporation was registered with an authorised capital of 10 crores, divided into 20,000 shares of Rs. 5,000|- each. 10,000 shares of Rs. 5,000|- each were issued and were fully paid-up. The Corporation is now jointly owned by (i) The Central Government, (ii) The Reserve Bank, (iii) Scheduled banks, (iv) Insurance companies, investment trusts and other financial institutions and (v) Co-operative banks. The shares are transferable only between the above categories of share-holders. No one else can hold them. No institution can hold more than 10 per cent of the shares prescribed for the class of institution to which it belongs. 2¼ per cent annual dividend and repayments of shares are guaranteed by the Central Government. When reserve equilises paid-up capital, dividend may be paid up to 5 per cent, and again any surplus over 5 per cent will be paid to the Central Government at this stage.

(ii) *Debenture Capital*:—The Corporation issued its first series of 3½ per cent bond 1964, amounting to Rs. 7,80,50,000 in 1954. Second series of 4½ per cent bond 1967 followed it in Nov. 1957 amounting to Rs. 4,56,00,000. On Nov. 17, I.F.C. has decided further to issue 4¼ per cent bond 1958 for Rs. 4,00,00,000. (u|s 21 of I.F.C. Act). This makes the debenture commitments of the Corporation to Rs. 16,36,50,000 in total.

It was authorised by the original Act to issue and sell bonds and debentures carrying interest, the total of which should not at any time exceed 5 times the paid-up share capital plus reserve fund, but I.F.C. (Amendment) Act, 1957, which came into force from 21st Dec. 1957, empowers the Corporation to borrow upto a limit of 10 times its Share Capital plus reserve.

(iii) *Borrowing from Reserve Bank*:—It has the power to borrow from Reserve Bank u|s 21 (3) (a) for a period of 90 days against securities of Central Government or State Government. It can also borrow against its own debentures for a period not exceeding 18 months, provided the amount borrowed does not exceed 3 crores in the aggregate. The Corporation's outstanding borrowings from Reserve Bank increased from 1.06 crores on March 29, 1957 to Rs. 2.97 crores in Sept. 1957, the borrowings, however, completely repaid by the end of March 1958.

(iv) *Deposits*:—The Corporation has been authorised to accept deposits from the public. I.F.C. (Amendment) Act, 1957, empowers it further to accept deposits from State Government or local authorities. No deposit has yet been accepted.

(v) *Borrowing in Foreign Currency*:—I.F.C. (Amendment) Act, 1952, empowered the Corporotion to borrow from the World Bank on Government of India's guarantee. In 1952, there was a proposal to borrow 8 million dollars from I.B.R.D. but it was given up later on. There was no borrowing in foreign currency since its inception.

(vi) *Borrowing from the Central Government*:—In terms of Sec. 21 (4) of I.F.C. Act as amended in 1952, the Corporation has the power to borrow from the Central Government. The Corporation has borrowed from the Central Government an aggragate sum of Rs. 22.25 crores, carrying an interest at 4½ per cent.

MANAGEMENT

In accordance with the I.F.C. (Amendment) Act, 1955, substantial changes in management of the Corporation were effected from September 18, 1955. Previously, the general superintendence and direction of the affairs and the business of the Corporation was entrusted to a Board of Directors which with the assistance of an Executive Committee and a Managing Director exercised all powers and did all Acts that might be exercised by the Corporation. Now I.F.C. has a full-time stipendiary Chairman, assisted by a General Manager in place of the past arrangement of an honorary Chairman and a paid whole-time Managing Director.

The Board of Directors consists of 4 directors nominated by the Central Government, 2 nominated by the Reserve Bank, 2 elected by Scheduled Bank, 2 elected by the Insurance Co., and investment trusts, etc., 1 director elected by the Co-operative Banks.

The stipendiary Chairman is appointed by the Central Government in consultation with the Board of Directors of the Corporation. The Chairman has to hold his office for 3 years or

until his successor is appointed. He exercises such powers and discharges such duties as may be assigned to him by the Act or as may be delegated to him by the Board of Directors.

The executive committee has been abolished and replaced by the Central Commitee under I.F.C. (Amendment) Act, 1955. The Central Committee consists of a chairman, two directors elected by the nominated directors, two directors elected by the elected directors. The chairman of the Board of Directors is the chairman of the Central Committee.

The I.F.C. Act requires the Board of Directors to act on business principles and to pay due regard to the interests of trade, industry and the general public. The Board in discharge of its functions is guided by such instructions on questions of policy as may be given to it by the Central Government. The board is liable to be superseded if it fails to carry out such instruction (Sec. 6).

Functionings

The Industrial Finance Corporation of India in its ten years of existence ending on June 30, 1958, has rendered pioneering services in the field of long-term industrial finance in India. During the last ten years the Corporation received applications for loans for Rs. 124.34 crores and the total amount of loans granted by it stood at Rs. 62.90 crores. A state-wise distribution of loans indicate that Bombay has received the largest amount of loans for her 58 industrial units. Bombay has received Rs. 18.69 crores, Madras Rs. 8.57 crores, West Bengal Rs. 6.33 crores, Bihar Rs. 4.77 crores, Kerala Rs. 4.27 crores, U.P. Rs. 5 crores, Mysore Rs. 4.80 crores, Punjab Rs. 2.96 crores, Andhra Rs. 3.10 crores, Orissa Rs. 2.94 crores, Rajasthan Rs. 74.50 lakhs, Assam Rs. 45 lakhs, Delhi Rs. 20 lakhs and M.P. Rs. 3.50 lakhs.

Of the total loans sanctioned so far Rs. 32 crores were sanctioned for States which were industrially under-developed. Of this amount, new industrial concerns received Rs. 22 crores. The principal borrowers were sugar, chemical, cotton, textile and cement companies.

A notable development in the activities of the Corporation during the year 1957 was in the field of underwriting which was a first venture in its ten years of life. The I.F.C. underwrote the issue of 6½ per cent (subject to income-tax) redeemable and convertible debentures for Rs. 1.60 crores issued by a borrower concern. This underwriting was undertaken in conjunction with the I.C.I.C. and L.I.C. of India. The share of the Corporation's commitment under the underwriting arrangement amounts to Rs. 75 lakhs. The amount is inclusive of the loan of Rs. 45 lakhs which is to be redeemed out of the proceeds of the debenture issue. On the basis of amended provision of the I.F.C. Act, the Corporation has now started guaranteeing deferred payments due from industrial concerns in India on account of the import of capital goods from abroad. Up to the end of June, 1958, the Corporation extended its guarantee to deferred payments to the extent of Rs. 5 crores. For the last two years in succession there has been a decline in loan applications to the Corporation. The main cause of this decline is the increasing difficulty experienced by industrial concerns and entrepreneurs in the matter of securing the necessary licences for importing the capital goods required for starting new industries or expanding the existing ones.

Industrial concerns on co-operative basis are being encouraged by the Corporation through its liberal loan accommodations.

Financial Result Analysed

The earnings of the Corporation presented a gloomy picture since its inception up to the year 1956-57, but the year 1957-58 brings a new light to its life. Previously it had not been in a position to meet its guaranteed dividend liabilities. During the year 1957-58, the Corporation has earned a record amount of profit aggregating Rs. 58.2 lakhs. This increase in profits enabled the Corporation to repay a substantial amount of subvention received by it from the Government of India in previous years. The Corporation has paid, for the first time, the guaranteed dividend of 2¼ per cent to its shareholders out of its own earnings.

Comments and Criticism

The I.F.C. was under a big fire at the time of discussion of the I.F.C. (Amendment) Bill 1952 when not only both the Houses of Parliament but also the members from the party in power made allegations of varied nature against the activities of the Corporation. The following were the main charges against I.F.C.

(a) It was alleged to be "guilty of nepotism and favouritism" in granting loans.

(b) In absence of its being owned and controlled by the State, the Corporation was operating as a "Big Business Racket."

(c) I.F.C. had failed to develop industries in the backward regions and "provinces with apathy" were given preference in providing loans.

(d) I.F.C. management were more interested with and showed preference to well-established large-scale industries and overlooked the interests of small-scale and medium-scale industries.

(e) Loans were granted to industrial concerns which did not fall under the frame-work of the Five-Year Plan. Basic and capital goods industry had a meagre percentage of the assistance while consumer goods industry had the substantial accommodations.

(f) The Corporation has failed to maintain supervision over loanee companies which did not raise production or installed new capacity.

(g) I.F.C. had granted loans to those who could raise loans in the open market on their own initiative.

(h) The Corporation did not provide equity capital though a extreme necessity.

(i) It provided loans to public limited companies only and kept private limited companies out of its assistance.

Most of the criticisms arose on account of the ignorance about constitution and working of the Corporation. The association of a former chairman (Sri Ram) of the Corporation with certain loanee companies and the non-discloser of the names of the loanee companies added fuel to fire. And, hence, Government of India decided to investigate these charges and appointed a committee under the chairmanship of Srimati Sucheta Kripalani. The terms of reference to this committee were:

(i) To scrutinise the loan transactions with reference to the allegations about nepotism and favouritism.

(ii) To verify whether in general due care had been exercised in granting loans.

(iii) To review generally the policy followed by the Corporation in the grant of loans with due regard to the objective of the Act and directions issued by the Government.

(iv) To make recommendations, if necessary, for improvement in the working of the Corporation.

The committee submitted its report on May 7, 1953. The committee found that the allegations made in Parliament about nepotism and favouritism were not established and generally exonerated the Corporation. It, however, made some adverse remarks in regard to some applications in which the chairman and the other directors took interest and received more expeditious and liberal treatment. The Corporation was found carrying a bias in favour of established concerns with which any prominent industrialist was associated.

The following recommendations were worth mentioning:

(i) Loans to industries in backward areas should be given preference.

(ii) Besides granting loans, there should be guaranteeing and underwriting industrial securities.

(iii) The directors should disclose their interest, if any, in the loanee company and while sanctioning loans unanimous vote of the two-thirds of the directors qualified to vote would be necessary.

(iv) There should be a regional panel of advisers, out of which a few could be selected *ad hoc* to deal with loan applications.

(v) The Corporation should have a full time paid chairman instead of a part-time Honorary Chairman.

(vi) The Board of Directors should include an economist, a managerial expert and a Chartered Accountant in addition to industrialists and Government officials.

(vii) All loans exceeding 50 lakhs should be sanctioned on the consent of the Centre Government.

(viii) Well-informative annual reports of its working should be published by the Corporation.

In pursuance of these recommendations the I.F.C. Act was amended in 1955 and a sub

stantial reorganisation had been made in the managements of the Corporation.

Conclusion

Though the Corporation has not achieved anything spectacular, it has made slow but steady progress. The assistance which the Corporation has been able to extend to the "industrial concerns" have been meagre compared to the enormous need of capital for the promotion, modernization, extension and diversification of the country's industry. In India, Industrial Finance required today in the private sector alone is about Rs. 200 crores a year, but the Corporation has granted as yet only 62.90 crores, and in that background the performance of the Corporation is none too enterprising nor is there anything in this connection to cause rejoicing. The main reason for this poor performance is the limited resources of the Corporation. The Corporation, particularly the volume of its share capital, was conceived at a time when there was no idea regarding the Plan, nor was the magnitude of the resources required for the implementation of the Plans conceived at that time. Now it is quite evident that the Corporation is seriously handicapped. To remedy this "bottle-neck" the I.F.C. Act was amended in Nov. 1957, strengthening the resource position of the Corporation and extending the scope of its activity.

In the concluding lines, attention may be drawn to some glaring defects in the constitution and organisational set-up of the Corporation. I.F.C. is debarred by statute from taking up share capital of "industrial concerns" when they are often in need of equity capital. Paradoxical enough, however, the Corporation is at the same time authorised to underwrite the share issues of "industrial concerns." This is illogical, for, "under-writing business may be more risky then direct subscription to equities. If the underwriting business continues to be sanctioned by law, the legal bar against the subscription of equity capital should go." A major organisational defect seems to be worth mentioning. It has been argued for some time past and the Kripalani Committee also endorsed it thoroughly that the Corporation should have a technical investigation department and economic and statistical section under the supervision of trained economists. Customers of I.F.C. are often in need of technical, economic and engineering and marketing advices. Such department can easily provide these facilities. It is yet to be formed.

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PEACEFUL EXPLOITATION OF SPACE

By Prof. Dr. R. C. HINGORANI, J.S.D. (Yale)

With the prospect of conquest of space becoming more imminent day by day, many allied problems arise therewith. One of such problems which faces the world elites is that of peaceful exploitation of space. Ever since the first sputnik was fired into space by the Soviet Union in October, 1957, there has been clamour by peoples all over the world that these rapid strides towards man's conquest of space should be strides of peace rather than of war. The whole humanity has a stake in this issue and this has been sufficiently ventilated at the United Nations forum by a number of representatives of various countries. Eisenhower is already on record for making this cosmos an area for peace rather than arena for combat. Sir Leslie Munro, President of the Twelfth Session of the U. N. General Assembly also reiterated this demand in his last speech in that capacity. Now, of course, the United Nations is seized of the matter.

Launching of the satellites by Russia and United States of America has been in observance of the International Geophysical Year. Although it commenced from July, 1957, it received momentum in October, 1957, when the first Russian sputnik was launched into space to study the stratospheric layer of atmosphere as well as to peep into the mysteries of space and other planets. Sixty-eight nations are participating in this experiment although the United States and Russia are the only active participants committed to launch satellites and help in providing equipment to other countries for monitoring an

essage received from satellites in orbits. stensibly, therefore, the purpose of these rides into space is peaceful and scientific.

However, one should not lose sight of e fact that scientific progress has often een abused by adventurous politicians who ave not hesitated to use it as an instruent of their national policy. History will ot belie us in this finding and present ends will only confirm it. To be sure, it necessary to note that satellite launchng program was first conceived by the efence departments of the bipolarized owers much before the decision of observng the International Geophysical Year. onspicuously enough, the Defence Departnent is guiding the program in most of he countries. Added to this is the fact hat the Soviet Union fired the sputnik vith the help of the Inter-Continental nissiles while the United States of America did so with the Army-developed Jupiter-C Rockets. The world should also not forget the Soviet threat to the effect that the same rockets which fired the sputniks into orbits can also deliver hydrogen bombs in any corner of the earth. The program, therefore, has military importance also and that was the main reason why America was so much perturbed over the Russian launching of the sputnik.

The military aspect of the launching of satellites is inseparable from the peaceful aspect of the program. Nevertheless world statesmen having preconceived the military potentialities of a satellite have demanded to devote space research for peaceful purpose. This is the urgent need of the day lest yet another scientific advancement should convert a boon into a disastrous burden. The first official anxiety toward that end was withnessed during the London Disarmament Conference in the Fall of 1957 when the United States of America proposed for the peaceful exploitation of space. This was followed by the statement of Mr. Dulles advocating for international body under the United Nation's auspices to conduct the space research. Sir Leslie Munroe the immediate past President of the United Nations General Assembly has also voiced similar feelings. Recently, the U. N. General Assembly has passed the 20-power U.S.-backed resolution envisaging establishment of a special committee to study and report on (a) activities and resources of various international organizations and agencies relating to peaceful uses of outer space, (b) facilitation of international control, and (c) nature of legal problems involved in carrying out of problems to explore outer space. Russia has unfortunately chosen to dissociate with such Committee.

Apart from the above views as given out by world politicians, there is also a suggestion from Dr. Schacter of the United National Legal Bureau. In this context he has advocated for some sort of international control over space activities by nation-states. Thus he has proposed for registration of satellite flights, establishment of radio stations for international verification of such flights and agreement on radio frequency to monitor information transmitted. The International Astronautical Congress has also advocated for some international control of outer space in its recent August Conference in Amsterdam. These suggestions, therefore, require our thoughtful consideration.

If all the above suggestions were to be perused it would be observed that there is stress on the peaceful exploitation of space. But how this stress could be implemented is a difficult question. Undoubtedly the Big Powers also contribute to this idea. There remains, therefore, only one obstacle—the obstacle of lack of confidence in each other. Each of the two Big Powers has suspicions about the other with the result that no appreciable agreement on cosmic research and its peaceful utilization is in sight. There can be no guarantee for peaceful exploitation without mutual confidence and there will be no mutual confidence without peaceful exploitation of space. Recent thereats of annihilation by Krushchev will only worsen the situation.

In the circumstances, some minimum agreement is necessary, relating to the launching of satellites. In this connection Schacter's suggestions could well be taken

use of. His enumeration of minimum controls is a welcome idea so long as it does not affect the subjacent state's sovereignty. Reaching of such an agreement will not be a difficult task in so far as launching of satellites for peaceful purposes, i.e., in observance of the Internationl Geophysical Year, is concerned. Difficulties may, however, crop up when space research is done for military purposes as in the case of launching of inter-continental missiles and such other space instrumentalities which may hereafter be invented. Such launching or experiments may not possibly be divulged to the public.. Such difficulties are not easy to be solved because big political-*cum*-strategic issues are involved therein. Perhaps, some settlement may be reached on *ad-hoc* basis or within the scope of over-all disarmament agreement. But how far the public opinion will be respected and space used for peaceful purposes is yet to be seen. Future events will alone show how the wind blows.

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THE ROLE OF WOMAN IN MODERN INDIA

By SANTOSH KUMAR BANERJEE

With the advancement of education amongst women in this country they are gradually coming in the forefront of every sphere of activities—religious, social, political and even international. In Western countries where percentage of literacy is much higher than in India and where the number of educated men and women is much greater, women have already proved their efficiency in different fields of activities like men. Even for such jobs wherein physical strength is needed, women of Western countries have demonstrated their equality in skill and valour like men. During the last war there had been many instances when women belonging to the Air wing of the army had shown exemplary courage and devotion to duty, which was of course inspired by the true love of the country to which they belonged.

Formerly in pre-independence days Indian women were mainly found in teaching and nursing services. Gradually educated women began to take interest in some social and political work. They began to organise women's centres or clubs (Nari Samitis) where the women of particular localities could meet occasionally or at regular intervals and discuss amongst themselves various matters relating to women. At this time they also began to get themselves enlisted as members of different political organisations, which were set up in the country for the removal of foreign rule. The stories of intense sufferings and even courting death by many Indian women for the political emancipation of the country are yet related by the older people with respectful admiration and pride to the young citizens of the country. Now after independence educated women are found to occupy more and more eminent positions in society. In politics their contribution is not less than the men politicians. They have proved their success as legislators in Rajya Sabha and Lok Sabha and also in different State Legislatures. They have also shown their mark as members of the Central Cabinet and also State Cabinets. Even as an ambassador an Indian lady has achieved remarkable success creating an impression in foreign countries that our women are equally competent to bear the great burden of carrying on diplomatic relationship with other countries.

Besides the two old professions of teaching and nursing educated Indian women are now-a-days found in other professions and callings. There are Indian women engineers, chemists and scientific research workers, who have already brought a good name not only for themselves, but also for the country they belong to. As clerks and assistants they are now found in large numbers in almost all Government offices and in many leading commercial concerns. As sales-girls their efficiency is very much known to the heads of the organisations, who are directly concerned with the increased sales of their products. As story-writers in several periodicals, which are published in this country in different languages, they have become very popular to regular readers. As insurance agents their contribution to the increased volume of insurance business is considerable. As social workers they are doing a lot for the eradication of various age-long superstitions, which have yet remained in the country, specially in rural areas. In fact the present-day women of India are very conscious of their political independence and seem to be more serious than men in removing the remaining shackles of social and economic bondage, which have prevented the progress of the country with rapid strides.

From the history of other countries it is known that the all-round advancement of a nation depends very much on the high efficiency and sincerity of both men and women. It is a happy sign that our country, which has achieved independence only a few years ago, can depend to a great extent on the energetic resourcefulness of the young generation of men and women. The role of woman in modern India is now all the more important at this stage of the country's development because not only she is to discharge her own duties honestly and sincerely, but she has to train the future generations of men and women of the country in discipline and inspire in them a true love for the country. Apart from the satisfaction of rendering service to the country, the greatest reward for her work will be that she will be remembered by the coming generations of men and women for many years with gratitude and respect.

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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 acknowleged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

EDITOR, *The Modern Review*

ENGLISH

ASOKAN INSCRIPTIONS: *By Radhagovinda Basak. Progressive Publishers. Calcutta, 1959. Pp. 162. 1 plate and a map. Price Rs. 15.00.*

Thanks to the researches of numerous scholars, both Indian and foreign, for more than a century past, an extensive literature has grown around the inscriptions of Emperor Asoka which have rightly been acclaimed as one of the most important set of epigraphic records in the ancient world. We may nevertheless welcome the present handy volume from the pen of the well-known Sanskrit scholar on which, as he tells us in his interesting Preface (p. vii), he has been engaged off and on for nearly half a century as a student, as a University teacher, and as a guide of advanced students. Written with the object of stimulating 'the study of these very ancient epigraphic records of India by graduate and post-graduate students of the different Universities in India and abroad' (Preface, p. viii), it well fulfils its purpose. The author begins with a short introduction under four heads, *viz.*, the list of the inscriptions with their geographical distribution, Asoka's administration, his *dharma* and the language of his inscriptions. The list is made sufficiently up-to-date to include the now-famous bilingual (Greek-Aramaic) Old Kandahar inscription of Asoka discovered last year, with a summary of its contents. The body of the work consists of the text of the whole set of inscriptions (in different recensions where there are such) in *Devanagari* script, the word-for-word Sanskrit rendering, English translation and notes on selected words. The

author's interpretations are supported, as might be expected, by sound philological and other arguments and frequently by quotations of equivalent words from works of ancient Brahmanical and Buddhist literature. Among his original explanations requiring careful consideration of scholars may be mentioned *nijhati* (p. 36) as meaning deep consideration or discussion or contemplation or deliberation or debate, and *abhihala* (p. 96) as signifying 'arrest'. In a number of other examples like *lajavachanika* (p. 12) and the important passage relating to the functions of the *rajukas* (pp. 12-13 and 95) discussed by the present reviewer in the course of his studies in ancient Indian administrative system, the author's interpretations appear to be quite sound. On the other hand, we find it difficult to agree with the author's explanation of *pradesika* (pp. 11, 13) after Kautilya's *pradeshtri* as 'magistrates who try criminal cases', *nagalaviyohalaka* (p. 121) as the probable equivalent of Kautilya's *nagarika* or *nagaraka* ('City Mayor') and *bali* (pp. 150-51) as 'any kind of tax.' As has been suggested by the reviewer elsewhere, the first term probably means a local or provincial official, the second signifies a city judiciary after Kautilya's *paura-vyavaharika* and the third should be taken to mean the extra cess over the king's usual grain share.

An Index of important words, a chart of Asokan Brahmi script, transcripts of five selected Asokan inscriptions and a map bring this useful work to an end. The paper, print and get-up are good.

U. N. GHOSHAL

TALKS ON THE GITA: *By Acharya Vinoba Bhave. Published by Akhil Bharat Sarva Seva Sangh Prakashan, Kashi (U.P.), May, 1958. Pp. Crown 8vo. 283. Price Card Board Cover Rs. 2.00; Library Edition, Rs. 3.00.*

A unique commentary of the *Gita* though not in the sacred language accompanied by texts. The author who has given us *Gita-Pravachane* of which the book under review is the English version could produce an orthodox commentary equal to any that there is. Instead he has chosen the layman's language. So has he avoided scriptural terminologies as far as has been possible without sacrificing scriptural approach. It is a commentary capable of satisfying any taste. The common man will find in it the wisdom and solace he needs, the scholar the intellectual fare he delights in, the seeker the light he seeks, the seer the life experiences of one who lives the life the Gita prescribes to compare his own experiences with.

The author does not plead for any of the *Vadas*—Adwaita or Dwaita. Nor is his key tuned to any particular note—action, devotion or realization. He has, therefore, seen further than many of his great predecessors just as a spectator sees more of the game than the participant.

But he has differed from them with a rare grace and charity and a humility all his own. The author sets forth his approach almost at the outset of the discourses:

"The Gita often uses old scriptural words in new sense. Grafting new meanings into old words is the non-violent way of bringing about thought-revolution. Vyasadeva was quite an adept in this art. This has given the words of the Gita wide connotation and an ever-refreshing flexibility. And this has left commentators free to interpret its words according to their light and need. From their stand-points those interpretations may be quite proper. And I hold that without taking exception to them, we are free to give them different meanings."

And that is that. He has given *vikarma* a meaning other than the accepted one and it has in its turn given so agreeable a new meaning to *yajna*, *dana* and *tapa*. Thus the author has struck out a line for himself.

Thirty years' deep study accompanied by deep thinking has gone to the making of *Gita-pravachane*. The author says somewhere:

"Chapter V took years of me in ascertaining the meaning of the *Gita*. I regard that chapter as the key to the *Gita*. And the key to that key is the eighteenth verse of Chapter IV—action in inaction and inaction in action. The meaning of it as I have understood, I have projected on *Gita-pravachane*. It is pervaded by it.

"*Karma* means performance of duties we are born to. *Vikarma* is the twin to it, *viz.*, assents of approval to external actions in the form of *yaga-yajnas* detailed one after another in Chapters VI to XVII. From the practice of *karma* and *vikarma* comes self-realization and from self-realization comes the state of ease called *akarma*. This state of ease may appear as two—(1) inaction in action and (2) action in inaction. The first is called *yoga* and the second *sannyasa*. They are one both in principle and practice. And the end-result of both is same—*moksha* . . ."

The book is a precious gift more than you think of. To read it is to commune with one who communes with his Maker through these talks.

A word about the translation. To translate a masterpiece is ever so difficult a job. Add to that the fact that the author is so great a master of expressions; he is so terse tart and at times elliptical. Yet the translation is fairly good though it leaves much to be desired. It is faithful to a fault. Indian idioms clothed in English garb will leave foreign readers guessing as to what they may mean. There are four instances of misparagraphing compared to the fifth Marathi edition. Instances of mistranslation are not numerous, nor are they so serious. A glossary should have been added. The paper used is good; the printing is excellent and so the get-up. There are two printing errors—one in page 130 and the other in page 191.

BIRENDRANATH GUHA

THE LANGUAGES OF INDIA (A Kaleidoscopic Survey): *Editors: V. K. Narasimhan, A. G. Venkatachary, V. K. N. Chari. Our India Directories and Publications, Private Ltd., Madras-18. Price Rs. 5.*

I have had occasion sometime back (September 1957, October 1958) to notice in these pages two valuable publications giving critical and historical accounts of the literature produced in the different regional languages of India. The book under review concerns itself with a study of different aspects of the languages, especially with their growth and development as also with 'a comparative study of linguistic peculiarities including scripts and sound-structures'. Contributions to the study are made by twenty writers all of whom are claimed to be 'front-rank scholars.' Usually one language is covered by one writer; there are a few which are dealt with by two writers each. A good many of the writers have not confined themselves to a treatment of the languages but have also—rather mainly—given scrappy accounts of literatures in them. On the whole the surveys, with a few honourable exceptions like the introductory essay on the languages of India by Dr. Sunitikumar Chatterji, are not generally happy. There are occasionally statements occurring in some of them which are confusing, *e.g.*, 'Hindi deviates rather too much from Sanskrit in spelling and pronunciation, whereas Bengali adheres to both as far as practicable' (p. 26)' 'Later on the language of Asoka's inscriptions came to be known as Prakrita' (p. 39). No uniform method of trans-literation appears to have been followed.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

THE BOOK OF MIRDAD—A LIGHT-HOUSE AND A HAVEN: *By Mikhail Naimy. Published by N. M. Tripathi Ltd., Princess Street, Bombay-2. Pp. 210. Price Rs. 7-8 or Sh. 15.*

The first edition of this book was brought out in Beirut, Lebanon, in 1948, after a certain Publishing House in London declined to handle it, because "it entails such a change from the normal Christian dogma" yet acknowledged it to be a "most unusual book."

Reviewing this book before the Indian Institute of Culture at Bangalore Mr. Gordon Muirhead called it a heart-seaching sermon, teaching the essence of religion, yet wholly free from dogma. Only poetry or music could adequently convey the almost inexpressible ideas in the several passages quoted. Dudley W. Barr who reviewed the book in the Canadian *Theosophist* observed, "Everyonce in so many decades a book is born, a book by the authority of its inner power quietly, effortlessly but inevitably moves forward through the crowded ranks of bookdom and assumes its place of seniority in the Vanguard. Such a book is the book of Mirdad and aspirants of this generation and generations to come will be under a debt of gratitude to the author."

The author, who is an acknowledged literary figure in the Middle East, belongs to Biskinta of Lebanon. He tells in this book the interesting story of spiritual pilgrimage in a mystic vein. The book, divided into forty chapters, is written in a language which is quite allegorical and Biblical. This book may be worthily compared with John Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress* and is immensely suggestive and instructive. Mirdad plays the part of a mystic teacher and reveals the secret mysteries of spiritual science. The thirteenth chapter contains inspiring sermons on prayer. Therein Mirdad says, "You pray in vain, when you address yourselves to any other gods but your very selves. And where is God that you shout out into His ear, your whims and vanities, your praises and plaints? Is He not in you and about you?"

This is what also Vedanta declares. In the Gita, Lord Krishna tells Arjun that God resides in the heart of all beings. In another place of the same chapter Mirdad says, "No fraction of Himself did God endow you with, for He is infractionable but with His Godhood entire, indivisible and unspeakable did He endow you all. What greater heritage can you aspire to have? And who or what can hinder you from coming there into except your own

timidity and blindness?" This exactly resounds like the essential message of our Vedanta.

The literary merits of this beautifully got-up cloth-bound volume are as excellent as those of his two English books—*Biography of Kahlil Gibran* and *Memoirs of a Vagrant Soul*, published by the Philosophical Library in New York. He has eighteen Arabic works so far published on poetry, drama, short stories and essays. They are very popular in the Arabic world. Seated like a sage in his solitary hermitage on the flint slopes of the majestic Mount Sanneen, 4500 feet high above the Mediterranean, the master mind educated in Palestine, Russia and U.S.A. moves his facile pen elegantly and produces original works which the reading public of the world peruse with interest and wonder.

SWAMI JAGADISWARANANDA

THE NEW DIMENSIONS OF PEACE: *y Chester Bowles. Published by Bantam ooks, Inc., 25 West 45th Street, New York-6, N. Y. Price 10 cents.*

Mr. Chester Bowles is well-known for his old thinking and bold speaking on politics nd matters political. *The New Dimensions of Peace* keeps up the reputation.

We live in an era of unprecedented opportunities and unprecedented perils at one and the same time. On the one hand, the progress of science and technology, by opening up new vistas of international co-operation, holds out the promise of a greater than ever future to Man. The new-fangled nuclear weapons and the threats of a nuclear war looming large on the horizon, on the other threaten our species with extinction.

The awakening of the oppressed and down-trodden humanity is one of the characteristics of this era of threats and opportunities. "Men and women all over the world," points out Wendell Wilkie, "are on the march physically, intellectually and spiritually. After centuries of ignorance and dull compliance, hundreds of millions of people . . . have opened the books. They are beginning to know that men's welfare throughout the world is interdependent. Men and women are conscious of their potential strength." (*One World*).

The challenge must be met. Failure to respond to the challenge of the age have the bane of many a mighty people and empire in the past. The challenge of our age, as Mr. Bowles points out, is the challenge of men and ideas. Referring to the rebuffs of America and the Western powers in Asia, Mr. Bowles observes, "Through these simple miscalculations runs the same common denominator; our excessive faith in military strength and our failure fully to understand what dynamic ideas can accomplish when keyed to the aspirations of hungry and frustrated peoples." Little wonder that America and her allies are losing the "battle for the minds of men" in Asia and also in Africa. This failure accounts for the steadily growing popularity of the leftist ideology all over the Asian and the African world.

"A century that began with Lenin, Sun Yat-sen, Gandhi and Wilson is certain to be shaped by ideas." America has many advantages over the U.S.S.R., her rival for the world-leadership. These advantages, Mr. Bowles frankly admits, are neutralised by certain weaknesses, such as the isolation of many Americans from the hopes and aspirations of a majority of the world's people, their ignorance of Asia, Africa and South America, the belief of many in other countries that the American nation created out of its "faith in the liberty and integrity" of the individual as it was, now pins its "faith on money, the military and moralizing," glaring contradictions in some spheres of the American national life, public statements by leaders of American opinion, which make America appear "calculating and selfish" and the like.

These weaknesses must be removed and must depend on the individual American. "If a sizeable number (of Americans) will begin to live by the faith that (they) are their brothers' keeper (they) as a nation will begin to provide (themselves), with purposes mighty enough to constitute the 'moral equivalent of war.' Once (they) begin in this way to solve the problems of Class and War, (they) will find as a by-product that (they) have achieved the only genuine commitment of Communism possible."

The author's prescription merits a careful consideration and is well worth a trial. By putting an end to the cold war it may make the ideal of peaceful co-existence a reality. The world will be united in that case by a heart unity and humanity will open a new chapter in its history.

SUDHANSU BIMAL MOOKHERJI

HINDI

JEEVAN-DARSHAN: *Published by Manav-Seva-Sangh, Vrinaban, Mutha, with a Foreword by Shri Madanmohan Varma, Member, Rajasthan Public Service Commission, Price Rs. 2.*

This is a collection of thoughts on various aspects of Human Life, 'dispersed meditation' by a holy man who does not court publicity line, who has already secured for himself a place in the hearts of serious-minded readers of Hindi. Let us take up the subject of rest. The writer has devoted two chapters on the subject; the importance of rest and the way to take rest. How many thoughts are folded up in these two!

As sister Devaki has put it in the preface: "The language is difficult; the arguments are incontrovertible; but through the medium of the incidents of our daily life, the explanations have been given with great simplicity. Whatever has been said has been said in a positive manner." There is no air of speculation about it. Such a book should be read by serious people all over the country.

P. R. SEN

GUJARATI

1. VASANTNUN AGMAN (The Advent of Spring): *By Chhotubhai J. Bhatt. Pp. 29. Price four annas.*

2. ADALATNE ANGNI (On the Threshold of a Judicial Court): *By Keshavlal M. Shah, B.A., LL.B. Pp. 277. Price Rs. 1-8.*

3. HINDUSTANI SANGIT: *By Mulsukhlal A. Divan. Pp. 88. Price 8 annas.*

All three published by the Society for the Encouragement of Cheap Literature and printed at its own printing press, Ahmedabad, 1951.

An admirable private school called "Shreyas" is being conducted at Shahibag in Ahmedabad, for very small children. *The Advent of Spring* is written for them in very simple language, printed in bold type and is illustrated and also cheap. It is bound to be popular. Justice N. H. Bhagwati of the Bombay High Court leads off with a Foreword to the work of Mr. Shah who in popular language has furnished a guide to laymen as to how to approach Judicial Courts, in case they have to do so. In the third book, the writer has illustrated with apt illustrations the different *ragas* of Indian music and their significance. It is a useful book, specially for beginners.

K. M. J.

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Indian Periodicals

East and West
The Cultural Bridge Today

The second part of the article "East and West" by Professor H. D. Lewis appearing in *The Aryan Path* is given below:

It is possible, however, to be unduly cautious and down to earth, as we shall see. Some Western philosophers, in a healthy reaction against the excessive and occasionally facile optimism of their idealist predecessors, seem to have swung to an even more vicious extreme by repudiating all forms of speculation altogether. The time now seems to be ripe for putting the lessons learnt from the philosophy of analysis, and its often disconcerting techniques, to a new purpose in the form of a constructive philosophy which shall essay afresh the task of seeing how things look as a whole or unity—the traditional task of philosophy. Increasingly philosophers are coming round to this view, and wondering what the future has in store for us now that we turn again to metaphysical problems fresh from our bath of linguistic analysis and common-sense philosophy.

It is here, at this vital growing point of contemporary Western philosophy, that the impact of Eastern thought, both ancient and modern, can be peculiarly fruitful, much more so, I am sure, than Western philosophers generally realize.

This is partly because these twin theses of sceptical positivism and constructive metaphysics appear to have been more subtly intertwined in Eastern thought than has been the case in the West, where rival philosophies alternated and opposed one another more sharply. But this in itself is closely bound up with certain insights into ultimate problems which have a peculiar relevance to the present state of Western philosophy.

This shows itself most clearly in regard to the way we should think about God. Contemporary philosophers, in turning again to religious problems, have realized more effectively than in the past, and especially the recent past, that, at the core of these problems, they encounter an ultimate and irreducible mystery. This is the crux of our problem. At the edges of all reality and the limits of experience there lies something we cannot hope ever to fathom. We are not content to say that the world just happens to exist, and even our sceptical analytical thinkers are showing an extraordinary interest in such questions as "Could the world come to be out of nothing?" But if we feel impelled to say "No" to such questions, we cannot venture further and say anything about the all-encompassing mystery in which we find ourselves set, for by so doing we bring it under the sort of explanations which hold within the world as we find it, and not at the limits. This is where the traditional and peculiar formulations of the causal arguments for the existence of God usually come to grief. But somehow we feel we must come to terms with the mystery which confronts the discerning mind everywhere, and that not by subjecting it as the idealists did to the principles of our own understanding.

A singular reflection of this tantalizing situation of the finite mind confronted with the "unconditioned" from which somehow it derives is found in a story from a text quoted by the thinker and commentator Shankara, but not otherwise known. It tells of a pupil who pleads with his teacher to expound to him the nature of the Absolute Self understood religiously as Brahman. To each request the teacher turns a deaf ear until at last he answers to the insistent "Teach me, Sir" with the words "I am teaching you, but you do not follow; the Self is silence." Few observations could accord better with the outlook of contemporary Western philosophers turning again to religious questions. But unhappily they only too often understand this silence in a wholly negative way by reducing the transcendent reference of religion to disguised assertions about the present world, some saying that religion is a matter solely of subjective religious emotions, and others, like Professor Braithwaite of Cambridge, equating religion with a moral policy. The problem is to make the silence a pregnant, articulate one without disrupting it; and I believe that if we discover what an Eastern teacher would really mean by "silence" in the context in question we shall find something peculiarly needed today for the enrichment and directing of our present experience. Modes of contemplation, detachment and spiritual disciplines have their place here. But these, in themselves, are not the matters of most interest; or rather, their interest is bound up with appreciation of ways in which the inexpressible can be made a matter of present quickened experience.

Let me now attempt a few more precise indications of the sort of advances which seem to me possible in the ways suggested. One of the most important, I think, concerns our understanding of Buddhism and especially the assertion so commonly made that Buddhism is a religion without God. This subject is too vast to be dealt with closely here, and there are by now many forms of Buddhism. I am thinking primarily of what seem to be the earlier and more authentic forms of Buddhism, generally taken to be the most obviously atheistic. Now I do not believe that many who know properly what they are about today would consider Nirvana in Buddhist teaching and aspiration to be a purely negative conception, to mean sheer literal extinction. However obsessed the Indian mind may have been with the sadness and pain of the endless cycle of re-birth, the more positive ways in which Nirvana is often alluded to, the peace, delight and blessedness associated with the attainment of it, the rapturous ways in which it is hymned, suggest clearly more than release from unendurable wretchedness; there is some state to be attained; and scholarly investigation of the etymology of the term Nirvana and others associated with it fully confirms this. The real question is whether Nirvana is merely a state of ourselves. Consideration of the Vedic background from which Buddhism cannot be dissociated has much relevance here, since the preoccupation of the Vedic writings, and especially of the Upanishads, with some supreme transcendent reality is unmistakable. But two other matters are more directly relevant. The first is the reluctance of Buddhism to describe the goal of salvation in any terms other than the path by which it is to be attained; we must be content to know the way. The second is the seemingly downright refusal of Buddha, as represented at least in the Pali Canon, to countenance any kind of metaphysical speculation. No modern positivist has been more anxious to turn his disciples from idle and wasteful controversy about questions to which no answer is conceivable, questions which are not real questions at all; and it has been a source of much surprise to me, and an indication of the not insignificant limitation of range and interest of much recent empiricism, that our out-and-out positivists have not made more, for reinforcement and illustration of their view, of the extremely positivist character of much of the substance of the Pali Canon.

Among the questions which Buddha would regard it as idle and misleading to ask are the questions whether the soul or the world are eternal, whether the soul survives the dissolution of the body and retains consciousness after death, together with questions about finite and infinite, the caused or fortuitous origin of the world, and so on, the list in one place mounting to sixty-two questions. A Western philosophical sceptic might well be delighted with this, as with the very Humeian view of the self which often goes with it. But it is nonetheless doubtful grist to his mill. For it is positivism with a difference, and just as some positivists in the West have been a little embarrassed and much puzzled by the curiously mystical facet of the writings of their main apostle, Wittgenstein, so they would be even more embarrassed by the mystical setting of Buddhist scepticism. And, since I must be brief, I suggest what we find essentially in the seemingly rigorous and unrelieved scepticism of Buddha is something closely akin to the *via negativa* of Western religious thought and the scepticism which the eminent theologian Paul Tillich declared to be inseparable from belief. I suggest that the experience which Buddha himself had at his enlightenment, toned and conditioned by his natural environment as authentic religious experience is, was an impressive form of the sort of experience which others identify more expressly as union with a supreme unconditioned reality; and while this experience has, from the Christian point of view, certain limitations of con-

tent and understanding, due mainly to the absence of the substance that comes from the patterning of kindred experiences where they have elsewhere been significantly linked and extended in association with a very distinctive history which they conditioned—yet the experience of Buddha is in one sense highly rarefied and illuminating. For it gives us the impression of an ultimate, and in some way completely satisfying, mystery which is only found in its invasion of present experience. What Buddha, I submit, was most concerned to avoid was the travesty and distortion of such experiences in crudely anthropomorphic and rationalistic accounts of them and the ascription to the object of them of identity and personality in an all-too-human and finite form. He might not have fully appreciated what induced his revulsion against metaphysics, but the motivation of it is plainly not primarily philosophical, but religious. And if we ponder this I think we shall learn a great deal about the proper way in which we are to think of the Beyond as also present, not in the form of pantheism or of the more commonplace changes we ring on the themes of immanence and transcendence, but in a new and exciting apprehension of the extremely subtle and elusive interweaving of the Beyond, which really is Beyond—eternal and immutable—with the passing scene of our present existense; so that in a way there is nothing but the shifting scene, and at the same time there is infnitely more.

To make this plainer is far beyond the limits of this discussion. I do not wish to draw striking comparisons of substance in the content of various cultures and religions—that is not at all my theme and that is why I agree that we have to heed the cautious warnings of Professor Zaehner. But I am trying to give as clear a hint as I can in this article of the way in which the new understanding we have achieved in quite recent philosophy may enable us, on the one hand, to understand much better how a religion like Buddhism is to be assessed, and also exhibit how much we have to learn from it for the refinement of the understanding we are just now achieving ourselves. There can be few things more beneficial and instructive for Western philosophy today than to turn carefully and attentively to the main Buddhist writings, and examine them afresh—they are much neglected—in the light of the present state of Western thought and culture.

I am sure we can approach in the same way some of the leading conceptions of other cultures and religions. Behind a great deal of Chinese thought and the religion of Confucianism, for example, lies an intriguing and subtle notion of a Heaven and Earth relationship; and what is distinctive of this is again that there is some reality too elusive for us to lay hold on it directly and describe it, which is nonetheless a power working for righteousness in the present world. It is a great mistake, in my view, to regard Confucianism as merely a social and ethical system; but what there is over and above this is not clearly defined; it is to be sought in some reference beyond the here and now which we discover and make specific only within the here and now. Rightly understood, this has also a great deal to teach us today, and brings us to an impressive meeting point of cultures. So do the recent attempts of thinkers like Sri Aurobindo to give Hinduism a more dynamic quality than it has usually possessed, for this again is found in some transformation of the present by infusion into it of something which is not merely present.

None of these things can be properly illustrated in a few pages. But they do provide pointers to ways in which we may fructify one another's cultures and apprehend our differences more correctly—and remove many of them.

In politics, faced with new difficulties and new opportunities, we hear much at present about summit talks. The time is ripe for something like this at the cultural level also. Scholars do meet, but not enough and not in sufficiently sustaining ways. One of the urgent problems of today is to find the way to the summit, not merely in politics but in matters of thought and culture as well, so that understanding, instead of being a matter of incidental strategy, may be permanent, true and deep.

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

From India to Bolivia

Unesco Chronicle, January-February, 1959, writes:

Two cosmic ray laboratories—one high in the Bolivian Andes at Chacaltaya and the other at Ahmedabad in the Indian state of Bombay—are now working closely together thanks to a link supplied by Unesco in the form of a scientific mission, three fellowships and research apparatus.

Unesco brought them together as part of its activity in conection with the International Geophysical Year. In all, Unesco awarded a dozen fellowships upon the recommendation of the Special Committee for the IGY, created by the International Council of Scientific Unions. Most of these fellowships, intended mainly for scientists, were granted sufficiently in advance to enable their holders to return to their own countries in time to participate in the International Geophysical Year.

The case of the Chacaltaya laboratory was not quite the same. Created by the University of La Paz in Bolivia's capital, this laboratory is the world's highest—it is located at an altitude of 16,000 feet—and it has been studying cosmic rays for the past 10 years. Scientists from the world over have worked there and it is a true offspring of international co-operation. The University of La Paz—known as the Universidad Mayor de San Andres—has received help in establishing it from the Brazilian Centre of Research in the Physical Sciences, the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, the University of Chicago and several other foreign institutions.

Unesco has been associated with Chacaltaya since its foundation. In 1956, the University of La Paz and Unesco's Science Co-operation Office for Latin America organized a course in high-altitude physics which drew some fifteen scientists from various countries. Just about the same time, the Bolivian Government requested help from Unesco in developing the laboratory. A project was drawn up under Unesco's Participation in Member States' Activities Programme—it called for the sending of an expert and the supplying of physics apparatus.

The expert was a Spanish scientist, Rafael Armenteros. He was particularly qualified for his assignment: an experienced physicist, he held a diploma from the Imperial College of Science at the University of London, he had won his doctor's degree in science at the University of Paris, and he had worked both at the French National Scientific Research Centre and with the celebrated Professor Leprince-Ringuet at the Ecole Polytechnique in Paris.

Mr. Armenteros's mission began on 1 January 1957, and he had prepared it carefully. To learn about conditions at Chacaltaya, he consulted British and American physicists who had worked there. He kept a watchful eye on the manufacturing of the apparatus he needed—it was constructed at the imperial College in London and tested in his presence. This problem of equipment was a particularly knotty one and Unesco agreed to grant $10,000 to help solve it.

Once in Chacaltaya, Mr. Armenteros set up his new apparatus and put it into operation. Then he went to work on another problem: the training of scientists to use it. Here, he realized that he would have to begin by teaching nuclear physics and he organized seminars and special courses. He gave lectures, he led symposia and did everything in his power to familiarize the laboratory's staff with the research methods they would need.

While Mr. Armenteros was working in Bolivia, Unesco awarded a fellowship to a member of the laboratory's staff, Eduardo Maria Maldonado. First, Mr. Maldonado spent six months at the Imperial College in London where he studied cosmic rays, electromagnetism and wave mechanics, and took part in laboratory work. Then he went to the Jungfraujoch in Switzerland to look at research in the field of high-energy particles. Still in Switzerland, he visited the European Nuclear Research Centre near Geneva and then finished his studies in the Pyrenees in France at the laboratory operated by the University of Toulouse on the Pic du Midi, where he worked on cosmic rays. He returned to Chacaltaya in time to take part in an international exchange of data on cosmic rays.

Another young Bolivian physicist received a one-year fellowship to study at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology in the United States. Both fellowships had been awarded by Unesco to train specialists who would be able to assist Mr. Armenteros and to carry on his work after he had left the country.

Meanwhile, Indian scientists on the other side of the earth were carrying on similar research at four stations located near Ahmedabad. They were very anxious to have some comparative data on research at Chacaltaya in order to determine with greater accuracy the variation of cosmic ray intensity at different altitudes. While the Indian stations were at almost opposite poles from the Chacaltaya Laboratory—68 degrees west longitude and 16 degrees south latitude in the case of Chacaltaya; 75 degrees east longitude and 22 degrees north latitude for the Indian stations—there was a difference in altitude. Chacaltaya was at 16,000 feet but the Indian stations had been set up some 5,000 feet lower at an altitude of 11,000 feet.

At this point, the Indian Government asked Unesco to help. Unesco awarded a fellowship to the Ahmedabad laboratory which was granted to a laboratory staff member, Narayan Waman Nerurkar. Mr. Nerurkar had special apparatus manufactured in India and Unesco took charge of transporting it to the Bolivian Andes. One month after the beginning of the International Geophysical Year on 4 August 1957, the Indian scientist began to work.

For nine months—that is, the duration of his fellowship—he familiarized the staff of the Chacaltaya laboratory with the apparatus he had brought. At the same time he conducted experiments and studied the analysis of relative data on the effects of meteorological factors upon the hard component of cosmic rays and upon cosmic ray showers. He also gave a series of lectures on 'Time Variations of Cosmic Ray Showers' —a subject which was on the programme of the International Geophysical Year.

In this way, a continuous collaboration was established between Bolivia and India —to be exact, between the two laboratories —in what is now the international field of cosmic ray studies. The idea of comparing results obtained in the two laboratories proved fruitful.

Mr. Nerurkar was nearing the end of his stay in Bolivia when it became obvious that he could achieve even more interesting results if the fellowship were extended. Unesco gave him an additional grant for three months of study at Cornell University in the United States. There, he did further research upon cosmic ray showers.

Then the Bolivian Government decided it needed Mr. Nerurkar's services at Chacaltaya and Bolivia asked Unesco to appoint him as an expert so that he could help develop the laboratory's activities. In other words, a former Unesco fellow was asked to become a expert upon the request of a government satisfied with his work both as a student and as a teacher and an adviser. The Bolivian request is now being studied.

As for Mr. Armenteros, his mission ended last March. He completed it successfully and he was awarded the title of honorary professor at the Science Faculty of the University of La Paz.

And the world's highest cosmic ray laboratory is now functioning even more efficiently in Bolivia thanks to international co-operation in general and—in particular—a helping hand from Unesco.

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New Stage in Communist Construction

This is an excerpt from the *Report* given by N. R. Khruschev to the 21st extradinary Congress of C.P.S.U:

There is, first, the question of the two phases of communist society and the laws governing the growing of socialism into communism.

The founders of scientific communism —Marx, Engels, Lenin—indicated that following the overthrow of capitalist and landlord domination, society would pass through two stages. The first would be socialism, and the second, higher stage, classless communist society.

This Marxist-Leninist prediction of two phases of communism has been substantiated by the development of Soviet society. The Soviet people have built a socialist society and have entered a new period, in which socialism grows into communism.

Marxist-Leninist theory, and our practical experience in building socialist society, enable us to draw some important conclusions concerning the nature of our forward movement to communism.

First, the transition from the socialist to the higher stage is a law-governed historical process that cannot be violated or bypassed at will. The building of communist society is the ultimate goal of the Marxist-Leninist Parties. But society cannot leap straight from capitalism to communism without going through the socialist stage. "From capitalism," Lenin wrote, "mankind can pass directly only to socialism, i.e., to the social ownership of the means of production and the distribution of products according to the amount of work performed by each individual. Our Party looks farther ahead: socialism must inevitably pass gradually into communism, upon the banner of which is inscribed the motto, 'from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs'."

Some comrades might, of course, suggest that we accelerate the introduction of the principles of communism. But to pass prematurely to distribution according to needs, at a time when the economic conditions for this do not, as yet, exist, when we have not yet secured an abundance of material values, and when people have not yet been prepared to live and work in a communist way—would only impair the work of building communism. It should be borne in mind that with the present level of production there is not enough of the good things of life for all, and we cannot as yet fully satisfy the requirements of the people. This "equalitarian communism" would only eat up our stockpiles, make extended reproduction impossible and block successful expansion of the economy.

We must advance step by step, creating the material and spiritual requisites for a methodical transition to communism.

Second, notwithstanding all the differences between the communist and socialist phases, there is no wall separating these two stages of social development. Communism stems from socialism as its direct continuation. It would be wrong, erroneous, to believe that communism will somehow appear on the scene suddenly. Communist forms of labour and industrial organization as well as such forms of satisfying the requirements of our people as public catering, boarding schools, kindergartens and day nurseries are already developing on an increasing scale. There are many tangible and visible features of communism in our society, and they will continue to develop.

Third, gradual transition to communism should not be understood as a decelerated movement. On the contrary, it is a period of rapid development of modern industry, of large-scale mechanized agriculture, rapid progress in all economic and cultural fields with the active and conscious participation of the millions who are building communist society. This objective process of socialism growing into communism can be accelerated on the basis of the high level of material production attained in the period of socialism. There must be no undue haste, no hurried introuction of measures that have not yet matured. This would lead to distortions and would discredit our cause. But, on the other hand, we must not stop long at what has already been achieved; that would lead to stagnation.

The country's fundamental practical task today is to *build up the material and technical base of Communist Society, secure a further powerful expansion of the socialist productive forces.*

Why is this now our principal task in

economic development? The present level of socialist production does not, as yet, enable us to create the abundance of material and cultural values necessary to satisfy the rising requirements of our people and ensure their harmonious development. But communism is impossible without that. Consequently, the first job is further to develop the production forces and step up the production of material values. Communism is feasible only if we surpass the output levels of the leading capitalist countries and raise labour productivity to a level way above that of capitalism.

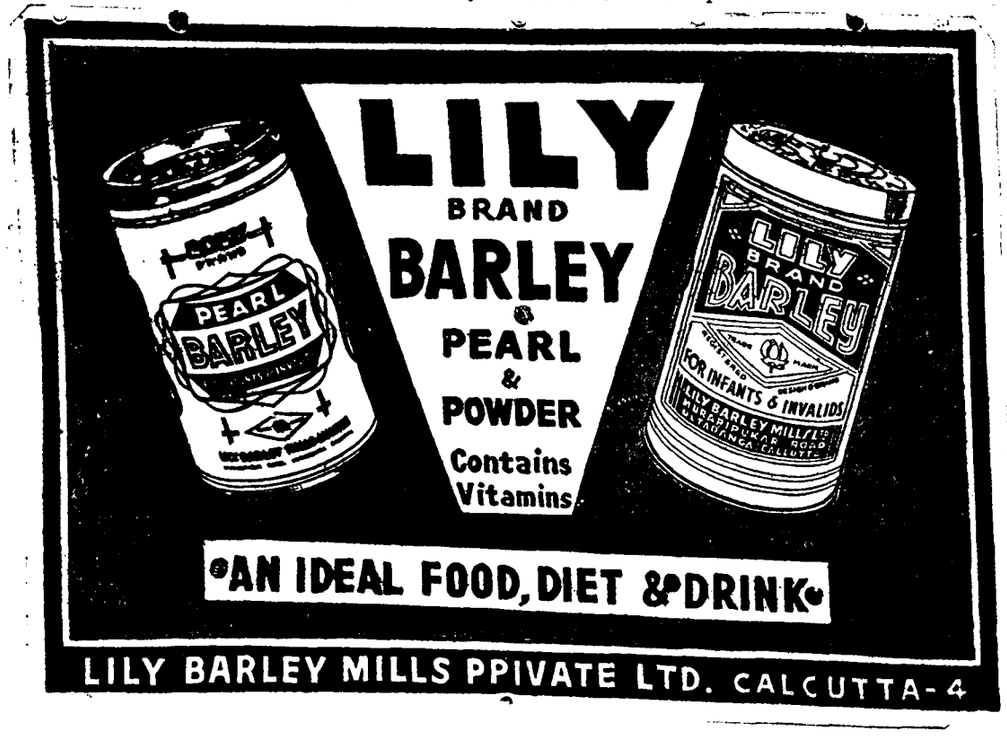
Building the material and technical base of communism implies, first and foremost, a highly developed, modern industry, total electrification, scientific and technical progress in every branch of industry and agriculture, comprehensive mechanization and automation of all production processes, maximum utilization of new power sources and our rich natural resources, new synthetic and other materials, a higher cultural and technical level of the people, further improvement in the organization of production, and higher labour productivity.

It would be an oversimplification to believe that when we catch up with the United States economically, that will signify completion of communist construction. No, that will not be the end goal—only a decisive stage in the competition with capitalism.

Social development confronts us with another major problem of scientific communism, namely *distribution of the material and cultural values produced by society among all its members*. Marxism-Leninism teaches us that in social development distribution is not a determining, but a derivative, factor and that its forms and principles depend on the mode and quantity of production.

Under socialism distribution is, basically, founded on the principle of from each according to his abilities, and to each according to his labour. This means that the biggest share of the material and cultural product is distributed in accordance with the labour contribution each members of society makes to social prduction.

Under capitalism distribution is, in effect, based not on work, but primarily on capital, and is regulated by the laws of value, profit and rent. For that reason the biggest incomes go not to those who work more, but to those who have more capital.



It will thus be seen that there is a fundamental difference in the way the values produced are distributed under capitalism and socialism.

The socialist principle of distribution according to work is based on the understanding that, in the socialist stage equalitarian distribution is impossible. Distribution according to work is the only reasonable and just principle under prevailing conditions. We cannot disregard the fact that levelling would lead to an unjust method of distribution: the bad worker and the good would receive an equal share, which would be to the advantage of slackers. The material incentive for people to work better, raise productivity and produce more, would be dampened. Levelling would mean not transition to communism, but the discrediting of communism.

Regulated distribution of the social product among the members of society disappears only under communism, when the productive forces have reached a stage of expansion sufficient to provide an abundance of all the necessary consumer goods, and when all people voluntarily and irrespective of their share of material values, work to the full measure of their ability, knowing that this is necessary for the common weal.

There is a vulgarized conception of Communist society as a loose and unorganized anarchistic mass of human beings. No, it will be a highly organized and closely co-ordinated commonwealth of men of labour. For the machine to be properly operated, every worker will have to perform his production job and social functions in a definite time and according to a definite system. The highly mechanized and automated industry of the future will not require long hours of work. There will be ample time for study, art, literature, sport and so forth.

The question of how to *develop and bring closer together the collective-farm and public forms of socialist property* acquires great theoretical and practical importance in Communist construction.

It should be perfectly clear that in the future the collective-farm-co-operative, and state forms of property will merge into an integral Communist property. Why then, it might be asked, are we not pressing for their merger, and consider that in the present stage we must develop collective-farm-co-operative property alongside with state property?

Property forms cannot be changed at will. They develop in accordance with economic laws and depend on the nature and level of the pro-



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ductive forces. The collective-farm system fully accords with the present level and development requirements of the productive forces in agriculture. It makes for the most effective use of modern farm machinery, which is impossible under parcelled-out small peasant farming. Now that the collective farms are being directly supplied with powerful modern machinery, they are increasing output at a more rapid pace.

The continued development of the productive forces will tend to raise the degree of socialization of collective-farm production and bring collective-farm-co-operative property into closer approximation with public property, gradually obliterating the line dividing the two. This is shown by the following characteristic processes:

(i) Uninterrupted increase of collective-farm non-distributable assets, which are the economic basis for continued expansion of collective-farm production and gradual approximation of collective-farm and public property.

(ii) Enlargement of collective-farm production to include more and more branches of agriculture.

(iii) Inter-farm production ties and diverse forms of co-operation. These are being more widely applied, and will inevitably develop on a bigger scale still in the future.

(iv) Agricultural electrification, mechanization and automation will lead to the pooling —in a certain sense even the merger—of collective-farm production facilities with state and public facilities. Agricultural labour will gradually become a variety of industrial labour.

The merger of the collective-farm and public forms of property is historically inevitable. It will be brought about not by dispensing with collective-farm property, but by raising its level with the aid and support of the socialist state.

The merger of collective-farm-co-operative property with state property into an integral public property is not a simple organizational and economic measure, but is the solution of the cardinal problem of bridging the essential distinctions between town and country.

Parallel with these problems of economic development, we are squarely faced with *the problems of the political organization of society, the state and administration in the period of extensive building of communism.*

Marxism-Leninism teaches us that under communism the state will wither away and that the functions of public administration will no longer have a political character, and will pass under the people's direct administration. But we should not take an oversimplified view of the process. We should not imagine that the withering away of the state will resemble the falling of leaves in autumn when the trees are left bare.

The withering away of the state, if we approach the question dialectically, implies the development of the socialist state into communist public self-administration. For under communism, too, there will remain certain public functions similar to those now performed by the state, but their nature, and the methods by which they will be exercised will differ from those obtaining in the present stage.

Now that the building of socialism is no longer confined to one country and there exists a world socialist system, *new theoretical problems have arisen in the struggle for the victory of socialism and communism.*

The victory of socialism in the U.S.S.R. and the formation of a world socialist system immeasurably strengthen the forces of the international working-class movement and open up new vistas for it. The brilliant scientific prediction Vladimir Ilyich Lenin made in his last pronouncement is now coming true: "In the last analysis," he said, "the outcome of the struggle will be determined by the fact that Russia, India, China, etc., account for the overwhelming majority of the population of the globe. And it is precisely this majority that, during the past few years, has been drawn into the struggle for emancipation with extraordinary rapidity, so that in this respect there cannot be the slightest shadow of doubt what the final outcome of the world struggle will be. In this sense, the complete victory of socialism is fully and absolutely assured."

ERRATUM

The Modern Review for June, 1959 ("Iswarchandra Pathabhaban"), p. 468, col. 2, l. 25: *Read*—of the members of the family the whole *for* of peaceful . . . extreme.

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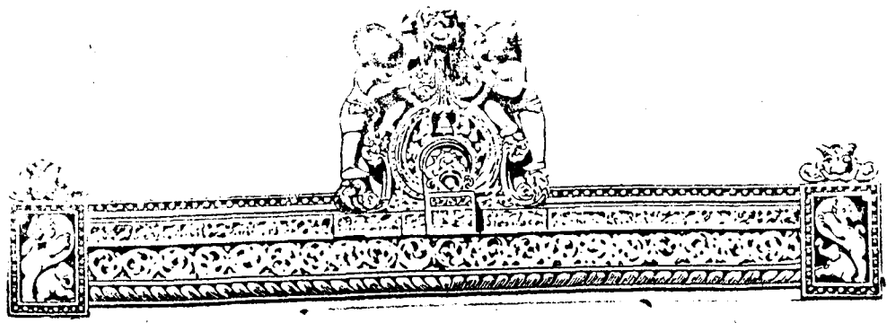
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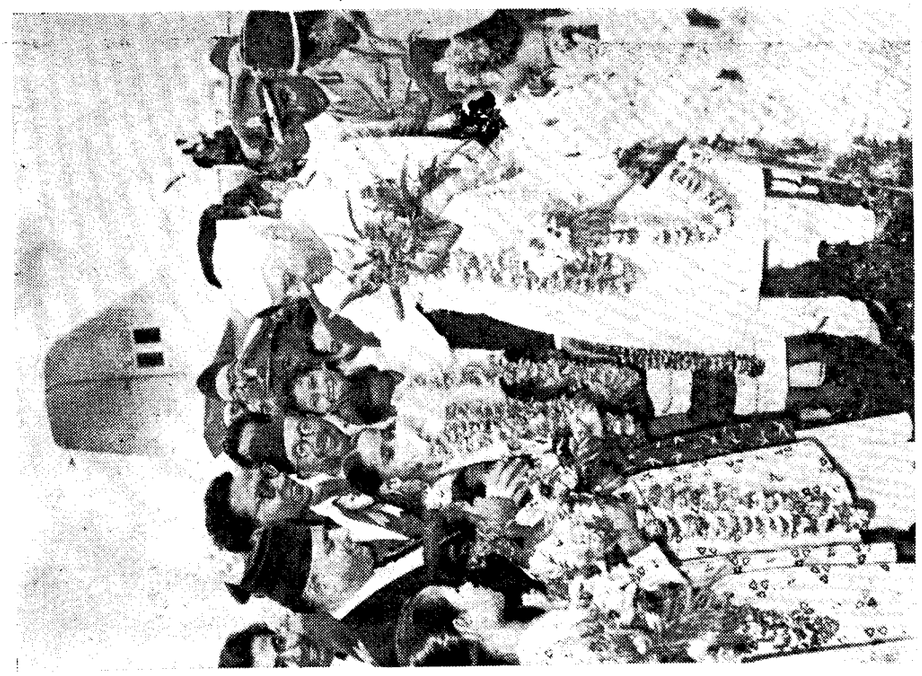
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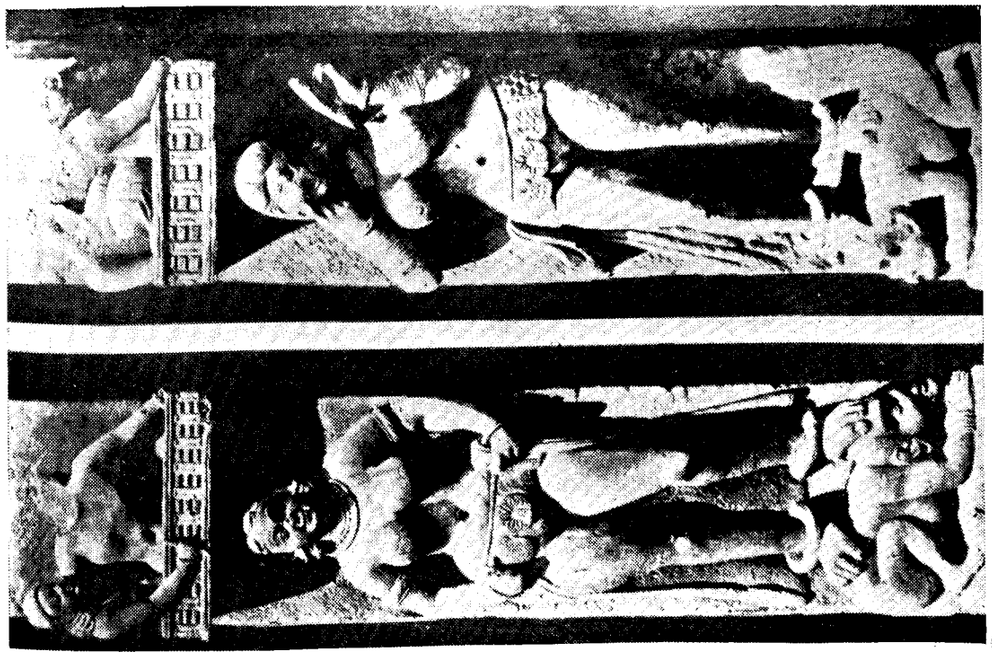


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Shri Jawaharlal Nehru receiving garlands and bouquets from children who were present to greet him at the Gaucher airstrip, Kathmandu, Nepal



Two railing pillars from Bhuteshwar, Mathura (*Kushana period, C. 2nd century B.C.*)



IN PLUMAGE GAY
By Rabindranath Roy

THE MODERN REVIEW

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NOTES

Kerala

Kerala is the burning question of the day. That the agitation is a mass upsurge of the people of that small State cannot now be denied even by the Communists, however much they use dialectics in the attempt to confuse issues.

Kerala is the smallest of the 14 States in the Indian Union, with an area of 14,937 sq. miles and a population of about 14 millions. And in this small State more than 75,000 people have courted arrest—and are still doing so—despite police opening fire on four occasions, killing 16 people including a woman and wounding over a hundred. Lathi charges are the order of the day, taking place all over the country, to disperse picketers and processionists and men, women and children, young and old, are taking part in the movement. Fifty thousand special police have been enlisted, we are told, all Communist party rankers, and the government has been trying to enforce law and order therewith, as yet without any degree of success.

The question is whether it is a mass conspiracy to overthrow a government established, according to democratic procedure, by the majority party in the legislature—however minute that be—by the combined opposition, or whether it is a mass demonstration of a democratic minority, which constitutes about 45 per cent of the population, against the attempt to destroy the inherent rights of the people through thinly-veiled totalitarian enactments, as in the Education Act and the Land policy.

The Party in power and the Communist party in India say that these are large-scale disturbances and it is a conspiracy. Indeed, the C.P.I. has gone further and said that if the Centre intervenes then it would create disturbances along the same lines all over the country. This the Government of India, if it has any guts, should take as a challenge and prepare accordingly. For, if it falters at such a puerile threat then it would be putting all disruptive activities at a premium.

The combined opposition has submitted a charge-sheet to the President, to justify the movement which they claim is a mass upsurge of the democratic section of the peoples of Kerala, who are fighting, by peaceful methods, the evil forces of Communism.

We are in the dark about the contents of the charge-sheet, which is due to be made public soon. And until then no comments are possible beyond saying that a long-term and large-scale enquiry is clearly called for. It is futile to look to the Constitution, which is as faulty and incomplete as possible. The framers of the Constitution were people learned in law but ignorant in the extreme about the exigencies of democracy. The law-breaker has all the advantages of committing all the crimes imaginable and yet reaping the benefits of the Constitution, which is like the Procrustean bed, only it is the law-abiding citizen who has his head chopped off because he does not fit the bed.

Co-operative Movement in India

The co-operative movement in India although started more than fifty years ago was almost in a state of decadence before independence. Since the attainment of independence all-out efforts are being directed towards reorganising and developing the movement. The progress of the co-operative movement since independence has become steady, although still much remains to be done and achieved in this respect. The total number of co-operative societies which increased from an average of 159,185 for the five years ended June 1950 to 244,769 in 1956-57, further increased to 257,824 by the end of June 1958. The membership of primary societies also increased during the year 1957-58 from 19.37 million to 21.46 million. The working capital of the co-operative societies at the end of June 1958 amounted to Rs. 697 crores as against Rs. 568 crores during the preceding year. The average of the working capital stood at Rs. 189 crores for the five years from 1946 to 1950.

At the end of June 1958, the number of co-operative societies per one lakh of inhabitants was 64.69 as against 62.4 a year before, and the number of members of primary societies per one thousand inhabitants rose from 49.4 to 54. On the basis of a population of 397.37 million and on the assumption that an average family comprises five members, it is estimated by the Reserve Bank that about 107.5 million or nearly 27 per cent of the population are being served by co-operative societies as compared with 25 per cent during 1957. There has been a considerable fall in the number of societies that went into liquidation during 1958. The number of societies that went into liquidation in 1958 was 2,081, as against 2,258 during 1957. This indicates an improvement and stability in the position of the co-operative societies in the country.

The credit societies still form the bulk of the movement. They are of two types: societies engaged in short-term credit operations and those engaged in long-term credit operations. The short-term and medium-term credits are provided by three classes of societies, namely, (a) primary credit societies—agricultural and non-agricultural, (b) Central co-operative banks and (c) State co-operative banks. The long-term credits are given by Central land mortgage banks and primary land mortgage banks. Agricultural credit societies form the base of the co-operative movement in India and they are the most important sector of the movement. At the end of June 1958, there were 166,543 agricultural credit societies and they constituted about 64.9 per cent of the total number of societies. They had a membership of 10.22 million.

A State-wise distribution of the movement shows that Uttar Pradesh has the largest number of agricultural credit societies with 44,060, Bombay following next with 18,345 societies and Madhya Pradesh is third with 16,750 societies. The non-agricultural credit societies, consisting of urban banks, employees' credit societies and other special types of credit societies also increased in number from 10,150 in 1957 to 10,43 during 1958. Their membership also increased from 3.24 million to 3,67 million Their working capital stood at Rs. 102.53 crores in 1958, as against Rs. 100.41 crores in 1957.

The number of State co-operative banks declined from 23 to 21 owing to amalgamation of apex banks in some States. The owned funds of the State co-operative banks increased by 36 per ent and deposits by 18.4 per cent. At the end of June 1958, there were 15 central land mortgage banks with a paid-up capital of Rs. 2.26 crores. The assistance given to different types of co-operative societies by State Government by way of contribution to their share capital rose from Rs. 7.74 crores in 1957 to Rs. 16.49 crores in 1958.

Foreign Investments in India

Underdeveloped countries have to depend greatly on the inflow of private foreign capital for industrial development. Before the second world war, Britain was the traditional supplier of industrial finance to such countries, particularly to

her dominions and colonies. During and immediately after the second world war, British economy having been totally shattered, the flow of developent capital from Britain almost stopped. To reorganise the economies of the war-devastated countries of Europe, the Marshall Aid plan was devised and this was a form of financial aid from one State to another. This greatly helped these countries to reorganise their industries.

Now those countries have again undertaken to export capital to other areas which lack development finance. A UNO study—the International Flow of Private Capital, 1956-58—indicates the flow of private foreign capital to the underdeveloped regions of the world. Now the prospects for such capital appear to have improved and the backward countries are receiving private development finance, but the distribution is very uneven as the countries needing such capital most are not receiving to the needed extent. The study indicates that the most significant development of recent years is the emergence of western European countries as important suppliers of private capital. But while the countries of Asia and Africa need most the development finance, the inflow of private foreign capital to these areas has been very small. The countries in Latin America are favoured by private investors and private development finance is coming in large volume to these countries. Another significant development in this connection is the enactment of legislative measures in underdeveloped areas designed to attract the inflow of private capital.

The UNO study makes the observation that during the four years 1955-58, the total outflow of capital from the exporting countries (including the retained profits of foreign branches and subsidiaries) exceeded $17 billion, the year 1957 recording a peak outflow of $5.7 billion. This is more than three times the total outflow of nearly $5 billion in the five years 1924-28. Notwithstanding the decline in the purchasing power of dollar since then, the outflow of private foreign capital after the second world war has considerably increased. But during the period 1955-58, the outflow of foreign private capital to underdeveloped countries was on an average $2 billion a year. Official long-term capital and grants are however pouring in larger volumes to these areas.

The report indicates that foreign direct investment in India has traditionally concentrated in plantation industry, trading and transport. In recent years, however, the investment in manufacturing industries, including petroleum, has increased much. In addition to direct invest ments by entrepreneurs and purchases of foreign bonds and shares by individuals or institutions, another source of foreign capital has developed and it is the bank finance. The commercial banks in overseas countries are making a significant contribution to the international flow of private capital by participating in loans raised by International Bank for Reconstruction and Development in developed money markets of the world. In recent years, the commercial banks have thus been providing much development finance to underdeveloped countries, apart from financing the current trade. These private banks have somewhat obviated the inability of low-income countries and their enterprises to float issues on international markets by participating in direct foreign investments and also by supplementing official loans. Such loans have raised the credit-worthiness of underdeveloped countries.

The Reserve Bank of India in its Monthly Bulletin of June 1959, has published a study on foreign investments in India during 1957 and 1958. Foreign business investments in the private sector represent all investments of a long-term nature by non-residents in business enterprises in India. Such business investments consist of the net foreign liabilities of branches of foreign incorporated countries functioning in India and foreign-held shares including proportionately free reserves and foreign-held debentures of Indian joint stock companies. The foreign liabilities of the banking institutions have been excluded by the Reserve Bank from

this study in view of their extremely short-term nature.

Foreign business investments in India in the private sector traditionally consist of investments by private foreign agencies. In recent years, however, a significant part of such investments is accounted for by borrowings by private companies in India from the IBRD and in 1957 such borrowings from the IBRD by private enterprises stood at Rs. 32 crores. Taking into account of capital repatriation, the net foreign investments in India during 1957 amounted to a record figure of Rs. 48.8 crores, as against a net inflow of Rs. 36.8 crores in 1956 and an annual average net inflow of Rs. 17.6 crores during 1954-55. The book value of the total foreign investments in India at the end of 1957 was Rs. 555.6 crores and these include the IBRD loans obtained during each of these periods. Excluding the IBRD loans, the net inflow of private foreign investments amounted to only Rs. 16.8 crores in 1957 as compared to Rs. 24.7 crores in 1956. This decline in the net private capital inflow from foreign countries during 1957 was the result of a reduction in re-invested profits and an increase in capital repatriation that year. The total profits accruing to non-residents in enterprises controlled by them amounted to Rs. 34.8 crores in 1957 as against Rs. 46.2 crores in 1956. The amount of profits retained in business in 1957 was Rs. 9.6 crores as against Rs. 19.4 crores in 1956. The total profits of foreign enterprises in India are influenced to a large extent by the movements in the profits of the tea industry which are liable to great changes in the demand for tea in overseas markets.

The industry-wise breakdown of the capital inflow in 1957 shows that the petroleum industry received Rs. 17.5 crores as against Rs. 12.3 crores in 1956. Iron and steel industry received Rs. 30.3 crores as against Rs. 9.1 crores in 1956. The manufacturing industries collectively, excluding the petroleum industry, received Rs. 36 crores as foreign capital in 1957. The foreign investments in Utilities and Transport during 1957 amounted to Rs. 3.1 crores as against Rs. 6.4 crores in the preceding year. In the capital inflow of Rs. 36 crores in the manufacturing industries, there is included a loan amount of Rs. 29.9 crores from the IBRD to the iron and steel industry.

Of the total private foreign investments in India (excluding IBRD loans) the amount of direct investments at the end of 1957 stood at Rs. 446.1 crores and that of portfolio investment at Rs. 62.6 crores. The percentage of direct investments to total private investments comes to nearly 87. During the year 1957, the USA was the largest exporter of capital to India with Rs. 10.4 crores, followed next by the United Kingdom with a net investment of Rs. 7.1 crores. But in respect of outstanding investments, the U.K. still maintains the overwhelming lead. At the end of 1957, the total amount of British private business investments in India stood as Rs. 412.7 crores, whereas the aggregate amount of the U.S. investments amounted to Rs. 57.2 crores. Although there has been in recent years a steady increase in the inflow of business investments in India from the USA, such investments are mainly concentrated in the petroleum industry, and they account for about 90 per cent of the total inflow in 1957. The repatriation of British capital from older industries, like tea and managing agency and trading activities was mainly responsible for reducing the volume of net capital inflow from the U.K. In recent years the business investment capital from West Germany and Japan is also rising steadily.

The year 1958 provides mixed trends. There has not been much capital inflow in petroleum industry. The Reserve Bank estimates that there was a net inflow of private foreign capital of Rs. 10 crores during 1958 and this takes into account of both the petroleum and non-petroleum industries. The drawings on IBRD loans constituted the major component of foreign capital receipts of the private sector in India during 1957 and 1958. The IBRD loans amounted to Rs. 25.2 crores during 1958. Thus the total private foreign capital received by India during 1958 comes to

about Rs. 35 crores as against Rs. 48.8 crores during 1957.

In recent years owing to increased developmental expenditures, India's overall investment position shows a substantial reduction in her international creditor position since 1956. In 1955 India enjoyed a creditor position to the extent of Rs. 496 crores and in 1958 she was turned into an international debtor to the extent of Rs. 648 crores. These changes reflect primarily the changes in the official sector. The official sector enjoyed a creditor position to the extent of Rs. 970 crores at the end of 1955. But this sector became a debtor abroad to the extent of Rs. 60 crores at the end of 1958. The debtor position of the official sector is accounted for mainly by the fact that expenditures on the Plan is financed by loans obtained from abroad. The official sector also undertakes to finance the payments deficits to a considerable extent. The official borrowings abroad amounted to nearly Rs. 652 crores during the four years, 1955-58, while the official assets abroad nearly halved from Rs. 1171 crores at the end of 1955 to Rs. 592 crores at the end of 1958. The following table will indicate the position of official liabilities during the four years, 1955-58:

Official Liabilities, 1955-1958

(In crores of rupees)

	1955	1956	1957	1958
United Kingdom ..	33.6	33.8	26.0	49.7
U.S.A. ..	91.9	115.3	232.2	306.3
IMF/IBRD ..	26.6	26.9	132.5	161.9
West Germany ..	..	..	0.6	20.4
USSR ..	..	1.1	13.3	52.6
Pakistan ..	38.5	38.6	38.5	36.1
Other countries ..	10.2	9.0	7.9	25.0
Total ..	200.8	224.7	451.0	652.0

The State Trading Coporation

The second annual Report of the State Trading Corporation reveals that the turnover in commodities directly traded in by the Corporation rose to Rs. 28.57 crores from about Rs. 10 crores in the previous year. The commodities in which the Corporation traded included among other things, mineral ores, heavy chemicals, fertilisers, non-ferrous metals, raw silk, jute bags, woollen textiles, shoes and handicrafts. The gross receipts of the Corporation aggregated Rs. 2.86 crores as against Rs. 35 lakhs in the preceding year. A dividend at the rate of Rs. 7 per cent on the paid-up share capital has been declared, as compared with 6 per cent in the preceding year.

Out of the net profits, the Corporation proposes to set up a Trade Development Fund for providing essential facilities in mining areas and prenotional expenses in exploring new markets and developing preference for Indian industrial products abroad. A sum of Rs. 15 lakhs is being appropriated for this purpose. Another fund will be set up, known as the Price Fluctuation Fund, with a sum of Rs. 30 lakhs. This Fund will be directed against seasonal fluctuation in prices. A sum of Rs. 15 lakhs is added to the Insurance Fund to finance a scheme for self-insurance. During the year 1957-58, the Corporation made efforts to secure balanced trade with the East European countries and commence link business. It also organised bulk exports of iron ore through a number of ports for the first time, such as, Cochin, Karwar, etc., and developed markets for Indian ores in European countries.

The year 1957-58 witnessed a world wide depression in economic activity and this was initiated by the recession in the United States of America. As a resut of this recession, there was a notable decline in the world trade. For the first time after the Second World War, the world trade experienced visible shrinkage and exports fell considerably. The demand for industrial raw materials in the industrially developed countries also declined and the capacity of the industrially backward countries to import consumer goods was greatly impaired. The countries of the ECAFE region suffered from the deterioration of their terms of trade. From the

base figure of 100 in 1953, the index declined to 69 at the end of the first quarter of 1958. The recession in industrial activity, the decline in purchasing power and the deterioration in the terms of trade placed serious handicaps on the country's efforts to increase our exports.

While the stringency in India's foreign exchange reserves compelled her to cut drastically the import trade, the need for expanding exports was all the more felt to pay for the imports of essential machinery and of industrial raw materials, and also for maintaining a stable price level. With this background of economic atmosphere at home and abroad, the Corporation's endeavours were directed towards sustaining traditional exports of India and at the same time it aimed at building up exports of handicrafts, etc., to new markets to pay for essential imports.

In its efforts to diversify foreign trade and to develop new markets, the Corporation provided service facilities for business contacts for private exporters with countries with controlled economies. The endeavour of the Corporation in this regard was to secure balanced trade with the East European countries. The Corporation provided special rupee payment arrangements and overdraft facilities to enable a smooth flow of Indian goods. These facilities helped Indian exports to expand in countries which agree to bilateral balancing and practise State trading. Unfavourable balances were persisting in India's trade with these countries. The special payments arrangements considerably reduced India's imbalance in trade with these countries of East Europe, namely, Czechoslovakia, Rumania, Bulgaria, Yugaslavia, the German Democratic Republic, China and the Democratic Republic of Korea. Indian exporters and importers freely made use of these special payments arrangements. This development helped the Corporation to service imports required for public projects and for industrial units, and to promote overseas sales of Indian exportable surpluses.

The total value of contracts registered under these arrangements aggregate to Rs. 19.48 crores. Exports covered by those contracts included edible oils, spices, crushed bones, hides and skins, mica, tea, coffee and some light engineering goods. The Corporation also commenced link business, technically known as compensation transactions, for example, import of rice from North Vietnam was compensated by export of gunnies, sugar, hemp and cotton waste.

Bulk Business in Mineral Ores: The export of mineral ores from India constituted the main business of the Corporation. From July 1, 1957, the Corporation has been the sole exporter of iron ores. The export of minerals are done mainly on the basis of bulk contract. The advantages of bulk contracting and bulk handling are notable in the export of iron ore. Firm contracts were entred into for the export of 2.2 million tons of mineral ore and of this quantity, 1.9 million tons had already been exported. Bulk contracting enabled the Corporation to enlarge the volume of country's exports and also to stimulate production in new areas and to rationalise movements from the mining fields to the ports. The facilities in the major ports were fully utilised and for the first time exports of iron ore were organised through the port of Cochin and minor ports at Karwar, Mangalore and Belikers. Since then exports have also been made from Cuddalore and Paradip on the East Coast. Bulk handling at the ports made it possible for the Corporation to achieve economy in transportation and loading.

The Corporation has been able through bulk contracts to renovate the trading mechanism and to spread its purchases with a view to stimulating production in new areas. The beginning was made with mine-owners' co-operatives and associations of traders and the export of low-grade ores through minor ports was specially organised. The bulk handling made it possible to achieve notable economies in transportation and loading. The Regional Office in Madras was able to set up a record loading of 5,800 tons a day without the help of mechanical facilities at the quay side, a record which was further raised to over 7,000 tons a day. The success of the Corporation in handling iron ore has induced the steel industry of Japan to turn to India as a dependable source of supply for their growing requirements. An agreement for the supply of a further 2 million tons from the Rourkela area, for a period of ten years, commencing from 1964, was concluded between the two countries in March 1958. The export of ores under this agreement will be handled by the Corporation. The market for Indian ores in European countries is also being developed and extended. Exports to Czchoslovakia, Poland, Yugoslavia and Hungary have been stepped up, while exports to Italy have been maintained.

In regard to the export of manganese ore, the Corporation could not achieve similar success as there was a steep fall in the world production of steel, and the emergence of new sources of supply nearer to consuming countries. The Corporation helped to preserve contacts with the old buyers by means of joint sales programmes with the principal producers of manganese ores. The total quantity marketed by the Corporation during the year under review was 4.41 lakh tons, out of a total export by India of 13.10 lakh tons.

The indiscriminate export of iron ore is being viewed with concern by a large section of people in this country as it will cause a depletion of the natural resources which are vitally needed for the future development of our own industries. Instead of exporting iron ore, India should export pig iron as that will help the development of our industries.

Urban Housing

A peculiar feature of the process of urbanization in Asia is that there is a larger urban population than is justified by existing levels of agricultural and non-agricultural productivity. This rise in population has not been determined by the "pull" factors such as employment opportunities and expectations of higher incomes from industrial, commercial and service developments, but rather by "push" factors arising out of village poverty. Be that as it may, the rapid growth of urban population has created a great problem of housing in the cities—of which the problem of industrial housing is one aspect only.

In many advanced countries even governments are coming forward to assume an increasing responsibility for the provision of housing to middle and lower income levels, and to the working classes. In India, however, it is only after the end of the Second World War that the Government began to show some interest in the solution of the problem of housing. However that interest generally has not gone beyond the grant of house-building loans to different categories of citizens and it is only in the field of industrial housing (and lately in that of *bustee* re-housing) that the Government of India has accepted the principle of granting subsidies also. The Subsidised Industrial Housing Scheme which was begun in 1952 envisaged the grant of both loans and subsidies by the Central Government to State Governments, statutory housing boards, industrial employers, and registered co-operative societies of industrial workers, for the construction of houses of industrial workers governed by the Factories Act, 1948. Up to the end of 1958 a total sum of Rs. 31.64 crores was sanctioned as loans (Rs. 16.24 crores) and subsidies (Rs. 15.40 crores) under the scheme for the construction of 105,000 units. The progress of actual construction was however extremely slow and it was not possible to complete the construction of more than 78,500 units by that time.

The Government of India has now come to the conclusion that the reluctance of the employers to take advantage of the financial assistance offered by it has been one of the most important factors retarding the progress of industrial housing. This news will certainly be received with great disappointment and regret throughout the country. To provide housing for the workers is considered to be a normal function of their business by employers in other countries. In India on the other hand the recognition of this responsibility on the part of the employers has been extremely tardy; and it appears as if they are not going to accept it even with liberal assistance

from the Government. Nothing could be more unfortunate and it is to be hoped that employers would soon come to see the reasonableness of the Government's proposal and would sincerely try to implement it as expeditiously as possible.

The construction of industrial housing would not be a complete or even a major solution of the problem of urban housing unless it is matched by the construction of middle-class housing. The Government is yet to recognize the principle of subsidizing middle-class housing. It would not be proper again to suggest that the employers' failure alone has produced the delay in the construction of industrial housing. The Central Government, and the State Governments to a lesser degree, must also share the responsibility. In several places construction, even by Government Departments, has been held up owing to red-tape and lack of flexibility in Central Administration.

Official Secrecy

Democracy is irreconcilable with an excessive insistence on secrecy on the part of the administration. In a way democracy may even be defined with reference to the degree of publicity of official work. Responsible representative government involves an obligation under law part of the administration to keep the people and Parliament informed, from time to time, of the state of affairs of the nation in as full a measure as is not incompatible with the maintenance of national efficiency, security and integrity. The difficulty, however, begins with a definition of what is not incompatible with the maintenance of national efficiency and integrity. The officialdom, everywhere and at all times, has a natural tendency towards secretiveness and the general reluctance of individuals to part with unpalatable information about themselves is magnified many times more in their case.

Constitutionalism is inseparable from the growth of the publicity of official work. The range of what can be kept secret has been more narrowly circumscribed with the growth of constitutionalism. But this trend has not kept an even pace in all countries or even among different departments of the government of the same country. The most democratic countries, even, do not allow the citizens to have a look at their foreign records. The situation in this country however is most unfortunate. So far as security requirements are concerned there is perhaps nothing much to lose from publicity in so far as nothing of much value is unknown to the foreign powers. Most of our industrial and defence installations have been set up and equipped by foreigners who know everything about their actual and potential capacities. The Indo-American Technical Co-operation Agreement requires the Government of India to keep the Government of the U.S.A. informed of aids received by the Government of India from other sources. Yet Indians themselves are denied even preliminary information about many of the important State undertakings so much so that it has also attracted the wonder of foreign observers.

A concomitant of this secretive conduct is the excessive security-consciousness exhibited by the Government, where a V.I.P. is concerned.

Ever-Elusive Rehabilitation

Even in the twelfth year of freedom the rehabilitation of several thousands of refugee families remains as distant as ever. Such a situation should appear discomforting to any government—much more so to a professedly democratic government. Not so in India, however, where vested interests, on both sides, seem to have been created in deferring the rehabilitation of the refugees for as long a period as possible, the government showing a remarkable unconcern for the problem. Symptomatic of this general indifference of the authorities to the miserable plight of these wretched families was the holding of the rehabilitation conference of high officials in cool Srinagar which was neither near the venue where the unsettled refugees are expected to be rehabilitated nor near that where the refugees have to stay at present. The recent storm havoc in West Bengal has rendered hundreds of refugee families homeless; the work of development in Dandakaranya is being held up due to administrative difficulties. These apparently did not trouble the Minister; for otherwise he would certainly have liked all his officials to have a first-hand experience of conditions in those

aces. The attraction of the cool heights of inagar apparenntly proved stronger than the all of distress of the refugees.

The work on the Dandakaranya project rovides a fresh demonstration of the utter hort-sightedness of the policy-makers. The whole scheme seems to be on the verge of a collapse. The rate of reclamation of land has been extremely unsatisfactory and the outlook for the future is gloomier still—because the Madhya Pradesh Government seems no longer willing to allow its reserve forest land to be reclaimed by the Dandakaranya Development Authority for the rehabilitation of refugees. The State Government has suggested the use of nistari forest land which had been acquired from the private landlords. As the nistari lands do not lie in a contiguous area the Dandakaranya scheme will be bereft of its most publicised superiority of offering a compact area for rehabilitation. Moreover, the reclamation of these dispersed nistari lands would be faced with the difficulty of having to dislodge the tribals from the areas where they have a traditional right of collecting wood for fuel and other privileges.

Out of about 35,000 families to be rehabilitated in Dandakaranya only 201 families have so far been moved to the area. This pitiable record owes nothing to these groups of refugees who have shown a remarkable willingness to work hard and efficiently. If this willingness is not greatly effective it is due principally to the sapping of their energy through long years of camp life. Many of the refugees weigh less than 100 pounds and over three-fourths of these have been found to lack normal physical fitness.

Politics in Punjab

Punjab is one of the problem States of India. The internal strife within the ruling party recently came to the fore over the Chief Minister's order for an enquiry against Sardar Gian Singh Rarewala who has been relieved of the Irrigation portfolio. The enquiry is about the purchase of a tubewell belonging to Sardar Rarewala by the Irrigation department at an allegedly inflated rate. Sardar Rarewala's demand for a judicial enquiry has been turned down by Sardar Pratap Singh Kairon, the Chief Minister.

Referring to this controversy the *Hitavada* writes:

"It will be readily conceded that the nature of the allegations is serious, though the amount involved is small. The dispute between Mr. Rarewala and Sardar Pratap Singh centres not round the need for a probe but the nature of the proposed probe and the circumstances preceding the change in portfolio. Mr. Rarewala has complained that the change was preceded by secret enquiries against him by the Chief Minister through his own anti-Corruption Department and intimidation of his relatives by the Police. Such a secret enquiry against a Minister is unheard of, says Mr. Rarewala. Perhaps he is not aware that when the first Congress Ministry was set up in old Madhya Pradesh, Dr. Khare was accused of having made secret enquiries against one of his colleagues over a deal concerning a manganese dump. Mr. Rarewala may or may not be justified in holding that the Chief Minister's action is aimed at undermining his (Rarewala's) position and is therefore prompted by a political motive; but he is on firm ground in asserting that if the Chief Minister thought that "I had forfeited his confidence, he should have demanded my resignation." There is some force also in his demand that a departmental probe is not the way to deal with a case of this nature and that the matter should be decided after an enquiry either by a Chief Engineer from outside the State, or a Judge or by the Congress High Command. There will be general support to his demand that the probe should be conducted by a person whose impartiality cannot be impeached and the best way to ensure impartiality would be to secure the services of a Judge. It is, however, doubtful if any High Court Judge would consent to hold an enquiry in the light of the developments in the Mundra-LIC deal, the Bose Board's Report, the UPSC findings and the remarks of Mr. Nehru regarding the merits of the Bose Board's findings. A Judge, if at all he agrees to serve as the inquiring authority, would insist on a previous assurance that his finding, whatever it may be, will be unquestioningly accepted by the State Govern-

ment as well as by Mr. Rarewala. Latest reports show that the Chief Minister has himself started the probe, which apparently shows that he wants to forestall the issues, before they attract the attention of the A.-I.C.C. The Congress High Command is at present engaged in solving big issues like Kerala and the West Bengal food problem and it is just likely that the constitutional issues involved in the dispute between the Punjab Chief Minister and Mr. Rarewala may not receive the attention they deserve. It has been even alleged that the Chief Minister has wrongly stated that the Irrigation Minister agreed that pending the departmental enquiry, he should surrender charge of the Irrigation portfolio. It may be that the rivalry between the old PEPSU and Punjab Congressmen still persists, but the issues raised by Mr. Rarewala are such as to make it necessary in the interests of setting up healthy constitutional precedents, that the Congress High Command should not overlook them.

Free Trips

The Orissa Council for Child Welfare has, in co-operation with the Central Social Welfare Board and the Indian Council for Child Welfare, drawn up a scheme under which school children aged between 12 and 16 years will be able to spend two to three weeks in a holiday resort without any financial burden to their parents. Only children belonging to families with an annual income of less than Rs. 2,400 will be entitled to enjoy the benefits offered under the scheme. Although Oriya parents with small means will heartily welcome the scheme, its implementation to the universal satisfaction of the guardians and students will not be easy. Apart from the questions of the basis of selection and the number selected every year its implementation will be seriously limited by the extreme dearth of suitable accommodation in places where their sojourn may, in addition to being pleasant, also prove somewhat instructive to the students.

India and Ceylon

History, geography, economics and culture tend to make Indo-Ceylonese co-operation almost inevitable. Both the countries have been deeply influenced by the spirit of Buddhism and in recent times both have shared the humiliation of foreign domination followed by the joy of national liberation. Independence for both posed almost identical problems of providing economic content to political freedom and they have found much benefit in mutual economic co-operation through Colombo Plan and other economic efforts.

The Indian President's visit to Ceylon has gone a long way in cementing Indo-Ceylnoese friendship. The President was accorded the most rousing reception by the people and the Government of Ceylon. Despite heavy rains thousands of people came to greet him on his arrival at the Ratnamala airport in Colombo on June 16. This was an unmistakable indication of the Ceylonese people's goodwill towards India and her leaders. Quite understandably, both the President and the Ceylonese leaders reiterated in their speeches the age-long bond of friendship and good neighbourliness between the two countries. As Dr Rajendra Prasad remarked, these feelings wer rooted in the ancient and medieval history o the two countries and were being furthe strengthened by the common experience an the common era of national freedom.

Inaugurating the Vidyalankara Universit of Kelaniya, eight miles from Colombo, Dr Rajendra Prasad stressed the need for the ex change of scholars between the two countries Although India provided excellent opportun ities for Buddhistic studies in India, there ca be little doubt that Indian students can gain much from cultivating greater contact with the universities and educational institutions of Ceylon. Similarly, India also can offer the Ceylonese students opportunities for studies in several branches of learning which are not easily available within Ceylon.

The President uttered a timely warning against what he described as the growth of narrow nationalism among the re-awakened nations of Asia and Africa. The people of Asia and Africa, constituted such a large proportion of humanity that unless they took the road of tolerance and mutual respect for each other's way of life—in other words, if they adopted nationalism in the narrow sense, if they became fanatical, followed the nationalism of their own country and forgot their duty to the world and humanity, the President said, they could become the greatest curse to the world. This warning applied to all countries of the Afro-Asian region and its validity was beyond question. Following this principle Dr. Rajendra Prasad gave the only wise counsel to the people of Indian origin residing in Ceylon. "My request to you, or if you like, as the President of the Republic of India, my order to you," he told them, "is to do your best to the country in which you live, not only for your own sake, but for the sake of your motherland also." If this principle is observed in practice by racial minorities in the Asian and African countries and if the governments of the countries within which the racial minorities live come forward in all sincerity to help the process of assimilation, much of the present tension in *intra*-Asian and Asian-African relations will disappear.

Government and Handlooms

The Government of India has decided to reduce the special rebate hitherto allowed on handloom cloth sales. Expressing anxiety at this new policy the *Hindu* writes that the new policy may adversely hit the weavers in the Southern States of India.

The newspaper writes: "Mr. Lal Bahadur Shastri seems to believe that at some stage, this cottage industry should be able to stand on its own feet and the time is now propitious to make a beginning. He does not mind taking 'some risk' in the matter, because the industry has reached a stage of prosperity, warranting the taking of such a risk. The handloom weavers in the South have led a crisis-to-crisis existence for a long time and if they were able to survive the competition of the mills and a variety of adverse factors, it was because of the organised help afforded by the State in recent years through the All-India Handloom Board. When huge accumulations of unsold handloom cloth threatened to throw hundreds of thousands of weavers out of employment last year, it was an extra rebate that helped move the stocks and avert a serious crisis.

No exception can normally be taken to the wholesome principle that any industry worth the name owes it to itself to be self-supporting. But if it has been considered sound policy to subsidise the handloom industry to enable it to just survive, it was never on the grounds of its being the most efficient producer of cloth, but because of its immense employment potential. Nearly three million looms in the country provide gainful employment directly to over eight million weavers and other allied industries, deriving their existence from the handloom, are estimated to provide for another fifteen million. Even in advanced countries, the principle of subsidy for certain sectors of the economy, in the interest of maintaining employment, has always been followed.

Backward Classes

The scheduled castes and tribes, who constitute the core of backward classes in this country, constitute between themselves nearly one-fifth of the total population of India. They have been subjected to exploitation and servitude for generations and have even now to live under appalling conditions of poverty, illiteracy, unemployment and underemployment, and antiquated social customs and practices. The framers of the Constitution, while abolishing the harmful formula of communal representation, wisely provided for reservation of seats for the representatives of scheduled castes and tribes in Parliament and State legislatures for a limited period of ten years from the commencement of the Constitution in 1950. The Constitution similarly provided, though in a less rigid form, for the recognition of the right of the backward classes to special consideration during recruitment of officers to various grades of public service. The underlying hope was that during this period there would be sufficient improvement in the social, economic and political status of these people which would largely obviate the need for reservation.

The years of freedom have however signally failed to bring about any marked change in the psychology of the people as very little has been done to create a sense of urgency in their mind for purposeful action in rebuilding

India. The situation is all the more disappointing in regard to the condition of the Backward Classes to whom the ideals propounded in the Constitution and the Planning Commission have largely remained a distant dream. The Backward Classes Commission in its report submitted about four years ago referred to the "painful experience of finding among the masses a feeling of restlessness, discontent, apathy, a sense of resignation or resentment at their low social level" and discovered that, apart from the policies of the Governments—Central and State—"the administrative machinery through which their policies are implemented has not been sufficiently reformed and geared up to zestful action."

The Report of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Tribes for the year 1957-58 which was placed before Parliament during the Budget Session virtually reiterates these criticisms. The total allocation of Rs. 91 crores for the welfare of 7,12,62,673 people in five years works out to no more than Rs. 3 per head per year. Obviously no revolutionary transformation can be expected to be achieved with such a meagre investment. It becomes a matter of the utmost concern therefore when it is found that the administrative machinery cannot utilize even this small sum. During the first two years of the period of the Second Five-Year Plan a sum of only Rs. 19.36 crores could be utilised by the State Governments both on State and Centrally-sponsored schemes against the proportionate Plan allocation of Rs. 36.4 crores during that period. The administrative departments have complained of a lack of suitable scheduled caste candidates for various posts while nine hundred graduates and eleven thousand matriculates belonging to the scheduled castes and tribes had registered themselves as unemployed with the employment exchanges.

Under such circumstances it does not require much intelligence to see that the objectives of the farmers of the Constitution have not been realized by the time they hoped it would be possible to do so. The period of the reservation of seats in Parliaments and legislatures is to expire in about seven months' time —though the position would not be materially affected until 1962—unless a general election is decided to be held between 1960 and 1962 which is not a likely probability. An extension of the period of such reservation would thus seem to be an inescapable decision if the ideals of democracy and socialism are not to be rejected as invalid. A caution however is necessary so that a new vested interest is not created in backwardness as has been complained of in certain quarters. The suggestion for an extension of the reservation with a provision for phased withdrawal of the concession leading to its discontinuation at the end of the next decade thus merits especial consideration.

Prospects for Pakistan

Several decisions of far-reaching importance to the future of Pakistan were adopted in the high-level conference, held in the middle of June at Nathiagali in Western Pakistan, which was attended by the President, General Mohammad Ayub Khan, his Cabinet Ministers (with the exception of those who were abroad), the two Governors of the two wings of Pakistan and high-ranking army and civilian officers. Notable decisions arrived at in that conference included the announcement of a four-tier structure of "basic democracy," and those relating to the shifting of the Federal capital from Karachi to a new site at Potwar plateau, about seven miles from Rawalpindi along Murree Road, the setting-up of an auxiliary capital in East Pakistan and the establishment of a steel plant in Western Pakistan.

The four-tier structure of basic democracy will consist of union panchayats, the teshil or thana council, the District Council and the Divisional Council. The union panchayats will consist of ten elected members on the basis of one representative for every 1,000 to 1,500 people and five nominated members representing special interests like women, agricultural labourers and experts. The members will elect a Chairman from amongst themselves. The panchayats will perform administrative, judicial and police functions and will also be responsible for development and national reconstruction work. They may even be entrusted with the supervision for the collection of Government dues. The Council at the other three tiers will have equal number of officials and non-officials. This parity is designed to promote a greater understanding of each other's problems by the officials and non-officials and to bring about greater co-operation between them in the common goal of achieving the spiritual and material welfare of the people.

Elections to Union Panchayats will be held on the basis of adult franchise under the auspices of an independent Election Commission. The official communique issued at the end of the conference significantly added: "In case the new constitution provides for indirect elections to the Parliament or to the office of the President, the Union Panchayats might well form the electoral college for such elections. In that case, only the elected members of the Union Panchayat, and not the nominated members, will vote." It is hoped that it would be possible to complete the elections to Panchayats by next October.

The acceptance of the principle of adult franchise for panchayat elections is certainly a welcome decision but in the absence of the political parties, which still remain illegal and are proposed to be kept so for a considerable period to come, it would not be easy for the people to understand the various issues involved when they are asked to vote. The Government's move to punish dishonest politicians and corrupt officials has failed to arouse public enthusiasm to the extent that it has failed to extend honourable treatment to the honest public leaders most of whom are still rotting in jails. The relative numerical preponderance of officials in the councils at various tiers has also naturally evoked much criticism—especially as not infrequently highly-placed officials were found to have involved themselves deeply in politics.

According to Mr. Zakir Hossain, Governor of East Pakistan, the Constitution of Pakistan would envisage the greatest possible degree of decentralization and except for defence, currency and internal affairs which will be the exclusive domain of the Central Government, in all other matters the agencies of the Provincial and the Central Government will work under the same authority. The Constitutional Commission will be appointed sometime this year; its report will not be available until about the end of the next year at the earliest. Meanwhile the country will continue to be ruled under the present system where virtually nobody has any right to utter a word of criticism against the persons in authority in public.

Africa in Turmoil

We append below a letter from Mr. Mboya, which appeared in the *New York Times* of June 28:

(Mr. Mboya of Kenya is chairman of the All-African People's Conference.)

Having visited the United States in 1956, I was much impressed with the increase in knowledge about Africa. The questions I was asked were based more on interested understanding than on detached curiosity. Four questions in particular which seemed to trouble Americans came up at almost every meeting. I should like to answer them here.

(1) Are Africans ready for self-government?

I was often reminded of the lack of adequate numbers of educated persons to run the new governments which we in Africa have been demanding. I was told that the high illiteracy rate in many dependent territories would make it impossible for Africans to operate a democracy successfully.

While conceding that Africa has a long way to go toward creating a generally literate community, I answered that this was a common argument used by colonial powers in defense of their continued rule. Often my questioners assumed that the colonial powers were primarily concerned with the education of our people, and that there were deliberate training programs looking toward the day of independence.

In fact, however, colonial systems give priority to—and indeed are based upon—such activities as permit or promote the human and material exploitation of the people and territories concerned. Effort is concentrated on extractive industries

and quick profits. In every case, investment in education, public health and other social development programs lags behind.

Ghana's recent history clearly illustrates what I mean. When the all-African Cabinet took over the Government, about 20 per cent of the country's children were in school. In five years, this Government has raised the figure to 85 per cent and continues to open a new school every other day. There has been nothing to equal this in eighty years of colonial rule.

This, then, is my answer to those who ask to wait until we are prepared by the colonial powers for self-government. While we are appreciative of the benefits we have derived from our contacts with Europe and other parts of the world—especially in the post-war period—we are convinced that if we are to develop rapidly and effectively, as indeed we must if we are to meet the technological and scientific challenges of the twentieth century, we must not only have an effective voice in the government of our countries, but become master of our own fate. To suggest that this would lead to an overnight reversion to barbarity shows an utter disregard for history and the fact that Africa, despite her many temporary handicaps, lives in the twentieth century, receptive to all the influences of the attitudes and developments of the present.

The question is not whether African freedom will come, but how and when. Even in areas where there is white settlement it must come, and it is futile to think otherwise. In this context, all one can say about South Africa is that her prospects look blacker each year.

(2) Is the African independence movement democratic?

African nations, like all others, enjoy the right to experiment, and above all the right to make mistakes. It is true that a lot depends on the personality of the leadership, especially during the early days of independence. There does not seem to be, however, any alternative to this period of youth and adventure.

Some non-Africans are concerned about the development of opposition parties and others about the forms that governmental institutions will take. Many people seem to expect that Africa must keep what she inherits from her former colonial masters. Africa cannot, however, for very obvious reasons, adopt a blueprint of European or American institutions. Her governmental institutions must recognize Africa's cultural and social background and must move away from the forms used by the colonial powers—fitted for indirect rule—to a representative system.

It is unrealistic to expect effective opposition parties in the early days of independence, when the momentum and personality of the liberation movement is still strong and popular, and when genuine differences are usually lacking. To suggest that the popular leaders who combine during the struggle for liberation should break up and form different parties because the book so requires is not only reckless but is to ignore the urgent problems that a new state faces.

(3 Does the policy of non-alignment adopted by Africans mean that they are falling victim to Communist propaganda?

In so far as the African struggle is one against colonial rule, and since all leaders have publicly committed themselves to freedom and universal suffrage, Africa is essentially committed to the democratic tradition. In this common identity the free world has a position of advantage over the Communists.

But, although African leaders do not take a neutral position in their choice of democracy and freedom, I doubt whether this is the position the West truly represents in the eyes of the uncommitted world today. Inconsistencies between standards preached and actual practices based on expediency, and the priority given alliances over the basic human rights of peoples in Africa, Asia and the Middle East have contributed to a loss of faith and confidence.

The West has friendly embraces for the Union of South Africa, despite her racist policies and denial of human rights to 11,000,000 non-white people. Why, our people ask, doesn't the West put South Africa in the same category with the Soviet Union? Why is Portugal's use of slave labor not classified with the Siberian slave labor camps? France uses NATO arms supplied by the United States against Algerians. The British shoot more than fifty unarmed demonstrators in Nyasaland and their agents beat to death eleven Kenyans in the Hola detention camp. The free world raises not a finger. Contrast this with the reaction to Hungary and Tibet! The Africans wonder why double standards are used where human rights are involved, and naturally suspect the motives of some of the nations in the free world.

(4) What is the future of the white settlers in Africa?

The fear of possible victimization of immigrant groups or of anti-white racism on the part of Africans is often expressed. On the contrary, experience in the independent states so far has shown a deliberate policy of assuring foreign investors of their safety.

The problem really is one for the immigrants themselves. They have come to regard as a right the position of privilege and domination they have always enjoyed.

When Europeans emigrate to America they are content to be called Americans; equally they are content to be called Canadians when they go to Canada. They insist on democratic equality there. But in Africa, they are ashamed to be called African. How then can we solve this problem for them?

In conclusion, one thing that I must emphasize is that no country can afford to ignore the emergence of new nations in Africa. Each year new states will be born, and with these changes must be established new relationships. Above all, it must be recognized that emergent Africa must not only claim but assert her right to interpret and speak for herself.

Administrative and Ethical Standards

We reproduce below from the *Hitavada* a report of a speech by an Elder Statesman of the highest calibre. We merely add that we agree:

At Madras, on July 11, Mr. C. D. Deshmukh, Chairman of the University Grants Commission, called for a "comprehensive review by a High Level Commission of the law and order situation in the country."

Delivering the second and last of the V. S. Srinivasa Sastri Endowment Lectures in the Madras University in the evening, Mr. Deshmukh said that to a certain extent there appeared to be a vague awareness on the part of publicmen charged with the governance of the country at the highest level that there were many features of the law and order situation which gave cause for anxiety.

Posing the question, "Have the citizens of India given a good account of themselves as free citizens of no mean country?", the former Union Finance Minister surveyed the present situation in the country in all its aspects and deplored the fall in both administration and ethical standards.

In Mr. Deshmukh's view, it behoved the public authorities to go a little more deeply into this problem in order to find out if there were many predisposing causes which aggravated the situation or made it more of a threat for the sound operation of their infant democracy.

It was now recognised, albeit somewhat grudgingly that the Administrative machinery at all levels from Ministerial downwards, was 'erratic and inadequate' both in the conduct of day-to-day affairs and in the implementation of planned development, Mr. Deshmukh said.

He added: Uneasy public heard of nepotism (still very common), highhandedness, gerrymandering, feathering of nests through progeny, and a dozen other sins of commission and omission and yet was helpless for lack of precise data, facts and evidence. It was in order to deal with such a situation that a high level impartial standing judicial tribunal was called for, to investigate and report on complaints or laying of information. 'If such a commission is established, I shall be happy to make a beginning by lodging half a dozen informations myself.'

Among the 'major weaknesses' in Indian polity mentioned by Mr. Deshmukh in his lecture were: (1) Insufficient realisation of the fact that Indion masses lack the extent of education that is commonly prevalent in the more advanced countries; (2) Nomination by political parties of candidates on communal or sectional grounds and (3) Singular tolerance of multiple standards of behaviour and ethics.

Mr. Deshmukh analysed the various forms of democracy in the world and said the essential conflict between individual selfishness and the community's greatest good always remained and every system of governance that might be devised was a sort of unstable equilibrium. In this context he referred to the trusteeship theory currently advocated by 'a new political party' and said that the community could never be well served by a substantially large number of men of wealth and property preaching and professing to practise the doctrine of trusteeship.

'The only kind of trusteeship that is likely to succeed', said Mr. Deshmukh, 'is the trusteeship of natural endowment and talents, matured by education and culture and placed disinterestedly at the service of fellow beings' (who however ignorant and unlettered they may be are shrewd enough to suspect, detect and resent ulterior motives).

Mr. Deshmukh emphasised the "supreme importance" of having Ministers of the right mental and moral calibre. He said that there seemed to prevail a "pathetic belief" that officials must make up for the failings of both ruler and the ruled, i.e., the people and their chosen public servants, *viz.*, the Ministers. This was an empty utopian dream. Every offical failure could be traced to a Minister's incompetence, he said.

If men of right mental and moral calibre for holding the post of Ministers were not available in adequate numbers in a ruling party, the obvious remedy was to reduce the number of Ministries and Ministers. If even that was not possible, the reins of Government should be handed over to a Cabinet of all talents drawn from all the important parties as well as the non-party public on the basis of an agreement to implement a national programme such as the series of Five-Year Plans, the former Finance Minister said.

Mr. Deshmukh said that the present situation in India could be justly described as one of 'Dharma-Glani' (the languishing of the moral law). "Then according to the *Bhagvad Gita*, things have to be very much worse before they become better. Without irreverence, he said, he wished to doubt the present in an ultra-pessimistic light. He believed that with their spiritual heritage it would be possible for them to check the languishing of the moral order. The lead in such an endeavour must be taken by the truly educated and enlightened and the discriminating amongst society must join their forces in order to ensure that political power was wielded, not by the ill-educated or the self-seeker, but by the dedicated, cultured and intellectual."

Kerala

The Statesman of July 10 reports the Kerala situation as follows:

Trivandrum, July 9.—The Kerala Government said in a Press Note tonight that it would put down the picketing of buses and schools "with a strong hand." The Government said it was taking "strong measures" to protect schools and transport buses as it could not allow the lives of citizens to be placed at the mercy of a few hooligans.

Trivandrum, July 9.—Firebrand Revolutionary Socialist Party volunteers today attempted forced entry into the Collector's office here. As they tried to break the police cordon at the office gate, they were resisted. The volunteers laid themselves on the ground. They formed a human chain by locking their hands and legs together, tightly, clasping each other. The police with great difficulty removed the volunteers one by one. Seventeen volunteers were taken into custody.

The PSP today began mass picketing of public offices in Travandrum District as part of the "liberation struggle."

Usual picketing of the Collector's office by the Congress, PSP, and Muslim League volunteers continued.

Trivandrum, July 9.—The Opposition leader, Mr. P. T. Chacko, tonight said that reports received by him from various quarters showed that the Communists had started street fighting in pockets where they were strong.

He said in a statement that four people had been murdered at Kallada village, in Quilon district. The police, he said, had recovered three bodies.

He alleged that the police were not giving any protection to the people of Kallada, who were "falling victims to these atrocities."

He also said that in another place, Allappally, in Alleppey district, 14 persons were stabbed yesterday and two of them had succumbed to their injuries.

At Nedumangad, in Trivandrum district, one person was stabbed today and he was in a serious condition.

Trivandrum, July 9.—One person was killed and several were injured in a clash between two groups of people at Mallapally in Alleppey district last night. It is stated that trouble started when a landlord questioned some people about missing coconuts from trees in his compound. One of the landlord's men was killed and a Catholic priest attracted to the scene received a stab wound.

P.T.I., quoting an official source, says, the deceased was Mr. Perumal, whom the Congress claim was one of their members.

Ernakulam, July 8.—Five leading advocates, practising in Karala High Court, in a joint statement here today said that the present struggle against the Kerala Government was not in opposition to legislative measures but was directed against "a Ministry which functioned under the dictates of a party which offered lip service to the Constitution and sought to undermine the very foundation of democracy."

The signatories to the statement deplored the statements made by Mr. V. D. Savarkar, Mr. C. D. Deshmukh and Mr. N. V. Gadgil on the situation in Kerala. They said that these statements had been made "in absolute ignorance of the conditions prevailing in the State."

Mr. S. A. Dange, M.P., the Communist leader, reiterated at a meeting on the Calcutta Maidan on Thursday his party's stand on the demand for resignation of the Communist Ministry in Kerala.

He said the Communist Party was prepared to resign and seek re-election in Kerala if the principle of recall of legislators was accepted and necessary provision made in the Constitution.

He elaborated the principle further. If 30 per cent of the electorate in a constituency should make a written representation to the President against an elected member he should resign and seek re-election. "We ask Mr. Nehru to move this amendment in Parliament and we assure him of our support."

Without this the so-called mass upsurge against any Ministry was untenable. In many States, particularly in West Bengal, Andhra, Punjab and Maharastra, the Communist Party could mobilize 10,000 volunteers to demonstrate before public buildings and holding up public vehicles, 10,000 more to go to jails and several hundred others to create a "state of hysteria." "Will that be called a mass upsurge and on that count will the Ministry be asked to resign ?", he asked.

The Hindu of July 5, gave the following reports:

Trivandrum, July 4.—One of the injured admitted in the hospital after yesterday's police firing in Cheriathurai near Bhimapalli, a coastal suburb of Trivandrum, died early this morning, bringing the death roll in the firing to three. One woman had died on the spot (as reported yesterday) and a man succumbed to his injuries in hospital later. Four others are still in hospital. One of them is reported to be in a serious condition.

Leaders of the Opposition parties, who later visited the scene of firing, said they found no evidence justifying this action by the police and alleged that the firing was "part of the Government's strategy of unleashing violence to subdue the mass agitation."

This is the fourth police firing since the Opposition agitation to end Communist rule in Kerala started on June 12. The other three were at Ankamali, Pulluvila and Kochuveli in which 12 persons were killed and 36 others injured.

The Auxiliary Bishop of Trivandrum, in a statement, said that the police also fired at the Church and presbytery at Cheriathurai yesterday.

The Vimochana Samara Samiti and the Bishops have telegraphed to the President of India, the Prime Minister and the Home Minister about this incident.

Messrs. M. K. Mustapha, General Secretary of the Kerala Pradesh Congress Committee, G. Chandrasekhara Pillai, President of the District Congress Committee, R. Parameswaran Pillai, ex-Mayor, T. K. Narayana Pillai, former Chief Minister of Travancore-Cochin State, Kainikara Padmanabha Pillai, K. P. Nilakanta Pillai, former Speaker, and a few others met the Government of Kerala, Dr. B. Ramakrishna Rao, yesterday separately and in groups. It is understood that they represented to the Governor the serious situation in the State and alleged police excesses.

Mr. Ponnara G. Sridhar, PSP, M.L.A., and a Councillor of the Trivandrum Corporation, in a statement, has alleged that he was waylaid at Vengannoor yesterday and was "kept under illegal custody by the Communist goondas" for about two hours.

A piecegoods shop belonging to one Chellappan at Valiathurai has been looted yesterday afternoon by the local Catholic fishermen suspecting that Chellappan was giving information about their activities to police.

The Government Press Note on the firing said:

"The Government regret to announce that police were forced to resort to firing at Cheriathurai, a coastal suburb of Trivandrum City, yesterday at 12-25 p.m.

"A report was received that a crowd had surrounded a Government godown (for cement and iron) at Valiathurai, and that the watchman there was being threatened. The Sub-Inspector of Police, Fort, with the Sub-Inspector of Police, Traffic, and two sections of the armed police were directed to the place to deal with the situation. Information was also received that crowds were gathering in the Cheriathurai area, south of Valiathurai. Therefore, the Sub-Inspector, Puthenchanthai, who was patrolling the Veli Area in a radio vehicle and a patrol van was also directed to join the Sub-Inspector, Fort, and his patrol party. The party went to Valiathurai and then patrolled up to Poonthurai and turned back on the way back. When they were at a point about a furlong north of Bhimapalli and near the Youth Congress Office, Cheriathurai, they found the road blocked by means of catamaran logs. The police vehicles had to stop at the road block. Suddenly, there was heavy stone-throwing at the vehicles from the mob, partly stationed at the sides of the road and in neighbouring compounds. Some policemen received injuries even inside the vehicles. The police patrol consisted of two radio vans, one jeep and two police vans.

The police party found themselves in a trap, neither able to go forward nor to turn back. The police party then got down from their vehicles. The stone-throwing increased. More policemen received injuries from stones. The Sub-Inspector warned the mob to disperse and that fire would be opened if they did not do so. The warning was not heeded to. An MSP Sub-Inspector, who was in the rear of the column, received a stone hit and fell down. Six or seven members of the mob attempted to drag the Sub-Inspector away. While doing so, part of his uniform was torn. In self-defence he fired two shots from his pistol. The officers persent found that there was no way except to clear the road block somehow, and extricate themselves and the vehicles as quickly as possible. As the policemen were trying to clear the road block, the stone-throwing was intensified. In order to enable the policemen to clear off the road block, firing in the directions from where stones were coming was ordered. In all, 16 rounds were fired excluding two rounds fired by the MSP Sub-Inspector from his pistol. As soon as the road block was cleared, the policemen were ordered back to their vehicles, and the police party drove away. The police party stopped at Vallakadavu, and waited for reinforcements to go back to the scene of firing and to ascertain the number of casualties.

"On receiving information, the Collector, Trivandrum, and the Superintendent of Police, Trivandrum, proceeded to the spot with a strong police force. On the way, they found Shri R. Parameswaran Pillai (ex-Mayor, Trivandrum—Congress) bringing one of the injured in a car. Four other injured were in a van which preceded the car.

"The Collector and the Superintendent of Police, with reinforcements, went back to Cheriathurai and searched the area. They found one dead body, that of a woman aged about 30, with a gun-shot injury. The dead body was removed to the mortuary.

"Three Sub-Inspectors, one Head Constable, one Naik, one Lance Naik and 14 Constables who receiveed injuries at Cheriathurai have been admitted in the hospital. The injured members of the mob, removed by Sri Parameswaran Pillai, have also been admitted in the Hospital.

"The police party returning to Cheriathurai found that the road blocks which had been moved to the sides by them to drive through and most of the stones, had already been removed from the place in a well-planned effort to suppress the evidence of the earlier rioting.

"It may be recalled that on Thursday at Cheriathurai in front of the Youth Congress Office, a crowd of about 500 attacked a State Transport bus."

Mr. R. Sankar, President of the KPCC, in a statement, issued today, regarding the firing at Cheriathurai said: "The police opened fire today at Cheriathurai, a coastal village adjoining the Trivandrum City. Five girls belonging to this village picketed the Collectorate in the morning. The villagers told me when I visited the village within three hours of firing that a local policeman had threatened them early in the morning that they would be taught a lesson before noon today. Just about noon, the police vans arrived and stopped in front of the office of the village Youth Congress. Seeing this, some of the villagers gathered there. The police at once started chasing them. An alarm was raised and the people living in the nearby houses in the village ran about in fear. The police chased them and opened fire. Many fell down. The police even entered some houses and fired at innocent people engaged in their usual avocations. Some of the villagers jumped into the sea and saved theselves. A pregnant woman squatting in the courtyard of her house was shot at and she died."

Till 4 p.m. eight casualties are known to have occurred. Of the remaining seven wounded persons the condition of three is serious, Mr. Sankar said.

The police is stated to have driven from the village up to Vallakadavu and on their way, aimed their fire at the labourers assembled near the foodgrains depot. No casualty is, however, reported. The village is stated to have presented a dismal appearance and women and children were seen wailing, Mr. Sankar said.

Mr. Sankar continuing said: "I made very searching enquiries and I did not come across any evidence of provocation for this atrocious crime. One police officer was heard speaking to a journalist about some road obstruction but we saw no evidence of it. I know there is no use in asking the Communist Government to desist from such crimes. I have a feeling that this is a part of their recent strategy of unleashing violence on the people indiscriminately with a view to terrorising and thus subduing the mass agitation. I once again appeal to the people to maintain absolute non-violence in the face of these and worse provocations lest we should fall into the trap laid by the Communist Government."

Mr. Pattom Thanu Pillai said that the shooting at Cheriathurai was "fully in accordance with and the result of the policy of terrorism unashamedly pursued by the Communist Government." He said that at the place where the police opened fire at 12-30 p.m., a woman's dead body was still lying when he visited the spot at 2-15 p.m. "I was told that the woman was pregnant and was with a suckling baby. About a dozen persons, it is said, have been removed to the hospital. So far as I have been able to gather, there was absolutely no provocation or justification for the firing. There was not even a crowd. Isolated individuals were shot. Five women from that place, I am told, took part in the

picketing at the Collectorate today and that is the only cause for the firing. How long are we to put up with this kind of terror is the question on everybody's lips. How long will the Government of India permit this terrorist situation in this unfortunate State?"

Mr. Mannath Padmanabhan said: "If on the 15th, the police had selected the northern portion of Trivandrum Beach at Kochuveli for firing today they have chosen the southern portion at Cheriathurai. Have not the Communists quenched their thirst for Catholic blood? Why do they select Catholics alone as fodder for their cannon?" he asked. He said that no one could be misled by these deliberate firings in picked-out places. "Rumours were afloat in the city from morning onwards that the police were busily preparing for a firing today." Today, it was alleged that the police had chosen Cheriathurai for the mere reason that they sent five girl pickets to the Collectorate in the morning. He said the fisherfolk narrated harrowing stories of police atrocities. They said that they were assaulted when they had flocked around the net to observe the day's fish-catch. Some of them jumped into the sea to save their lives and it was reported that even in the deep sea they were not spared.

Nkrumah and Welensky

The Welensky Government has had serious accusations made against it for atrocities perpetrated on the grounds of an "emergency." The repurcussions in Ghana are reflected in the extracts given underneath from the *Evening News* of Accra of March 23, received by Sea mail:

Roy Welensky has missed the boat! It is shocking that a man who brags so much of the murderous degree he has struck with his Herenvolk civilisation cannot understand the simple logic advanced by an African whose cultivated sobriety is a positive challenge to his racial theories.

In what plainly represents a very poor answer to Dr. Nkrumah's statesmanship, Sir Roy is obviously trying to ignore the essential challenge thrown him by Ghana Premier last week: namely, that he represents in Central Africa the interest of minority settlers and must first, in order to qualify to speak with majority voice, first establish in his country the democratic principle of one man, one vote.

Since 1951, the Nkrumah Government has been popularly mandated by the Ghana people to man the ship of state under a Democratic system under which the very people possess the right to remove him from office if they find that he does not represent their true aspirations.

The people deported from this newly-liberated country (we require eternal vigilance for peaceful and unmolested growth) are not Ghanaians; if they were Ghanaians, they would have been jailed and not deported, according to the popular will. Welensky can tell it to the marines that his government is democratic. *It is not.* It is Colonial, imperialistic and fascist. The world knows better.

Welensky reduces himself to the level of a ruffian when he resorts to cheap lying to make up for the deficiencies in his case. The local detainees were held not for opposing Dr. Nkrumah but for undermining the Security of the State, the preservation of which is the first thing in a modern Democracy. Besides, the M.P.'s among them were only two not forty as he deliberately misquotes. Of course, the case of these two men is still *subjudice* and we leave off further comment until later.

The uneasy situation in Central Africa must have thrown Welensky's nerves into a neurotic blitz for him to have gone the length he did to fabricate evidence upon which to continue his suppression of the legitimate organisation and aspirations of the African people in order to prepare the way for the Colonial office to give him power by 1960.

But despite the fact that the leaders have been arrested and their organisation suppressed, the irresistible might of African nationalism surges on to victory and the ultimate defeat of the imperialist organisation which Welensky represents is inevitable.

TAGORE AND THE REACTION IN THE WEST

By SUDHANSU MOHAN BANERJEE, M.A., LL.B., I.A.A.S. (Retd.)

Before we take stock of what Tagore stands for, his philosophy of life, his religion of man, his doctrine of harmony, and his influence in the West, we have to realise and appreciate two things. First, he was born in an epoch and in a family where old ideas and ideals were having their first shock from the impact of a western civilisation. Secondly, though we have hailed him as a prophet of nationalism or a preacher of internationalism, as a seer and a sage, as a creative idealist or educationist, or as a leader of thought and leader of men, he was essentially first and last a poet, a dreamer, a weaver of imageries, rich, rapturous and resonant, sensuous, passionate and sensitive to every yearning in man and nature, susceptible to their every change in mood and every challenge in outlook and combining them in an expression of rare harmony and beautiful diction. Today when time has come to evaluate Tagore, not merely in subjective adulation, but also in an objective valuation of what he stands for, what he tells us, what he preaches, this limitation of a poet's outlook on life has to be recognised. He was himself aware of this and he reminded us often about it.

Do not ask me—what is Mukti or
freedom or where is it.
I am not a Sadhak.
I am but a poet, I stay very near
the world and its worldliness
On this side of the life's stream.
In the front meanders the river
with its flow and ebb,
It moves on swift current
Taking good and evil, shadow and
darkness
Waves splash on the life's board,
Love and Light
In the sands of time.
My heart leaps up in that music
and dance
That spark of breath
which weaves
Life's joys and sorrows, its
passion of pride and praise
Its tears and laughter.
That I have caught in my lute.*

Even if he did not make any lasting impression on European literary form of expression, there is no question that he made a deep influence on contemporary thought pattern and concept of humanism. There was a new enlargement of the idea of cultural rapproachment which was taking shape. His recognition of Man was something poetic. He denied the negation of Man but he did not say like Protagoras or Emmanuel Kant or Karl Marx that Man was an end in itself. To Tagore Man was of course the meeting point of Man but to him, the individual man, the unsophisticated, the untouched, the unorganised Man appealed. His religion of man referred to that individual man who was part of a transcendental world, who was a focus point of divinity. His humanism was therefore bound to differ from that brand which arose from an ethical union, from a concept of society based on values liberated from the time-honoured spiritual bondage. Today's radical humanism speaks of a rediscovery of the essence of Man's nature. It is not to believe but to question and enquire. Man is a focal point there also, but reason is not a metaphysical category but a biological heritage which enables man to rediscover the essence of his nature. It is not only the conscious harmony of nature, but an empirical reality.

*Writer's own interpretation.

Tagore's approach to world problems is also imaginative and poetic in a sense. He is attracted to them by the unlimited capacity of an universal mind and the appreciation of a great creative artist. So he was not realistic to that extent as Gorky would be or even a Rolland. He was guided more by heart and imagination than by intellect and experience. I am borrowing these words from Sri Aurobindo when he characterised the main difference between Vyasa and Valmiki.

The extent of his popularity in those days following the award of Nobel Prize is recorded in the various languages in which his books were translated—every available European language not merely English, French, German or Italian was the vehicle of his thought—Swedish, Danish, Dutch, Czech, Russian, Spanish, Portuguese, Jugoslav, Latvinian, Estonian, and even Hebrew. There is a translation of *The Gardener* in "Jiddish" also. *Broken Ties* were translated in French (A quatri Voix) by Madeleine Rolland in 1925. We not only find a Russian translation by Khakhlova from Leningrad but a Bulgarian also from Sofia in 1926. *My Reminiscences* (Mina Minnen) created a furore in Stockholm seven years after the Nobel Prize. There is a Latvian translation of 1937 of *Lover's Gift* when Tagore has ceased to be a fashion in Europe. Government Publishers of the Soviet Regime published *Glimpses of Bengal* in 1927. There was a Czech translation from Prague in 1922. Though there was no translation of *Lipika* in English there was a German translation in 1926 from original Bengali.

It was against this background that we have to trace the evolution of not only the poet's philosophy of life and religion of man but also his evaluation of the West and the West's evaluation of him. It can be compartmentalised in a way. His early sweet contacts as a student and through their art and literature, science and technique evoked praises where necessary, moulded his thought and his outlook on life. Since 1912 he has been a world figure. He burst into western consciousness—some hailed him as a New Messiah, others were critical. Countries competed with countries. The war and its aftermath had left its trail and they tried to get as much comfort and solace as they could from Tagore. But did Tagore fail as an universal Teacher? The pendulum swung from one end to another. Even in 1929 he was accused—China's future has been much more seriously prejudiced by the ideas imported and peddled by such persons as Bertrand Russell, John Dewey, Tagore, etc., than by all opium, morphia, heroin, cocaine and hasheesh imported and produced in China during the past three centuries.

Apart from any Western influence which he had imbibed here in his own land, his first real contact with Europe came in 1878 when he came to England with his brother Satyendranath for further education. It was remarkable that in a young man of 17|18 the first vision of a sea voyage was no catch, but in a speech at Milan later, he said—Italy was my first introduction to Europe. He saw her in moonlight in midnight. It was the sight of Europe asleep—like a maiden dreaming. His first genuine experience of Europe was at the International Exhibition at Paris. He was later admitted in a public school at Brighton. There is a humorous story of his contact with English Society when in a Fancy Dress Ball he robed himself as a Zamindar of Bengal. He joined afterwards the London University College and studied under Prof. Henry Morley.

His second visit to England was in 1890 twelve years later when he was 29 years of age. It was mainly a holiday when Europe of his vision gathered through literature, the ideal Europe was in the front. His next trip to Europe was 22 years later when at the request of Rothenstein and others who had read some of the translations of his poems and short stories he went there. We remember what this great arrtist wrote, "I have carried the manuscript of these translations about with me reading them in railway trains and on the top of omnibuses and in restaurants and I have often had to close lest some stranger would see how it moved me." Gradually his English renderings got into the English

press and even before he got the Nobel Prize, papers like the *Times Literary Supplement*, the *Manchester Guardian* and people like Stopford Brooke, Yeats, Ezra Pound, May Sinclair began to speak of his poetry and the inspiration it gave to them. *The Manchester Guardian* wrote in 1913 at the time of the great Damodar Flood, "We do not deserve his *Gitanjali* if we do not care about the people to whom he made these songs in the Bengali rhythm."

Stopford A. Brooke said, "I have read them with more than admiration and with gratitude for their spiritual help and for the joy they bring and confirm . . . . . I wish I were worthy of them."

In America also his name was just being flashed. At Rochester at Urbana, at Chicago he was giving lectures. The subjects chosen such as the Problem of Evil, Race Conflict, Nationalism versus Internationalism showed the impact of the West on his mind. In one of these meetings he met the German philosopher Aucken. He emphasised that the meaning of the living words that come out of the experiences of great hearts can never be exhausted by any one system of logical interpretations. They have to be endlessly explained by the commentaries of individual lives and they gain an added mystery in each revelation. For Western scholars the great religious scriptures of India seem to possess merely a retrospective and archaeological interest but to us they are of living importance.

Then came the Nobel Prize in 1913 in November. It need not be gainsaid that the shock was too great for the West. The man who burst into the rich canvas of Europe and America in 1912-13 in a dazzling glare was the first non-European recipient of a world prize. He was a man in whose mental composition and intellectual poise several influences had worked from early boyhood. His family's tradition was of course there. Upanishadic monism coupled with Vaishnavic dualism, tantric esoterism, a pagan outlook and added to them a scientific attitude towards life and a sense of unflinching rationalism tinged with a mystic touch plus a western influence, all combined in giving his poet's creed a philosophical outlook of a curious mixture. Yet the fact is that the receptive mind of the poet blended them into a harmonius cocktail of a beautiful colour and rich vintage. His bias for Buddhistic tenets was also recalled.

The charge was laid by a leading Vienna paper in 1913 (as quoted by Aronson) when he got the Nobel Prize. 'Has the award of the prize been due to the exotic Buddhistic fashion?' Others were more furious. I quote again from Aronson "The awarding of the Nobel Prize for literature . . . . to a Hindu has occasioned much chagrin and no little surprise among writers of the Caucasian race . . . . . " Another big paper on the other side of the Atlantic wrote, "It will take time for us to accommodate ourselves to the idea that any one called Rabindra Nath Tagore should receive a world prize for literature. The name has a curious sound. The first time we saw it in print it did not seem real." (Quoted by Aronson).

Arguments and sometimes violent discussions started on the merits and demerits of Rabindranath's poetry and possible political implications of the award. Even in the *Cambridge History of English Literature* published in 1916 no mention was made of Rabindranath or to his English *Gitanjali*, though the chapter on Anglo-Indian Literature was written by an English Professor who was in Calcutta and in Bengal, Prof. Oaten. It was openly hinted that Prince William of Sweden who had visited the Tagores earlier and was convinced of 'the poet's loathing of British rule' was responsible for this award and who were the other competitors that year, Thomas Hardy and Anatole France. Occidental misgivings continued, though men like Stopford A. Brooke, Yeats, Ezra Pound, men who could speak with authority were simply enamoured of him. Charles Andrews speaks of the exotic influence which Tagore's poems made on him and of the night at Hampstead Heath when he thought and thought of the beautiful lines he had heard. Lowes

Dickinson speaks of a meeting with Bertrand Russel and Tagore. Russel began to talk. Tagore fell into silence. But afterwards he said it had been wonderful to hear Russel talk. He had passed into a 'higher state of consciousness' and heard as it were from a distance, and Dickinson questioned—What, I wonder had he heard. Even as late as 1921 or 1925 a leading Western paper (*Manchester Guardian* quoted by Aronson) wrote: "It is difficult for the average westerner to appreciate much of this, he dips into something that cannot fathom. We treasure the volume as we treasure a Persian carpet or a Japanese print. . . . ."

Another wrote ". . . . The Editor is quite right, we from the West do not want from the East poetic edifices built upon a foundation of Yeats and Shelley and Walt Whitman. We want to hear the flute of Krishna as Radha heard it, to fall under the spell of the blue god in the lotus heart of dream." Again another opined that Tagore did not bring any thing new, or strange. It was like the return of a prodigal—a Victorian coming back with what has been lent by the West. People like D. H. Laurence were sceptic about him and it is stated, wrote that this wretched worship of Tagore attitude was disgusting.

As late as 1929 Rabindranath in an unprecedented sarcastic fury wrote to C. F. Andrews from America. "In the meantime their newspapers are hilariously impressed by this figure of an oriental mystic coming out of the railway train and also down from his cloudland of introspection, to the mundane world, dressed in a long robe and blue socks, graciously posing himself to be photographed. Yesterday I gave a lecture to a small group of students and some of them sat mopping their faces with powder puffs and some at the end came to shake hands with me. The President benignly pleased had a photograph taken later of a group composed of an oriental fool and a member of the the Nordic race who always minds his own purpose . . . . This is a fit climax which had its first act in the Immigration office, Vancouver."

Charles Andrews recalled in his inimitable way how Rabindranath reacted to the First World War and the gospel of socalled nationalism. In 1916 he arrived in Japan with the prestige of an Eastern Bard who has won the brightest of the Western laurels. It was the advent of a Hero—"roses, roses, all the way." But his outspoken frankness on nationalism at the Imperial University at Tokyo cost him his popularity.

He had told them frankly—Let Japan find her own true mind which will not merely accept lessons from others but will create a world of her own. The newspapers howled at him as the poet of a defeated nation and in reply Andrews says he wrote one of the most beautiful poems which I quote below:

"My master had bid me, while I sing at the roadside to sing the song of Defeat for that is the bride whom he woos in secret. She has put on the dark veil hiding her face from the crowd but the jewel glows on her breast in the dark. She is forsaken of the day and God's night is waiting for her with its lamps lighted and its flowers wet with dew . . . But the stars are singing the love-song of the eternal to a face swift with shame and suffering. The door has been opened in the lonely chamber, the call has sounded and the heart of the darkness throbs with awe because of the coming tryst."

But this very delicate beauty of his mental pang is at once his strength as well as his weakness. Man the universal gets mixed up with Man the individual.

It was however in Germany that he got his best, was lionised to an extent unheard of. Tagore and Keyserling became fashion just in the post-war days. German 'Kultur' wanted a reorientation and Tagore was handy. We read that in May 1921, all Europe celebrated Tagore's birthday in a way that seemed staggering. We have to remember it was Germany after the First World War, prostrate, hungry and like a beaten lion licking its wounds, which had become introspective. Was it the beginning of a decline of the West as Spengler prophesied, was it that a new message was needed, a new hope, a new faith? Thoughts turned to Tagore. His Christlike face, flowing robes and dreamy eyes drew thousands. Arrangements were made to publish in Germany alone 30 lakhs of his books when already 8 lakhs had been sold. If we are to believe, it is told, that fifteen thousand copies were sold on the day following a lecture in Berlin in 1921. *Sunday Times* of London was stupefied and wrote: "It is perhaps politically typical in Germany today that one of the best-read authors is the Indian Tagore whose mystic dullness appeals as a kind of anodyne." In France it was stated, "The youth of Germany looks towards the East and turns its back to Europe." We read stories of the triumphal marches of the poet as if he was a religious revivalist and certainly Count Keyserling or Hermann Hesse did much to contribute to this theory. Some thought Rabindranath typified an impact of Christian ideas on a truly representative Hindu Mind.

And that is why the poet's prayer arises:

"Where can I meet thee unless in this mine home made thine? Where can I join thee unless in this my work transformed into thy work? If I leave my home I shall not reach thy home; if I cease my work I can nver join thee in thy work. For thou dwellest in me and I in thee. Thou without me or I without thee are nothing."

Tagore and Rolland, two master minds were life-long friends. Dr. Kalidas Nag tells us how the nature and character of God in the old and the new Testament, often drew them in a discussion. We are reminded of what Rolland wrote in *Jean Christophe*:

"The West is burning away," says Oliver, "Soon . . . . Very soon . . . . I see other stars arising in the furthest depths of the East." And Christophe exclaims, "Bother the East! The West has not said its last word yet. Do you think I am going to abdicate? I have enough to say to keep you going for centuries." But Oliver was not content with vague feelings of impending doom. He studied Eastern philosophies and religion. They opened his eyes to the futility of all action not rooted in detachment and divine indifference to earthly gains. Indeed Oliver seemed in some respect, to reach certain conclusions about the ultimate significance of all action, not dissimilar from the conclusions reached in recent times by Aldous Huxley. Was Oliver the prototype of Rolland?

Even before he became acquainted with Raoindranath Tagore's famous lecture in Japan in 1916 (*The Message of India to Japan*) Rolland looked in Asia for new elements of thought which might revitalise Europe. He himself (with the help of his sister, a fellow traveller as he calls her in the pilgrimage of soul) had translated extracts from Tagore's lecture and published them in the form of an appendix to one of his anti-war pamphlets which were distributed in the trenches. Tagore himself was quite unaware at that time of the interest Rolland took in him. Only in 1919 Rolland wrote his first letter to Tagore, enclosing the "Declaration of the Independence of the Mind" which he requested Tagore to sign. It is one of the miracles of human history, said Rolland, that one century should have produced two giants of faith and action in one and the same country, two men who were friends although they according to Rolland, represented two opposing poles of humanity. For while Mahatma Gandhi was the universal stream of faith incarnate, Rolland discovered in Tagore the free soul, the individual conscience. These two personalities were like the thesis and anti-thesis of life both contradicting and supplementing each other. The fact that, in his book on Mahatma Gandhi, Rolland took sides and chose the 'free soul' as opposed to the stream of faith was the result of his sufferings during the war years, his conviction that the faith of the masses was blind and unconscious and could easily be led to destruction and even self-annihilation. And when Tagore in 1921 'felt suffocated by the blind belief and obedience of the followers of the faith of the Master' Rolland saw in Tagore's doubts and fears the individual conscience at work: "We

know this anguish and this protest. They belong to all times. The last noble souls of the expiring antique world gave vent to the same feelings in the fact of the Christian faith which gradually asserted its sway. We ourselves feel that such a sentiment of opposition or antipathy rises in us, in the face of those human tides which the blind flow of faith, national or social, often causes. This is the eternal revolt of the free soul against ages of faith to which this faith itself might have given rise, for though faith is, for the minority of the elect, infinite liberty, it is for the mobs who acclaim it, only an additional chain of slavery . . . Gandhi is a mediaeval universalist. With all veneration to the Mahatma, I am with Tagore."

Those of us who were at least teenaged then to appreciate even faintly what was happening will recall in those epoch-making days of Jallianwallah Bag and Rowllatt Bill, poet's surrendering his Knighthood and the non-co-operation movement, a frenzied drama of passion and prejudice, a titanic struggle to capture our allegiance between faith and reason, between a Gandhi and a Tagore, when a Chittaranjan was shouting with all the dynamic fervour and warmth of a new convert and a Sir Asutosh trying to stem the tide to save like King Canute his little Empire of the College Square from the onslaught of a rushing tide. In remarkable words the great sentinel gave vent to his fear:

"The infinite personality of man can only come from the magnificent harmony of all human races. My prayer is that India may represent the co-operation of all the peoples of the world. Unity is that which embraces and understands everything . . . it cannot be attained through negation . . . . But to say that it is wrong to co-operate with the west is to encourage the worst form of provincialism and can produce nothing but intellectual indigence. The problem is a world problem. No nation can find its own salvation by breaking away from others. We must all be saved or we must all perish together." Brave words . . . . Today we can appreciate how a true poet was also a prophet. He saw ahead and said:

"Our first duty at dawn is to remember Him. He who unites us in wisdom—"

Gandhi's reply was characteristic: The poet lives for the morrow. The house is on fire. Men are dying for want of food. My duty is to feed the hungry. The human bird under the Indian sky gets up weaker than when he pretended to retire. For millions it is an eternal vigil or an eternal trance. I have found it impossible to soothe suffering patients with a song from Kabir . . . . Do right. Dark and tragic words were Rolland's comments. Tagore, the great sentinel, was equally emphatic. "India's destiny is bound up in Narayana, and not in Narayani Sena . . . . Swaraj—Home Rule is not really our goal. Our battle is a spiritual battle, a fight for humanity. We must emancipate men from the meshes he has woven around him, from the organisations of national selfishness. We must persuade the butterfly that the freedom of the sky is better than the shelter of the cocoon." It was at this time that he was founding the Visva-Bharati where he inscribed the aims to be—'To seek to realise in common fellowship of study the meeting of the East and the West—free from all antagonism of race, nationality, creed or caste and in the name of one Supreme Being, Shantam, Shivam, Adwaitam, The All Peace, the All Good and the One.'

Rolland hailed Tagore as one of the beaconlights of a new changing world. In subsequent years when Tagore came into contact with Mussoloni and others, the free individualist as Rolland was, he had to correct many of Tagore's impressions about the fascist countries. In an unpublished letter of Rolland to Rabindranath dated 11-11-26 from Villeneuve which Aronson quotes and in which this incident is referred to, Rolland's words are worth repeating, "I had no interest in my mind but your glory, which I value more than your rest. I did not want devils misusing your sacred name in the annals of history. Forgive me if my intervention has caused you some restless hours. The future will show that I have acted as your faithful and vigilant guide."

Writing many years later, an English commentator of a Tagore Volume wrote:

"In 1914 when Mr. Yeats found that the prose translations of the poet's *Gitanjali* had stirred his blood as nothing had for years, he could not help regretting that he knew nothing of their author's life nor of the movements that had made them possible. Scrarcely had anyone at that time, outside Bengal, heard even the name of the poet-philosopher. Today the case is very different: his name is greeted with enthusiasm, wonder and reverence in almost every part of the civilized world, and pictures of him are to be found in thousands of homes. In most of the great cities of both hemispheres surging crowds have been held spell-bound by the melody of his voice, even when they did not understand the language of his addresses or recitations; larger numbers have been fascinated by his refined and well-chiselled lineaments, which together with his silver locks, his flowing beard, his eyes full of mystic inspiration, and his long and loose robes, have recalled to their minds the vision of a prophet of Judea or of a seer of ancient India. No poet, ancient or modern, has been received during his lifetime with the honour and respect with which Dr. Tagore has been greeted, whether in the West or in the East, and there is scarcely any cultivated language into which some, at least, of his works have not been translated."

So here was a poet of the East whom the West accepted with mixed feelings. Was he a product of the West? Was he a product of the assimilative forces at work or was he merely the East speaking to the West? Did the West accept him merely as a poet, as a literary man, as a writer of short stories and novels or was he more accepted as a philosopher, a prophet, a preacher for the under-dog and the have-nots? Was it the story of a conscience or was he a charlatan whom the spirit of the time and the frustration of an age threw up?

His very last words on the crisis of civilization still ring in our ears. "As I look around, I see the crumbling ruins of a proud civilization strewn like a vast heap of futility. And yet I shall not commit the grievous sin of losing faith in man. I would rather look forward to the opening of a new chapter in his history."

The poet had always claimed a rapprochement not only between East and West but between its materialistic development and technological order and its spiritual, aesthetic and artistic experiment.

The Hibbert Lectures seem to be a turning point of his attitude towards the West and though his fame had declined and had shed some of its mystic lustre, a sober estimate became possible not only of the poet but also by the poet, though even in 1936 competent critics thought that there was only raw material of poetry in Tagore but never poetry itself. Even Yeats, the sponsor, had become Yeats the perverse. Though there was a modest revival, there was definitely later in Europe, particularly in England, an idea that Tagore was nothing but a dreamer and a visionary. In 1934 *The Morning Post* wrote, "Tagore dreams, while Shaw talks. There is nothing Tagore likes than dreaming and there is nothing that Bernard Shaw loves than talking. So the two are extremely happy in each other's company."

The hysterical acclamations of frustrated millions died down as it did, but as Thomas Slurge Moore wrote a few years before Rabindranath's passing away, "You have had a myriad lovers in your lifetime, myriad more who though of a more trustworthy character will never fill their eyes with your bodily presence. So you are one of the luckiest poets."

The measure of his moderate revivalism in the late thirties when Europe was being threatened by another war was typified by Oxford's honouring him with an Honorary D. Litt.

This was the era also of his recognition as a bizarre artist—a painter of repute.

His estimate of the socialist regime in Soviet Russia in his famous *Letters from Russia* had established him in another part

of the world as a world figure and is responsible for the great veneration with which he is held in Russia today. We read of the great efforts that are being made in that part of the globe for the centenary celebration of the Poet. Only the other day a newspaper wrote that there was a Tagore play on the Soviet stage, *Bisarjan* or Sacrifice. Tagore's poetry, we were also told, has been a fountain of inspiration for the Soviet Composers. Wonderful songs have been composed by Sergei Vassilenko on the Tagore pattern. As early as 1924-26, six songs were issued by the State Music Publishing House of Moscow. In 1935 all Russia heard with delight and surprise four fine delicate love lyrics composed by Mikhail Ippolilov-Ivanov, based on Rabindranath.

The last ten years of his life saw also a definite change in his attitude. He was more introspective, more agnostic, more philosophical and searching than any period of his life. It was a definite change of weather. He himself said, "The solitary enjoyment of the Infinite in meditation no longer satisfied me and the texts which I used for my silent worship lost their inspiration without my knowing it. I am sure I vaguely felt that my need was spiritual self-realisation in the life of men through some disinterested service." That is why he wanted to be a world worker "Esha devo Visvakarma." All work that is good, however small, is universal in character.

This was perhaps in a way influenced partially by his visit to Russia. He saw the Russian Experience as "turning the tide of wealth from the individual to collective humanity." He saw the practical demonstration of how enormous difficulties could be surmounted. And naturally his thoughts turned to his own little efforts at Sri Niketan and earlier experiments at centres like Patisar, and other places. Let us in all humility not forget in these days of plans and programmes that it was a dreamy poet who was one of the first pioneers of national planning and who was not merely content to give it a theoritical expression but tried to give effect to it though in a tiny way. It is more than a shame to forget Rabnindranath as the forerunner of planning who thought of bringing the fruits of applied science to the doors of hungry men and women, who was not merely a visionary, a dreamer, a poet living in ivory tower, but also an active worker, and a still active educationist.

Speaking at America of his school he said:

"The school must have a world whose guiding spirit must be personal love. It must be an Ashram where men have gathered for the highest end of life, in the peace of nature, where life is not merely meditative but fully awake in its activities, where boys' minds are not being perpetually drilled into believing that the ideal of the self-idolatry of the nation is the truest ideal for them to accept. Where they are bidden to realize man's world as God's Kingdom to whose citizenship they have to aspire. Where the sunrise and the sunset and the silent glory of the stars are not daily ignored, where nature's festivities of flowers and fruit have their joyous recognition from man and where the young and the old the teacher and the student sit at the same table to partake of their daily food and the food of their eternal life."*

*Some of the quotations are from Aronsen's book on the subject and are acknowledged with thanks.



GROWING IMPORTANCE OF FOOD

In Policy and Planning

By Prof. AMAR NATH DUTTA, M.A.

Different countries all over the world are running fast on the track of development to increase their standards of living and push levels of economic activity upwards still. The marathon of economic advancement has led other countries on the wing to think seriously about their own economic development and participate in the race. This calls, apart from what happens in the advanced countries, for an ever-increasing proportion of expenditure devoted by the Government and people of the under-developed countries. This makes profound changes in the economic indicators of such countries. In the context of such changing, flexible and dynamic socio-economic variables it would be interesting to study the role that food production plays in a less advanced economy. For the purpose of a limited discussion let us have a look on the Indian economy.

In order to industrialise the country and make it economically more sound, the people of India undertook a stupendous task of planning activity. The entire apparatus of planning is still on its momentum, for the latter is a continuous flexible process. The First Five-Year Plan (1951-1956) to the order of Rs. 2,069 crores has already completed itself and the economy is now getting its way into the third year of the Second Five-Year Plan (1956-61). Total plan expenditure was envisaged to the tune of Rs. 7,200 crores, the public sector making its share to the extent of Rs. 4,800 crores and the private sector covering the rest, Rs. 2,400 crores. On account of a shortfall of internal resources, stringency in foreign exchange reserves and rise in the cost structure, the Planning Commission in May, 1958, split up the plan into two parts: Part A, the "core" of the Plan, and Part B, the supplementary part. Rs. 4,500 crores would be spent on Part A, and if further financial provisions could be made, then the 300 crore-bound Part B would be implemented. On account of price rise, the Planning Commission made the sum total of Part A to the order of Rs. 4,650 crores, that is, by adding to it extra Rs. 150 crores.

In a country swashing with an extensive track of unemployed reserves and struggling with bitter pangs of growing population, the magnitude of employment and income generation would obviously act as the yardstick of its economic regeneration and material welfare. Total employment during the First Five-Year Plan was generated to the extent of 4.5 million and the Planning Commission professed extra employment of 15 million and odd people in the Second Plan. 6 million of employment was to be generated in the urban sector and 9 million in the rural sector. Such a humdrum figure is obviously a fantastic one and based on wishful thinking. For the Planning Commission now feels ill at ease with its publicised targets. In the appraisal of the Second Plan issued by the Planning Commission it is reported that about 2 million jobs have been given outside agriculture and about 1 million in agriculture. Total estimated employment comes to 6.5 at the end of the Second Plan instead of the stipulated figure of 7.9 million total.

The results are self-expressive. With a generation of employment to a total of 8 million (realised) and expected 3.5 million in the urban sector and 9 million and odd in the rural sector, it will usher in a tremendous force reflecting a shooting magnitude of demand. This would be supported by an increase in the tempo of deficit financing of Rs. 532 crores in the First Plan and Rs. 1,200 crores in the Second Plan. It is strange but a fact to note that a

major part of this swelling expenditure in the form of rising income is going to be spent leisurely on foodstuffs and basic consumables. According to the Report of the World economic Survey, the "widespread tendency for demand to exceed available supplies of goods and services of countries in the early stages of development has frequently reflected the deep-rooted aspirations" for a higher living standard. "Food constitutes the major component of consumption in countries with low levels of living and output" (*Economic Development and Stability, Report of the World Economic Survey*, 1957, U.N.O.). This becomes all the more true if we reflect on the time-honoured socio-economic background of our country. Ceremonious by nature, the people residing in this land of festivals and rituals naturally become sensitive to an increase in their incomes through a liberal and lavish approach in their expenditure pattern.

There the problem arises. Apart from other consumption goods, the production of which is strictly limited due to specific factors in a vast country as this one, with sweeping changes in their demand, without anything done to increase their production, we may say, the food production, the 'basic' of all basic necessities, remains virtually stagnant, or else will increase at a snail's pace. What will happen in the face of these two forces exerting relative pulls to each other? In the opinion of a distinguished economist, "When the largest part of the new incomes created is likely to be spent on consumption, and the largest part of the additional consumer demand is likely to fall on inelastic outputs like agricultural products the risk of creating an inflationary spiral becomes manifest." (Dr. Bhabatosh Dutta: *Economics of Industrialisation*).

Here it is that we find the supreme importance of an increasing food production. This calls not only for a rise in the absolute amount of production but an increasing rate in the amount of food production. And the task assumes paramount urgency in view of the rapid strides that a dynamic pulsating economy is making on all fronts.

The basic importance of a galloping rise in food production can be conveniently discussed on following accounts: (a) The output capacity to meet the increasing demand and halt the inflationary spread: (b) to act as a buffer reserve against normal developmental operations and in the face of dwindling foreign exchange reserves: (c) its employment potentiality in throwing surplus population to the extra primary operations: (d) as a support to the Financial Planning.

The first point has just been discussed. In a developing economy the techniques involve large expansion of fiscal and monetary operations and the strategy implied is either deficit financing or borrowing or taxation or utilisation of larger foreign exchange reserves. In any of these cases, extra money spills over the entire economy and the problem is one of regulating the emerging inflationary pressure. If the country had unlimited supplies of foreign currency reserves like a widow's cruse, then of course, the inflationary pressure could be obviated by a larger amount of imports. But this is not the case in our under-developed economy where many contingent demands crop up on existing resources. Due to bottlenecks, and specific shortages of inputs and factors of production, physical output may not correspond to demand in which case physcial controls are virtues(?) out of necessity.

The basic remedy in such a situation is a colossal increase in food supplies. In a developing economy industrialisation has to be started through the building up of heavy machinery and key industries on all fronts. For one reason or the other it is a brain-wave to cry for additional imports of foodgrains. It is, therefore, fundamental, that Government should build up buffer stocks of foodgrains and other strategic commodities and operate on them to moderate price fluctuation. In the considered opinion of the Planning Commission, it becomes decidedly important in the case of foodgrains.

Next comes the question of employment potentiality. The national income structure of different countries, reveals, on analysis, the employment structure of their economies respectively. All kinds of economic activity have conveniently been divided into three types of occupations: (a) Primary occupations meaning agriculture, forestry, pasture, fishing, animal husbandry and the like; (b) Secondary occupations mainly concerned with industrial pursuits, house-building, manuacturing and mining operations; (c) tertiary occupations concerned with a service type, *e.g.*, banking, trade, insurance, commerce, transport, etc. In the advanced countries a major portion of the population are employed in the secondary and tertiary group of operations, while in the less advanced countries, the majority hinge on the primary occupations. Agriculture in main is the harbinger of their economic activity; There are exceptions, however, like the countries of Australia and New Zealand. But these are exceptions in the literal sense and do not come under the general order for analysis as such.

India follows the same order. *The Report of the National Income Committee* (1951) reveals that about 70 per cent of the population are engaged in agriculture and nearly 50 per cent of national income come from agriculture. Food occupies about 70 per cent of the total agricultural production. Agriculture has been a business—not only that—a way of life in India. Any Plan for economic development will have necessarily to be tied with a Plan for the development of agriculture and on that account food production. Economic development will be a utopia without a corresponding development on the food and agricultural front, when the former is an economic function of the latter.

With the development of a country its national income increases. But its composition changes. With the satisfaction of pent-up demand for old products, new wants craving for newer types of productions appear. In order to arrange for increasing supplies of new production, the production-structure has to be reoriented, the economy has to be streamlined, which again means re-shaping the entire occupational pattern in favour of secondary and tertiary sectors.

In India, the occupational pattern has practically remained unchanged over the last three or four decades, despite considerable increase in industrial production. The secondary and tertiary sectors have not grown rapidly enough to make an impact on the primary sector, nor has the primary sector itself thrown up surpluses which would create favourable conditions for employment elsewhere, when agriculture still plods the familiar field. Development implies a shift and a process of transfer of a part of the labour force to secondary and tertiary occupation—the pace of which depends on an increase in the productivity of agriculture itself. Agriculture thus largely acts as a basis of expanding operations. After examining the scope of accommodating extra labour force in small industries sector, which itself will not generate a revolt of rising expectations, the Planning Commission stipulates a fourfold increase in labour force in mining and manufacturing industry.

Finally, in evaluating the requirements of surplus food production we come to the question of physical and financial planning of resources. Changes in the disposition of physical resources are an index of the economic activity. Real resources must exhibit a dynamic growth and equilibrium pattern all along the line. Physical planning is simply the other name of developmental effort in terms of factor allocation, capacity utilisation and income output maximisation. The economy moves on and keeps itself in a state of flux; it oscillates from a lower level to a series of upper levels and displays the need for balance at each stage. Here comes financial planning. Money is a means to measure changes in output. Balance therefore is to be achieved in the Plan in both real and financial terms. Money incomes are generated in the process of production and supplies are utilised in response to it. Money incomes flow in such a way as to balance between demand and supply of consummers' goods, svaings and investments and between receipts and payments abroad. But these should not involve the minimum strain on the price structure of a country. The Second Plan leaves an uncovered deficit of Rs. 400 crores. Due to the high-level of investment activities acute stringency that developed in the money market reacted adversely on the loan operations of the Government. In the Memorandum on the "Appraisal of the Second Five-Year Plan" the Planning Commission notes that "behind the inadequacy of financial resources lies the major limiting factor to developmental effort, *viz.*, food production. High domestic prices as well as the large

import requirements are related in part to the insufficient response of food production to the pressure of demand. It is to the extent that success in this regard can be secured that the rate of investment (employment) in the economy can be stepped up. Hence increased food production will act in the interest of the developmental effort itself.

Having disposed of the need for increasing food production let us cast a look at the picture as it is today. The situation is the result of the working of three variables: Growth of population, Quantum of food production, Qualitative changes in the propensity to consume.

It is a fancied idea that in the face of a surging, swelling and swashing population with food production proportionately more limited, India is already in the grip of the celebrated Malthusian theory of population. Taking a fairly long account of two decades, it may be fittingly replied that a country cannot but import a large amount of commodities to feed its teeming millions which has received scratches of ill-treatment unawares from Britain and Pakistan. Burma was separated from India in 1937. A decade passed and in 1947 the eastern part of Bengal and the western part of Punjab, India's granary of the east and west and a booty of political smugglers were truncated and snatched away in the name of Pakistan. India has, during the last five years, imported food to the average of 1 million tons, while the figures for post-independence period continually went on increasing. Excepting for 1954 and 1955 the years of bumper harvests, India imported 1,420 million tons and 3,580 million tons in 1956 and 1957 respectively. Needless to mention that in the face of an urgent need for foreign exchange reserves such a boosting figure of food imports would obviously count as a drag on our foreign exchange. On account of her increase in population at the rate of 1.25 per cent per annum, 12.5 per cent in a decade, the Foodgrains Enquiry Commission calculates that India's import amount to Rs. 150 crores per year on an average. In physical term it would mean 3 to 4 million tons of foodgrains. It is relevant to note here that according to a technical population study (undertaken by the Princeton University office under the auspices of the World Bank) that current rate of increase in India's population has gone up from 1.5 per cent per annum assumed in the Second Plan to 1.75 per cent per annum. Let us now look into the requirements of food *vis-a-vis* increasing population in absolute terms.

According to the Planning Commission certain assumptions were made in regard to the para-meters of national income, population and consumption habits as also saving, investment and such others. With the help of these projections, it was shown that the country's 1950-51 national income could be doubled by 1971-72 and per capita income could be doubled by 1977-78. The average consumption standard would be raised by 70 per cent as compared with 1970-71. A 12.5 per cent population growth in a decade was assumed. But the rate of growth of population is now changing. Even, however, in this assumed model of unchanged rate of growth of population it may be easily shown that food supply would fall far short of its requirements. In a recent paper (in *Commerce Annual Number*, 1958) submitted by Prof. K. K. Saxena of the University of Allahabad, an interesting and valuable study has been presented. In following the census report he thinks that population will increase from 360 million in 1951 to 410 million in 1961, 460 million in 1971 and 520 million in 1981. The maintenance of consumption at current level will then require a stepping up of agricultural production from 51 million tons in 1951 to 85 million tons in 1961, 96 million tons in 1971 and 108 million tons in 1981. This represents an increase of 21 per cent before 1961, 37 per cent before 1971 and 54 per cent before 1981. The question that naturally comes to our mind is: How do we make provision for all this? Can we meet this deficiency? It is tragic, but a fact to note that the existing irrigated area under rice and wheat alone—some 35 million acres—would yield an additional 3 million tons or even a little more if a 20 per cent increase is brought about only in this area, and that also at the end of the Second Plan. And thus there comes afterwards yawning gaps between achievements and aspiration, a world of difference! Solace is sometime sought by comparing the population figures of different countries with India.

According to the census figures on population, Indian population increased by 10.4 per cent in 1921-30, 12.7 per cent in 1931-40 and 13.2 per cent in 1941-50. On an average it was 1.7 per cent per decade during 1891-1920 and 12.0 per cent per decade during 1920-50. According to Prof. Kingsley Davis, a noted population expert, Japan similarly during 70 years (1870-1940) experienced a growth of about 120 per cent and the United States of America a growth of 230 per cent. Under the circumstance a 1.2 per cent rate of population growth in India in comparison to other countries is hardly a phenomenal one. Malthusian phantom cannot obsess the surging spirit of India's developing economy. But the whole problem assumes paramount importance when we think of population in terms of food supply. The increase in our numbers is not off-set by a corresponding increase in production of industrial goods, food and other agricultural commodities. An increase of the order of cent per cent in foodgrains and other important crops—just in a year is something which deserves our immediate attention.

Next come the qualitative changes in the consumption of food. The preliminary impact of development spurts of an under-developed country on consumption is two-fold: (a) it creates differences in income distribution in different sectors of the economy through high investment; (b) it results in a shortage of consumers' goods. As a result, in the initial stage, the per capita consumption of consumers' goods has increased, but the consumption levels have not shown remarkable improvement. Since the pattern of consumption differs markedly in urban area from its rural counterpart, the problem of food supplies becomes acute. In the *National Sample Survey Report* the following list is given:

	Urban	Rural
Rice	54.78	45.91
Wheat	31.28	16.36
Jower	6.37	11.36
Bojra	10.64	4.55
Misc. (grains)	7.01	21.82

Food is supplied in the urban area essentially through the traders. Their manipulations push the price of food higher and higher upwards. Prices as a result remain high with some amount of stickiness in them. This in turn is due to the supply and demand imbalance which gives rise to fluctuations of stocks of major foodgrains and select increase in per capita consumption in the urban areas. The elasticity of demand is less than unity with an increase in incomes. The people accustomed to consuming inferior types of foodgrains would now consume or at least try to consume better foodgrains. This however lends importance to a rational and a dynamic price policy. Dr. P. C. Bansil, in a learned discussion (*Commerce*: *Annual No* 1958) on consumption pattern of the people of this country arrives at two conclusions: (a) Generally people believe that income elasticity for home-grown food would be more than one, so that every increment in income would bring about a greater demand for food. But the scanty data on the subject in his considered opinion do not substantiate this proposition. (b) Having presented a table on the ranges of elasticities of expenditure, he maintains that the future food policy in India has to aim at a reduction in per capita consumption of foodgrains and increases in that of protective foodgrains. None of these conclusions can be accepted wholly on the face of it. Without being boorish or blunt, we modestly lay down that absolute statement of the order like that cannot be held tenable. The two conclusions would, however, have to be qualified to distil out the partial truth they contain. We would briefly criticise them.

The basic idea that we must get along with at every stage of a discussion on consumption function is propensity to consume (or schedules of consumption) that fairly represents that proportion of income which would be spent on consumption out of income received and so work out different figures for varying incomes. Such a relationship can be postulated as a linear function (consumption function of income) at a given income level assuming a definite pattern of income distribution. But when the pattern itself changes the consumption schedules shift upwards or downwards. Assuming, therefore, a given set of income figures consumption function may conve-

veniently be worked out on time series approach with statistical value. The schedule cuts across the income consumption line of 45° angular projection and the difference between the two represents saving and consumption. Prof. Fellner in his book, *Trends and Cycles of Economic Activity* discusses the whole dynamic time series approach. He says, "The linear shape of the function is merely a simplifying device, but it is realistic to assume that with an unchanging distribution of income the c.c. function (consumption schedule) would faithfully reflect itself. Leaving aside tautologies, the space for which is awfully limited, Dr. Bansil's first conclusion falls to the ground, mainly on following grounds:

(1) The income consumption line, obviously not the function where total income = total consumption holds good for a substantial majority of our population even today.

(2) An unchanging structure of income distribution cannot be realistically assumed. An economy in its streamlined ventures would result in a series of oscillations of all economic variables, *viz.*, income, investment, consumption, saving, interest; etc. So a single consumption function cannot faithfully portray the entire economy and its innumerable changes in the nature, composition and textures of economic indices; and finally

(3) As Prof. Fellner himself points out, "the time series behaviour of the saved proportion of income is very different from its household behaviour. The c.c. line (consumption function) expresses a different sort of relationship from that which can be derived directly from household budget statistics." At another place he mentions: "there exists a significant difference between the behaviour of a family (cross-section behaviour) when it moves from a lower income to a higher income class at a given time of the national income, and the behaviour of a family when its income rises roughly in the same proportion as the incomes of other families in the economy."

An economic abstraction cannot be generalised without having its support in statistics, logic or otherwise.

The second conclusion: The pattern of consumption changing in favour of protective (selective) food can truly be maintained but better be supplemented in the light of what follows: On certain assumptions, the Mehta Committee estimated that during the 2nd Plan period, the consumer demand for foodgrain will increase by about 10 per cent. "This when combined with an increase from 4.0 per cent to 4.5 per cent in the per capita consumption of foodgrains, on account of an expected increase in the 'Per Capita' total consumer expenditure, gives us an expected increase between 14.4 per cent and 15.0 per cent in the consumer demand for foodgrains during the 2nd Plan period."

Again one thing is not however clear. In his table of elasticity ranges which he has shown, the elasticity for main foodgrains and cereals had the lowest range of values. So far this is right. But it is difficult to imagine how the pattern of consumption would overnight change in an opposite fashion with a change in the income of the people when the income elasticity for meat, dairy produce, vegetables, sugar and beverages are approximately equal to unity? A counter reply to Dr. Bansil's inference may be found in the *Enquiry Committee's Report*: "Food, as it is today, is too costly for most of the people. Unless we lay more stress on productivity than on price, we cannot reconcile the subsistence farming on the one hand, and poor purchasing power of the masses on the other."

The upshot of the second part of this discussion is this: A tug-of-war is going on between two pulls of forces in mutually opposite directions. Population is increasing, employment, however small, is making its way and so aggregate demand is increasing on the one hand; on the other hand, the rate of production of the agricultural and the consumption goods remain more or less fixed or increasing in a way that is incapable to touch a silver line. This spells its reaction on the economy. In the short period it results in an increased cost of living and a shooting price level. In the long period the problem manifests itself in the form of higher import. But we are handicapped that way also, for it must be constantly borne in mind that capital repayment by this country would start right from 1961 to the extent of Rs. 100 crores for the debts that we have incurred in the process of development from abroad. However, unless timely controlled, this zig-zag movement of supply and demand without the non-producers of food getting any share of it may well reflect a situation—the type closely resembling "scissors crisis."

The situation in practice is more grim: for nearly two-thirds of the annual rice production is retained by the producers for domestic consumption, barter sales, seeds and payments in kind, releasing only one-third in the market. To a great extent this feature is also highlighted in the All India Rural credit Survey which shows that about 65% of the total sales of crops are effected in villages by traders. The rest makes its access into the assembly markets which cannot be controlled because of their unorganised composition. It should also be remembered that in our country supply and demand of goods are not identical with production and consumption. In between the two there is a twilight zone of "stock reserves" when foodgrains are sold to traders and are detained in stock. So in the sphere of exchange, this propensity to stock plays a large part. In response to the slightest changes in economic situation, changes in prices, expected production and state of monsoons, the dimension of the stock changes. It is, therefore, in the fitness of things, that this stock should be controlled to recover it out of the clutches of unscrupulous traders to ensure smooth and extensive competition between agricultural producers in the market in the long run failing which in the short run it may be controlled by the Government. So, two things can be done to tackle the situation.

In the short period, it should be clearly mentioned that proper arrangement should be made to market the whole produce without any loss or speculative hoarding anywhere. That can be done by socialising the entire trade of foodgrains, in plain terms by state trading. That is the short period measure. In the long period, however, the problem is connected with the raising of food production, which brings other questions like land reforms, irrigation, co-operative farming and institutional factors like credit, marketing and finance. The case for state trading assumes importance in the theories of acute demand and supply imbalance. The Foodgrains Enquiry Committee recommended state trading on all hands and commended along with it the setting up of a price Stabilisation Board and Foodgrain Stabilisation Organisation. At the latest session of the N.D.C. the Government have sounded the proposal to establish a Price Stabilisation Board, through which the state would assume the wholesale trading in foodgrains. In order to avoid costs, the Government thinks that another organisation is hardly necessary.

The basic need and philosophy behind State Trading may be summed up as follows:

(a) The disquieting paradox that the producers do not get high prices, while the consumers are being forced to pay high prices and also that the increased deficit financing will have consequent adverse effect on foodgrain prices.

(b) It is assumed that the low price the producers get is a result of unequal competition as between buyers and buyers. In order to neutralise this unequal competitive power and checkmate the unscrupulous speculative hoarding and other malpractices, state trading is propounded.

(c) A smooth functioning which depends also in some way with the development by a broadbased co-operative system. The second plan has a target of setting up 18,000 primary marketing societies. But even if this plan gets through, we shall reach a stage in a decade and a half where 50 p.c. of the total trading business is performed through co-operative.

(d) A price support programme is hereby given effect to. The Reserve Bank through its traditional credit squeeze could touch only a fringe of the problem as most of the traders have enough liquid cash of their own.

Operational Strategy: The entire operation is to be carried on in two stages: (1) The State would license wholesale trade and regualte its functioning strictly. (2) The second would involve the setting up of state-sponsored Body to undertake large scale purchase and sale operations.

Limitations: The total turnover of a marketable surplus calculated about 200 million tons valued at Rs. 800 crores would have to be controlled by the Government. This is a colossal task. The entire surplus has to be procured, stored and sold, and such a big amount of money is to be invested from the public exchequer.

Secondly, there is the storage problem. Godowns owned by the Central and State Governments would not accommodate more than 40 lakh tons. This means that the Government would have to provide storing anyhow for the extra 160 lakh tons of foodgrains.

Thirdly, this would give rise to another difficulty. The conflict of interests between the surplus and the deficit states would always provoke the latter to indulge in distributional problem or else the manipulating operations would be carried within the States, which is natural.

Finally, costs of the project would increase due to recruitment of trained personnel, inspecting staff, publicity organs, etc., to sound the producers of the changing prices and costs of governmental transports.

Such limitations as these are there. But these must not jam or jar the fundamental task of this hour—that is—how best to control the entire trading operations on a large scale.

Scathing criticisms have been levelled in some quarters against State Trading Corporation. Reference is often made to its soaring unsuccess during the years 1949-52, when it committed the country to a loss of Rs. 50 crores per year. The whole concept is still not explained properly and kept in a nebulous form. These criticisms are not bad, though unpalatable and also may contain handful of truth in them. The root of the entire problem does not lie on the surface, but goes even deeper to the question of physical and financial planning. In countries with a planning apparatus, firsthand assessment of physical resources is primarily made and then a financial plan is drawn up to mobilise physical estimates. Sad enough, in India poor and practically no assessment was made in the true sense of the term during the plan periods in consideration. A financial plan was tentatively drawn up instead and then frequent adjustments made on the availability of resources, thus always pulling the cart before the horse. Foreign aid is an inelastic commodity. Friendly western countries have already warned India of the inadvisability of framing the next plan on the basis of needs rather than resources.

Whatever the case may be: foodgrains control in our country is an uphill task and faltering is more likely in such a case. We should be more cautious as not to err on the wrong side of the situation. Chastisement may scratch our certain defects but that does not carry us too far. Positive action is to be assumed at any point by the State if the situation has to be tackled and normally restored.

In this context it is heartening to observe that according to the resolution adopted by the Public Co-operative National Committee in its meeting on November 5, 1958, intensive efforts will be made to mobilise maximum public participation at all levels in the country. The Committee appointed three Sub-committees to work out detailed proposals. The first sub-committee, with Mr. Sriman Narayan, Member (Agricultural), Planning Commission, as Chairman will formulate concrete proposals, which are to be popularised through the medium of local bodies, non-official committee and voluntary organisation, for mobilising public participation in the drive for increasing food production, ensuring proper marketing and fair distribution. The second sub-committee with Mrs. Deshmukh as Chairman will formulate detailed proposals for local bodies, particularly Panchayets, Co-operatives, non-official bodies at various levels and voluntary organisations for mobilising public co-operation in the matter of food and drinking water. The third sub-committee headed by Dr. V. K. R. V. Rao, will define an appropriate approach for the campaign of public co-operation in planned development in the country.



Shri Jawaharlal Nehru was given a warm send-off at the end of his recent visit to Nepal. Shri B. P. Kairala, Premier of Nepal is seen beside him



The Prime Minister with the Vice-President, Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, and Shri Humayun Kabir



The President, Dr. Rajendra Prasad visited the ruins at Polonnaruwa during his recent visit to Ceylon



The staff of the Indian High Commission in Ceylon and members of their families with the President, Dr. Rajendra Prasad

This time let us view the problem in its long-term aspect. As is known to all, the demand-supply imbalance can be palliated by a stricter control of supply at the short period and through it, may controll the demand for the product; the long-period corrective lies in adjusting the supply of the output. In this case where the total demand for the product is increasing at a break-neck speed, production of food, agricultural commodities and consumers' goods is to be increased as of necessity. The bigger issue remains before us: are we going to shape the realistic, hard, closed-closet programme necessary to achieve food self-sufficiency? The bold answer is: we can, but only if there is a general national awakening, a mobilisation of thought and resources from the man in the ivory tower of bureaucracy and in the facade of business to the ordinary man behind the plough in the field. In order to step up agricultural production to a very high order, the fundamental task lies in getting through and through with a nation-wide and business-like programme for food production. We are to streamline the entire economy in that way. It is high time to realise that agriculture in this land is a craft, a business and a way of living. It is interesting to see how this business may smoothly go on.

Firstly, the village farmer is today broadly following the traditional time-old techniques and methods of cultivation. As a result the production of some varieties of crops yield abnormally low in the world. Secondly, the crux lies with increasing the output. And this can only be done in the face of a drastic revolutionary change in farming methods and practices. But for the poor handicapped agriculturist this would be an entirely new venture when he is not certain of its future impact on agriculture. Thirdly, in a period of acute food shortage and consequent rising inflationary pressure, the man in the field would venture to take up new farming methods more assuredly if he is given a governmental guarantee about the sale of his crops. *The Eastern Economist* aptly states, "The need is for a floor under farm prices to remove from the cultivator the risks he will be asked to take in investing in improved seeds, implements, insecticides, fertilizers, irrigation and the like." Fourthly, comes the question of ware-housing and storing facilities which is long overdue, the provision for which is extremely poor. Fifthly, the credit facility is conspicuous by its absence in the village sides. To sustain the farmer in the process of technical changeover he should be equipped in the transitional period with due credit facilities on the basis of his production potential. Sixthly, a "realistic vigorous approach to land reform is essential in a dynamic and business-like food production programme." The slow pace of land reforms is not only condemnable, it also keeps the farmer in a grip of uncertainty which does not in any way enable him to continue expenditure on farm improvement and development. He does not know where he stands at the present moment. The question of land reforms is intimately associated with the question of ceiling in urban income, which is still floating in the welter of controversies in the high level of the A.I.C.C. In the second plan, the problem of landless farmers is to be solved partly by redistribution of land in this fashion. On the basis of 20 acres for an individual nearly 60 million acres would be available for the entire community. "These surplus lands would hardly be sufficient for increasing the size of ridiculously uneconomic holdings to 2 acres each."

Next: There is at prersent virtually no rural distribution system which gets agricultural aids in the form of improved seeds, fertlizers, etc., in required time and bulk. A reliable and efficient country-wide network of seed multiplication farms, model farming stations, fertilizer centres and all that call for immediate attention.

Finally, the irrigation problem. We are not using the irrigation potential to the full. This is partly because neither the canals nor the fields are prepared for irrigation waters from complete projects and partly because the farmers lack education.

Besides, the time-lag between the availability of benefits and their utilisation is a hurdle to be skipped with technical integrity.

The Planning Commission in its memorandum on appraisals notes: "The lag in the use of irrigation facilities was greater in areas in which the existing legislation does not provide for a compulsory charge in respect of lands for which irrigation is available, whether or not the supplies are utilised; also because sufficient attention has not been given to the construction of distributaries and field channels along with provision of storage capacity and to such measures as the setting up of demonstration farms, introduction of new crop patterns and assistance to cultivators."

This is important. Statistically it may be pointed out that in the year 1951 nearly 51.5 million acres were under irrigation. This represented only 17 per cent of the total cultivated area, leaving the rest, 83 per cent under the vagaries of monsoon. The first plan target of irrigation was 19.7 million acres extra. The achievement was 6.3 million acres under major and 10 million acres under minor irrigation. The second plan target for food production is 15.5 million tons extra on the basis of extra irrigated facilities to be extended over 21 million additional acres from large irrigation works and 9 million acres from minor irrigation works. The achievement is far from being satisfactory. At present there is no record of areas getting benefit from small works which go out of irrigation every year nor is there a close enough correspondence between returns of areas irrigated and of additional irrigation facilities established in successive years. Further, the application of the principle of cost in charging irrigation rates has led to trouble for the cultivators who mostly depend on monsoon rather than irrigation. Naturally this shows their reluctance to use the latter on payment of charges. It is, therefore, in the fitness of things that concessional rates are charged from the very start.

These are the schedules in the transformation programme. The whole programme hinges on co-operatives. Consolidation through co-operative farming should be the transformation point to allow for technical improvements in agricultural farming. But on investigation it has been found that while individualistic way of life is being preferred to joint-family living, rural people are not willing to a considerable extent to part with their ownership of lands and get into the benefit of co-operative farming.

But these troubles are pretty enough to stand the tide of rash emendation or a silent revolution. On final analysis it appears that any scheme for rural upliftment rising out of any corner must be preceded by a thorough estimate and understanding of benefits from such changeover. This can only be done through preparedness-cum-proper training. A broad-based systematic education can do it.



KENYA IN FERMENT

The Genesis of the Mau Mau

By Prof. SUDHANSU BIMAL MOOKHERJI, M.A.

The 19th century was the age of the expansion of Europe beyond its own frontiers. The tables have been turned in the 20th and Europe is being pushed back to its original frontiers. The process is, however, incomplete as yet. A struggle to end colonialism is on.

The Crown colony of Kenya in what is called the British East Africa has been passing through a crisis for about six years. The Mau Mau rebels have been up in arms against the Government from 1952. The rebellion is inspired by the Kikuyu, the largest and most powerful African Tribe of Kenya, and is confined almost wholly to the Kikuyu tribesmen.

Kenya with its 225,000 square miles is quite a large country. The population is less than six million. Yet, paradoxically enough, land is the crux of the Kenyan problem. Sir Philip Mitchell, the Governor of Kenya, who laid down his office in June 1952 shortly before the Mau Mau outbreak, warned the Colonial Office sometime before his retirement: "We (in Kenya) are confronted with an agricultural, economic and social revolution." He had suggested a Royal Commission to study the land question in East Africa. Negley Farson, an American journalist, had pointed out a few years earlier in his well-known book *Last Chance in Africa* that land is "the main tension-making problem in Kenya." English writers like Norman Ley and MacGregor Ross had warned that the alienation of lands to European Settlers would lead to disaster. The prophecy has come true, to the letter, so to say.

Europeans began to settle on the cool, high mountain slopes of Central Kenya in the early years of the 20th century. Later on, the British Government, at their instance, set aside for them a European reserve of some 16,000 square miles popularly known as the White Highlands. "In the total land surface of the country", observes John V. Murra, "this may not be much, but given the present technology it includes 35 to 50 per cent of Kenya's cultivable land." (*Kenya and the Emergency—Current History*, May, 1956). The nature and legality of the settlement have been challenged by many. The English contend that the Highlands, unoccupied when they came, were a sort of no man's land, a bone of contention between the Kikuyu and the Masai pastoralists with neither having an effective control. It should be remembered, however, that the white settlement began at a time when the Kikuyu population had been halved by small-pox, locusts, famine and drought. Much of their territory wore a deserted look; but traditional ownership had not lapsed. European penetration, it must be noted, has affected all the African tribes of Kenya—the Suk, the Kipsigi, the Kamba, the Teita, the Masai and the like—but none so adversely as the Kikuyu, who "had foreigners billeted on them permanently."

The Kikuyus, a healthy people, began to recover from their population losses before long and found land in short supply. Farms were fragmented. Holdings became uneconomic. Pastures were over-graped. Erosion became a real threat. Hundreds of thousands of Kikuyus became landless in the long run. They drifted into towns or became squatters on European farms, where they were allowed to grow their own food on small patches given to them by the white Settlers. But they had to render seasonal service to the farmers on whose lands they were allowed to squat. The squatters were, to all intents and purposes, serfs of the European settlers. Villeinage, long dead in Europe, was born anew on the Kenyan highlands. Here was a problem which needed for a fair and satisfactory solution all the tact, sympathy and generosily in the world. To quote Sir Philip Mitchell, ". . . . . many Kikuyus long ago did find the constraints of British rule irksome, if not intolerable, and some were deprived of land which they genuinely believed to be theirs by right. That may have been a small number, claiming with justice little pieces of land, but it soon grew to be a general accusation and grievance."

The Kikuyus number more than a million. They are quite advanced and are one of the most outstanding tribes of Africa. John Gunther's comment on the British attitude to the Kikuyus is revealing: "Most Britons in Kenya despise Kikuyus . . . . the British do not re-

nit Kikuyus into the King's African Rifles, st as they did not allow *Bengalis* to enter giments in the old days in India. *The kuyus, like Bengalis, were considered to be o intellectualized and unreliable . . .*" *nside Africa*, p. 364). The Kikuyus had an ganised school system and the Kikuyu Inde- endent Schools Association ran a number of ational schools before the outbreak of the Mau Rebellion in 1952. Peter Koinange, the reat Kikuyu leader, founded the Kenya Teachers' College at Githunguri to train tea- hers for the national schools. Jomo Kenyatta, nother great Kikuyu, became later on the Principal of this College. The Kikuyu national chools, naturally enough, soon became the ursery of the incipient African nationalism. Little wonder, they were all closed down under Government orders after the outbreak of the Mau Mau rebellion.

The Kikuyus are politically quite awake and their first political organisation—the Kikuyu Central Association—was founded as far back as 1922 by Harry Thuku. The Asso- ciation stood for the recovery of the 'lost lands' in the 'White Highlands'. Jomo Kenyatta was its Secretary-General. It steadily developed a more overt and anti-white nationalist outlook. The Association, dissolved during the World War II, was revived under a new name the Kenya African Union (K.A.U.)—in 1944. The K.A.U. was not an exclusively Kikuyu orga- nisation. It stood for all the tribes of Kenya. Its membership was thrown open to all Kenyan Africans. Under Kenyatta's leadership the Association soon had about a hundred thou- sand members. The Government suspected that the K.A.U. was only a hoax, that it was the old Kikuyu Central Association (K.C.A.) under a new name and on a broader base and kept a sharp eye on its activities. The Govern- ment are convinced that the Kenya African Union was the secret fountainhead of the Mau Mau movement. The Union was therefore sup- pressed and outlawed in June, 1953.

The Mau Mau is, in fact, a mixture of various elements. In the words of Gunther, "A new impulse towards nationalism and political freedom gave focus to the most ancient and primitive discontents. Spiritual unrest became discharged in racial, religious and economic fields" (*Inside Africa*, p. 366). Long before 1952 when the Mau Maus struck openly, con- ditions for a major upheaval had been maturing in Kenya. The Kikuyus felt that they had been defrauded of their land. The squatter system and the over-crowding on the Kikuyu reserves—a paltry 2,000 square miles and the number of the Kikuyus has already exceeded the one million mark with the result that four Kikuyus out of every ten are landless labourers —embittered tribal feelings. Sir Philip Mit- chell, whom we have quoted once before, had pointed out, ". . . . many Kikuyus long ago did find the constraints of British rule irk- some, if not intolerable, and some were de- prived of land which they genuinely believed to be theirs by right. That may have been a small number, claiming with justice little pieces of land, but it soon grew to be a general accusation and grievance." The Western im- pact had detribalised the Kikuyus, among others. The misery and degradation of the new urban proletariat in the slums of Nairobi close to the Kikuyus reserves had intensified anti- white sentiments. The Kikuyu converts to Christianity had rejected the tribal gods; but many could not absorb the Christian god fully. The resultant vacuum has contributed not a little to Kikuyu instability. The Kikuyu Christians had long discovered that many of the European Christians paid only a lip-ser- vice to Christian ideals and that they did not practise what they preached. Resentful disillu- sionment was the result. Kikuyu separatist Churches had sprung into existence and various pseudo-Christian sects had come into being and they helped lead the way to the Mau Mau. An African educated class had grown. It gave the much-needed leadership to the disgruntled masses. Last but not least, an iniquitous colour bar seeks to deprive the African of his right to live freely and honourably in his own home. Nowhere in Kenya can an African buy a drink of hard liquor. He cannot carry arms nor can he go out at night without a pass. He cannot buy lands in the White Highlands, grow coffee or sisal except under certain restrictions, go to "white" restaurants, night clubs, movies and the like; use a European public toilet, vote ex- cept in a most vestigial way. The list, let us add, is not exhaustive.

None of these grievances, however, is so ious as the thwarted feeling of most Africans the feeling that "they are outcasts in their n country, inferiors who do not belong fully society." It is this frustration, which, more an any other single factor, is responsible for ie Mau Mau terrorism. The Kikuyus, as oted above are the spearhead of this onslaught the authority of Her Britannic Majesty— ie first of its kind in East Africa. The rea- ons are not far to seek. Bengal and Maha- ashtra were for similar reasons—economic ex- loitation, political consciousness, racial dis- rimination and a high intellectual calibre of heir peoples—the pioneers of anti-British agi- ation in India.

The "Mau Mau," says R. H. S. Cross- man, "is only the first of . . . compulsive African protests. The fact that its obscenities have so far been met only by brutal and com- pletely uncomprehending repression has inten- sified the racial hatred which is tearing Kenya apart. . . . . In Kenya and indeed in all East Africa, it (the white herrenvolk) can only save itself from extinction by abdicating its privileges while there is still time. . . . But that means giving up the dream of white as- cendancy; and, ... no one . . . . seriously contemplated doing that" (Article in *The New Statesman*, January 23, 1954).

Obscurity shrouds the meaning of the term Mau Mau. It may be a distortion of *'Uma'*, the Kikuyu equivalent of 'quit' or 'get out' or the Swahili of Oath (*muma*). Accord- ing to some, it is derived from the *miaow*, of the cat; because cats are sometimes disem- bowelled in Mau Mau initiation ceremonies. Others again contend that the Mau Mau is derived by reversing the initials of the 'Union of Africa Movement' (*UAMMAU*). Yet others trace it to an early Kikuyu Princess the daughter of *Maumbi*, the legendary forbear whose offspring the Kikuyus claim to be.

In the fall of 1952 it was already quite clear that all was not well in Kenya. Ample evidence of tension was discernible. The white settlers heard rumours that some colonial officials had become convinced that the Kikuyu land-hunger had to be faced. The immigrant press raised a hue and cry and levelled the charge of "appeasement of Africans," of Africans who were alleged to want the end of European settlement. The Kenya African Union had been expanding in the countryside. Its primarily Kikuyu membership was on the increase. Other tribes were being drawn in. The top leadership already included a number of non-Kikuyus. Businessmen, teachers, tradi- tional chiefs, politicians in large numbers and the only practising African lawyer, Mr. C. M. G. *Argwings-Kodhek*, had joined the Union. It received considerable, if not always overt, support from the African civil servants. Just before the declaration of the emergency in October, 1952, the K.A.U. had sent a two- men delegation to London to petition the Colo- nial Office on land-matters.

The Government was cautioned again and again. For several years before 1952, District Commissioners had been sending from time to time warnings about organised unrest in the countryside, about sporadic cases of a "new, queer and ominous kind of terrorism." These were ignored. Responsible Africans too gave warnings of "sinister trouble to come." Mr. Havelock and a number of white settlers had warned the authorities again and again for more than two years before the storm burst that a severe crisis was impending. The autho- rities took no note. Governor Sir Philip Mit- chell went so far as to say that reports that East Africa was "seething with unrest" were "inexplicable nonsense."

Sir Philip Mitchell retired in June, 1952, and his successor Sir Evelyn Baring took over in September. Kenya had no Governor for three months and the Mau Mau struck during this interregnum. The murder of Mr. Waruhiu, an aged and respected pro-European Kikuyu chief, brought the Mau Mau activities in the open. Waruhiu had an unbounded courage of conviction and he told the Mau Maus that the oath taken by their recruits under duress was not binding and was in any case contrary to the Kikuyu tradition. Outrage followed out- rage and a state of emergency was declared in October, 1952. The Kikuyu schools and the Teachers' College at Githunguri were closed down as Mau Mau training grounds. Seven office-bearers of the Kenya African Union were brought to trial as Mau Mau propagan- dists. Jomo Kenyatta, the most prominen

among them, was, according to not a few Europeans, the only man in the world who could "stop this outbreak . . . . could stop it in ten minutes." But he was sentenced to seven years in jail on April 8, 1953. An appeal to the Privy Council was dismissed (July, 1954). His property was confiscated by the Colonial Government later on. The Kenya African Union itself was dissolved in the summer of 1953. The Kikuyu language newspapers—at least twenty in all—were all suppressed.

Reinforcements were rushed to Kenya. R.A.F. units from the Middle East joined hands with land forces later on. The situation in Kenya seems to have been brought under control today. Normalcy, however, is still a distant ideal. A formidable task confronts the administration. As Gunther puts it, ". . . man by man, clump of bush by clump of bush, the whole Kikuyu area has to be painfully and labouriously combed out." (*Inside Africa*, p. 368). Terrible atrocities have been perpetrated in the meanwhile by the terrorists, the military and the European population. 50,000 loyal Kikuyus joined the British-led Home Guard. The Mau Mau retaliated by the hideous massacre at Lari (March, 1953). Several hundred innocent Africans were driven from their homes and butchered in a mass slaughter. The Lari massacre was the worst single outrage in the whole revolt. A kind of head-hunting contest started among the Britons and prizes were given for most of the Mau Maus killed in action. Public opinion in London however forced a stop to the practice. Suspects were brutally tortured. One British officer was sentenced to five years in jail for having tortured suspects in his custody. Some 50,000 Kikuyus were arrested and screened in the notorious "Operation Anvil," "one of the most spectacular man-hunts in all history." It aimed at breaking up the connection between the Kikuyu leadership in the city on the one hand and the terrorists out in the countryside on the other. Those found innocent of any 'taint' were released. The over-all figures are staggering. According to one report (*African Affairs*, July, 1954, p. 198) a total of 165,462 Africans were arrested, 136,117 screened, 68,984 tried and 12,924 convicted. Contact between the African leaders still at liberty and the villagers was effectively stopped. Offers of meditation between the rebels and the Government were scornfully rejected. The Mau Mau exploited the situation and took over the leadership of a large fraction of the angry, bewildered and terrorized peasantry. Responsible African leaders in the meanwhile were either isolated from the rank and file or languished in exile or in internment camps.

Of the 505 Kikuyus executed between October, 1952, and July, 1954, 223 were hanged for actual murder, 172 for unlawful possession of fire-arms, 88 for 'consorting' with terrorists, 14 for administering unlawful (Mau Mau) oaths, 6 for 'acting with intent to further terrorism' and 2 for procuring supplies for terrorists. Hundreds of Kikuyus have been shot down on suspicion. Many thousands of Aricans are rotting in concentration camps. Many more have been evicted from European-owned farms or the zones of guerilla operations and concentrated in some three hundred fortified villages. Accordingly to ex-Governor Sir Philip Mitchell of Kenya, now a settler in the colony, 7,000 Africans were in jails or internment camps a year ago. Seven hundred had been hanged, 8,000 killed in battle and half as many taken wounded. The security forces had by that time lost 540 men. The Mau Maus had killed 1,400 Africans, 33 Europeans and 30 Asians. By 1954, Britain had spent £26,500,000 to crush the rebels.

The backbone of the Mau Mau revolt has been broken, no doubt. The problem of Kenya however remains. The Mau Mau, it must be remembered, is the symptom of a discontent deep down in the psyche of Africa. It is, as Gunther puts it, "A new impulse towards nationalism and political freedom gave focus to the most ancient and primitive discontents." (*Inside Africa*, p. 366). The African sense of frustration, and discontent and the consequent unrest manifested itself in racial, religious and economic fields.

Bullets alone cannot resolve the Kenyan tangle. We have it on the authority of no less a man than General Sir George Erskive, an ex-British Commander-in-Chief in Kenya, "There is no military answer to Mau Mau; it is purely a political problem how Europeans, Africans and Asians can live in harmony." The Mau Mau is, in essence, a war between black and white. John Bull should know it for certain that Kenya's problem cannot be solved without African participation. Kenya cannot be a white-supremacy State for all time to come. It is true that the beginnings of multi-racial Government have been already made in Kenya. But the African partnership is more nominal than real. John Bull is still the dominant partner.

Africa must be approached as Africa all, not any one else's.

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"and not simply as a projection of Britain, France, Belgium and Portugal. . . . . Africa requires a hard, fresh and imaginative new look." A change of outlook is long overdue. The colour-bar must be broken. Drastic land reforms must be immediately introduced. The school-master must be sent to every hamlet and education must be made available to every African child. An all-out effort must be made to build up villages and a middle class, which will supply the much-needed leadership to the African community. Africans must have an effective voice in the management of their affairs. It is their Africa after

GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT OF NURSERY SCHOOLS IN GREAT BRITAIN

By Sreemati CHARU SHEELA BOLER

The motives for opening nursery schools in Great Britain differ somewhat from America, as in England nursery schools were started as a remedy for bad social and economic condition whereas in the United States they developed at first mainly as laboratory is for Psychological research with children of middle class parents. In America, of recent years, however, many emergency nursery schools have been set up for the underprivileged sections of the community while nursery schools in England are now being opened for children of more privileged parents.

In the 18th and 19th Century Dame Schools were set up in the stuffy living rooms of uneducated women who in the absence of other means adopted this method of earning a living. These were very temporary sort of schools. A few of them had somewhat higher aims but most children were forced to learn skills much too early.

In 1816, Robert Owen, the famous Social Reformer, opened a school at New Lanmark in Scotland for children under six whose mothers worked in the Mills. Under his influence other infant schools were opened in various parts of England and Scotland but the majority of these had formal instructions and rigid discipline which were quite unsuited to the needs and capacities of young children. The real motive of establishing these schools was to accustom the children themselves to habits of industry so that afterwards they could work in the factories.

Educational thought was influenced by the ideas of Froebel in 1854 and his kindergarten methods and play materials were used in England. Importance was given to a suitable environment in which happy activities, free play and contact with nature could be experienced. Froebel's tendencies to apply this doctrine were counteracted by the introduction of grants and the accompanying system of payment by results. After much protest children under six were exempted from individual examination; the knowledge that this hurdle loomed ahead however affected the treatment even of the youngest. The ultimate aim of the infants' school was to give the

children a thorough grounding in the elements of reading, writing and number.

Towards the end of the 19th century a few ree kindergarten schools sprang up in the arger cities. The first school was founded by Sir William Mather at Salford near Manchester in 1873 for children of 2 to 7 years of age. These schools were provided with baths, meals, training, rest and play. Some other free schools were established by charitable effort in the over-crowded districts of large cities.

An important step was taken in 1893. H.M. Inspectors were asked to direct their attention to two principles. The first concerned "the recognition of the child's spontaneous activity" and the second "the harmonious and complete development of the whole of the child's faculties." The circular again emphasized that "the teachers should pay special regard to the child's love of movement."

In 1900 a free kindergarten was opened by Miss Adelaide Wragge, Principal of the Blackheath Kindergarten Training College. This school was conducted in the upper part of the premises which had previously been used as a mission room. Four years later it was closed when the premises reverted to their former use.

In 1904 a people's kindergarten was later called a nursery school. More kindergartens were opened and some of these are still in existence and have become recognised nursery schools. The well-developed Free Kindergarten Movement in the U.S.A. inspired these first kindergartens.

Five women inspectors were appointed by the Board of Education to make an inquiry into the kind of education young children were receiving in the elementary schools. It was found from their report in 1905 that the education given in the Public Elementary Schools was unsuitable for young children. Therefore, it was realised that children between the ages of three and five gained no profit intellectually from school instruction and the mechanical teaching which they often received. It was said to dull their imagination and to weaken their power of independent observation. From this realisation it appeared essential that young children should be protected from unwholesome influences of an artificial civilisation and be allowed freedom to develop in an environment which should encourage normal healthy growth.

Rachael and Margaret Mcmillan by their hard work in demonstrating the need for medical inspection and treatment, and the earnestness of Margaret Mcmillan in preaching the new gospel of nurture made the cause of the young child a living issue. The result was that the movement towards the provision of nursery schools became truly national and within the range of practical politics. For some years Margaret Mcmillan worked as a private governess and companion in London and during this time she studied for the stage with emphasis upon voice production and music. While doing this training she learnt the importance of correct breathing and the proper use of the organs of speech, hearing and respiration. This extensive training was not wasted for it stood her in good stead in later years when she was dealing with the children in the nursery school in Deptford.

In 1894 while she was in Bradford she was elected to a seat on the School Board. Here she became interested in the newly-formed Independent Labour Party. Living a year there she discovered that many children were attending school in an unclean state and afflicted with ailments. She saw the children were sick, underfed, and dirty, which she believed that it could be remedied. Whenever she discovered a need she would set about putting it right whether legislative sanctions existed or not, and in these cases she induced Bradford School Board to provide school baths, school medical inspection, and a scheme for feeding children.

Rachael Mcmillan too was distressed by social conditions. While her sister had been pioneering health schemes for the schools in the North, she had qualified as a Sanitary Inspector and had become a travelling teacher of hygiene under the Kent County Council. Later the two sisters began the most strenuous period of their lives when they explored the dark places of the city of London. Together they saw—"the stained and tumbling walls, the dark, noisy courts, the crowded rooms, the sodden alleys all hidden behind the roaring street . . . . Women who care no more. Girls whose youth is a kind of defiance. Children creeping on the filthy pavement, half naked, unwashed and covered with sores."*

They drew up their schemes and tried to insist that education authorities provide school meals and health centres. However, in 1906 the Education (Provision of Meals) Act was passed and in 1907 the Education (Provision of Medical Inspection) Act was passed.

In 1908 with financial help from a friend, the Mcmillans opened a treatment clinic at Bow. In the same year from the report of the Consultative Committee of the Board of Education it was concluded that children under five need more care and training and the value of the nursery school was established. Rachael Mcmillan knew that for many years Sir George Newman had been reporting "that under five years is the crucial age physically and psychologically, and that much of the physical and mental impairment which appears in later years can be prevented if 'the tap is turned off at the source."†

After 2 years when the clinic at Bow was closed the Mcmillan sisters opened a school clinic at Deptford in June 1910. In this same place in 1911 Rachael Mcmillan opened her first open-air nursery school in a garden with six children under five, one trained teacher and one girl helper. It was a slum area but children at the school received good food, fresh air, regular undisturbed sleep, training in healthy habits, playmates, freedom to move and suitable activities for their minds and bodies.

In 1914, the nursery school which had grown during this short time was removed to the new open-air nursery school which Rachael Mcmillan had planned at Deptford, granted by the London County Council at a nominal rent, and served as a model for other nursery schools. It consisted of low, well-warmed open-air shelters grouped round a garden. This plan has had a great influence on the type of nursery school buildings provided in Great Britain today. The school hours were from 7 A.M. to 5-30 P.M., because the mothers were at work for the whole day. Children used to spend a large part of the day in the open air. They were provided with three meals, beside this there were baths, physical care and medical inspection and they slept in the afternoon.

Rachael Mcmillan worked unceasingly during the 1914-18 war in spite of tremendous difficulties. At the nursery school she made it obvious that the children attending were thriving from 'nurture'. It was now her aim, intention and mission to make sure that other children besides the ones at Deptford should benefit from a nursery school.

In 1917 a full two years of training for nursery and infant school teachers was started at the Mather Training College in Manchester and recognised by the Board of Education for the Teachers' Certificate. The Gipsy Hill Training College, London, was also training teachers for nursery school.

In 1918 the Fisher Bill was passed, and powers to provide or aid the building of nursery schools for children over two and under five years of age were given to Local Education Authorities. Progress was slow and uncertain, because Local Authorities were not obliged to make provisions in nursery schools for young children. Thirteen Schools which had been started by voluntary effort before 1918 had been recognised for grant in 1919.

Laying down the conditions to be observed in order to qualify for grant, regulations for nursery schools were issued by the Board of Education in March 1919, and hopes ran high. Less than two years later due to financial restriction on the part of a government swept those hopes aside. The proposals for the establishment of nursery schools were banned by the Circular issued by the Board in January 1921.

In 1923 the Nursery School Association was formed with Margaret Mcmillan as its first president. The association set itself the task of making more widely known the work of nursery schools and the creation of a strong public opinion.

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* *Margaret Mcmillan—Prophet and Pioneer*: by Dr. Albert Mansbridge (Dent).

† P. E. Cusden: *The English Nursery School*.

There was a thorough sifting of the available evidence and the Consultative Committee registered its decision that the State should be responsible for the provision of adequate conditions for the care of children of pre-compulsory school age. It also decided that the best form of provision would be the opening of nursery schools to be carried on by trained teachers competent to attend to the physical care of young children as well as to their mental and emotional development. All requirements as to hygiene, buildings, gardens, and equipment were to be met and close co-operation with the homes of the children was to be maintained. Attendance however was not to be compulsory.

These authoritative recommendations indicated a step forward in the fulfilment of a pressing need to look to the foundation of the National System of Education, and thus to the foundation of national life as a whole.

Ten years passed before the adoption of these recommendations was made possible: (1) the medical inspection of school children showed that one-third of the children entering at five years of age were suffering from preventable physical defects. (2) It was founded necessary to make grants from public funds to be allocated to day nurseries and young children of mothers going out to work. (3) The examinations of army recruits witnessed the far-reaching effects of the absence of proper conditions in early childhood. (4) The growing experience of the pioneer nursery schools and free kindergartens, notably the influence of the first open-air nursery School established and carried out in Deptford by Rachael and Margaret McMillan a great demonstration showing the miracle that can be wrought by an open air life, contact with nature, good nutrition, hygienic surroundings, suitable mental occupation and understanding care.*

*1, 2, 3 &4—Historical Records of the Nursery School Association of Great Britain from 1923-44.

Demands in the House of Commons for more nursery schools met with small encouragement until 1929.

Due to the financial crisis of 1931 this slow progress practically stopped for the next four or five years. This was unfortunate for now was the time when industrial depression and wide-spread unemployment made it more than ever necessary that adequate measures for safeguarding the bodies and minds of young children should be available.

The overcrowding and slum conditions in which thousands of people were obliged to live had worried the public conscience, and various attempts were made to deal with this problem through a number of Housing Acts. Slum Clearance Schemes were projected and talked about.

Vast new housing estates sprang up. Bright new houses were built, each with its own garden, but no provision was made for a school, Church, or shop.

Some local education authorities who had continued taking children under five converted these 'baby classes' into nursery classes. In the years preceding the War the progress of nursery schools was very slow whereas the nursery classes developed rapidly. Some authorities built 'nursery wings' to their infant schools and the nursery classes were provided with many of the amenities of a nursery school.

In 1933 the needs of the children of pre-school age were stressed and a strong appeal was made for the reservation of sites for nursery schools in connection with all new housing schemes.

The socio-economic aspects of the matter were not overlooked as will be seen from the following extract:

"It is now widely recognised that the open-air nursery school supplies what is wanted in the best way yet devised. It provides the needed space for the little children's active growth, it supplies medical supervision and healthy conditions, it gives each child opportunity for sound and happy mental and social training in close co-operation with the home. Thus physical and mental health for the future is assured, and a measure that may look like a luxury to some is seen to be no less than a national economy."*

A number of education committees responded to the appeal. They reserved sites for nursery schools when drawing up their re-housing schemes.

By the end of 1933 there were 59 recognized nursery schools in England, 32 of which were maintained by local authorities and 27 by voluntary committees.

In 1938 there were 114 separate nursery schools with accommodation for approximately 10,000 children. 58 of these only were provided by local education authorities and the rest by voluntary bodies with state aid. A large number of nursery schools were under consideration, but war in 1939 stopped the progress and plans were altogether forgotten.

Experiences during the War affected Nursery schools. These Nursery schools which were situated in cities and other vulnerable areas were either closed or evacuated for rural areas, where they became residential nurseries. Hundreds of special wartime nurseries, opened by the Ministry of Health to care for children from 0-5 years, came into existence in places where there was need to care for children whose mothers were occupied in wartime industries. The nursery schools exercised considerable influence on these nurseries, although it was impossible to staff them all with nursery school teachers. They were put in charge of a Hospital-trained nurse so that children under 2 years could be accepted and the children from 2-5 years were cared for by a woman who had been trained specially as a nursery nurse, assistant or a Child-care Reservist. The demand for teachers greatly exceeded the supply.

People became more nursery-minded as a result of the war as they had come to realize how much young children benefited from the special consideration they had been given during those years. The idea had been common for many years that nursery schools were needed only for slum and congested areas, but it was realized that all children would benefit from the experience. In some localities nursery classes were attached to the Infant Departments or in the case of rural schools, to the whole Primary Department. Those needed to be specially equipped to meet the needs of children under five, with facilities for washing, indoor toileting and rest, in addition to provision for play in open-air conditions. Unfortunately this did not always happen. The nursery classes are the responsibility of the headmistress of the Infant school. The class teacher is generally nursery-trained and the number and type of additional staffing such as trained nursery nurse, assistants, and Child-care Reservists, vary from district to district.

*Letter in *The Times*. 17 October, 1953.

Some authorities, feeling that all children below the age of seven will benefit by the environment and methods of the nursery school, have developed nursery infant schools.

In a school of this type the children should be assured of an education which took them through 2 to 7.

The Education Act of 1944 provided a clause which made it the duty of every local authority to provide nursery school accommodation where it was needed. This was a decisive step incorporating the nursery schools in the standard system of education.

In the Ministry of Education Circular 155 dated 1st December 1947, the Minister expressed his regret that 'for the time being he cannot sanction the provision of new nursery schools and classes or major extensions to existing nursery schools except where he is satisfied after consulation with the Minister of Labour that such work is required to assist the employment of married women in industry.'

In January 1952 the Minister of Edu-

tion asked Local Educational Authorities to review their estimate of expenditure for the forthcoming year and try if possible to reduce them by 5%. Some unenlightened Local Educational Authorities decided to close their nursery schools but were met by a great deal of opposition from parents and citizens. The people would not allow the economy cuts to begin at this end of the education system. They were determined to keep their nursery schools in face of opposition. The demand now comes not only from areas where housing conditions and general poverty call for special provision, but from better homes, smaller houses and smaller families. The concentration of town life, dwelling in flats, the increased employment of mothers in industry and commerce, are all influential factors.

No. of Nursery schools in England and Wales in January 1952:

457	Maintained	for	22,464 Children
20	Direct Grant	"	818 "
8	Recognized, efficient, independent	"	267 "

1,965 nursery classes for 55,627 children.

Nursery schools in 1953:

Total No. of children between 0 and 5 on 31 December 1953 in the United Kingdom—3,917 (over 2,000,000 between 2 and 5).

1,724 nursery classes with 48,837 children in them.

Nursery schools in 1954:

There were 477 Nursery schools providing accommodation for 23,469 children. There were 1,553 nursery classes for 43,943 children.—From the *News Letter of March 1956—Nursery School Association of Great Britain and N. Ireland.*

Present Position—1956 has opened with some encouraging pointers.

The figures for 1955 show a small increase in Nursery schools which have now risen to 484 as against 477 in 1954 and the 1955 figures for Nursery classes also show an increase on the 1954 figures.

The N. U. T. Sectional Meeting of Infant and Nursery School teachers passed unanimously a resolution proposed by Miss K. Rowe and seconded by Mrs. Britton, which urged the N.U.T. to re-affirm its belief in nursery education and to press for the provision of such education as envisaged in the 1944 Education Act. The London Head Teachers' Association accepted the following resolution from the Education Committee of the L.H.T.A. for discussion at the Annual Conference of the Head Teachers' Association this year: "This conference urges that a Nursery class be opened in each Infant School, as accommodation becomes available."



DR. L. P. TESSITORI AND HIS LINGUISTIC ACHIEVEMENTS

By MANOHAR PRABHAKAR

Amongst the Italian scholars who fostered and strengthened the cultural ties between India and Italy through their Indological studies and linguistic achievements during the nineteenth century, the name of Dr. L. P. Tessitori stands at the top. This does in no way mean that cultural relations between the two countries were not in existence prior to this period. From the 13th century down to the 18th, a good number of Italian tourists including Marco Polo, Nicolo Conti, Ludovico, De Varthema and Nicolas Manucci visited India and high-lighted her chivalry, romance, glamour and gaiety in the western world. They were so deeply impressed and influenced by Indian culture that one missionary, Courtantino Beschi, who came to India in the 18th century, adopted the Indian name of 'Virana Munivar' and wrote in Tamil the *Tembavem*, a bulky work in verse based on mythological and legendary tales. Extremely interesting is the fact that Gasparo Gowesid, a prominent Italian Sanskritist, was the person who brought out the first unabridged edition of the *Balmiki Ramayan* with an Italian translation from Turin under the patronage of Carlo Alberto, one of the mighty monarches of Italy at the time.

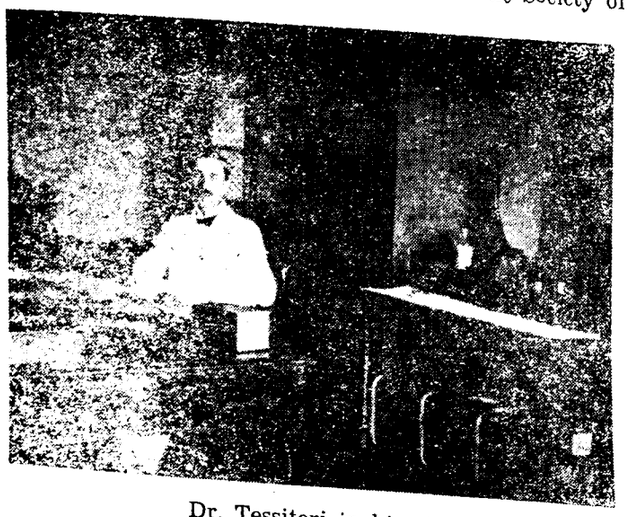
Similarly, Italian literature also impressed the Indian scholars. M. Madhusudan Dutt, a noted Bengali poet, of the mid-nineteenth century was a profound scholar of Italian. He composed several sonnets in honour of Dante in his mother-language, translated one of them in Italian and sent it to Rome as a glowing tribute from India to the memory of Dante on the occasion of his seventh centenary. Only a few years ago, the Italian translation of a number of selected pieces from Sanskrit *Mahabharat* was brought out by the talented Italian poet, Kerbaker. But the great work that Dr. Tessitori accomplished deserves high praise and appreciation.

Born in 1887 at Udine, a small town in Italy, Dr. Tessitori had a keen curiousity and thirst for knowledge from his very childhood. In the year 1906, when he was a student of the University of Florence, he developed an irresistible craving for learning Sanskrit. He began to learn it under the guidance of a Professor of Sanskrit. After graduating in the year 1910, he undertook research work on *Ram Charit Manas* and produced a thesis presenting a comparative study of the *Ramayana* of Balmiki and that of Tulsidas. This won for him the degree of doctorate.

While working in the national library of Florence, Dr. Tessitori went through over 300 books of Hindi, Gujarati, Rajasthani, Marathi and Bengali which inspired him to visit India and study her culture and literature. For this purpose, he applied himself to acquire adequate knowledge of almost all the Indo-Aryan languages. It was in the year 1914 that Dr. Grierson, who was greatly impressed by the scholastic achievements of this young Italian, proposed to the Government of India to appoint him to the post of the Superintendent of bardic and historical survey of Rajputana under the Asiatic Society of Calcutta. On April 8, 1914, he landed on the soil of his dreams. He came into contact with all the Indian and British officials in Calcutta and planned for his literary pursuits about three months after his arrival in India. He reached Jodhpur which he described as 'a city of high edifices made of fine redstones echoing the sweet songs of fascinating damsels'. He made this place his headquarters for research work. Here he came to be acquainted with Shri R. K. Asopa, a Rajasthani historian of repute who had been a Professor of History in the Calcutta University for a considerable period, and was greatly impressed by his knowledge. Shri Asopa helped him a lot in collecting materials and in the understanding of the manuscripts of old Rajasthani. After a brief stay in Jodhpur, he came over to Bikaner where he lived till November 22, 1919, the day of his departure from this world.

The work that Dr. Tessitori did during this short span of five years, is of remarkable importance. Years before his arrival in India, he had rendered into Italian *Bhava Vairagya Shatak*. The translation is an evidence of his profound learning and knowledge of Sanskrit and Prakrit. His critical thesis on the *Ram Charit Manas* of Tulsidas, the Indian Dante,

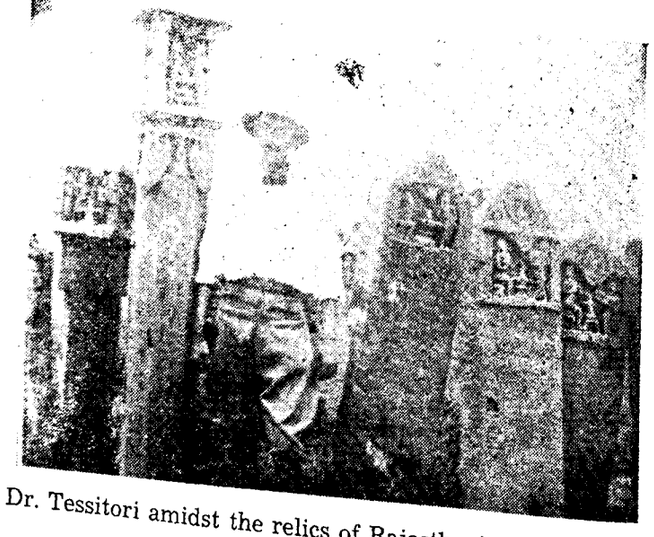
is an achievement which can be well envied even by the greatest linguists of India. He was hardly 24 years of age when he startled the world of scholars with this research work of great magnitude. *Indiya Parajaya* and *Nariket ki Katha* were the other two books that he



Dr. Tessitori in his study

translated from Rajasthani in to Italian. In order to avoid the monotony of serious research work, he also translated two more works, mainly recreationary, "Gatha Saptshati," a book of love poems by Hal and "Kutton ki Pooja Karanewala Vyapari" or the 'Trader that Worshipped Dogs' written by Mir Amman in Rajasthani. This was what he had done before he left his own country for India. But a major part of Tessitori's works mostly written in English was produced in India. His philological essay entitled "Historical Grammar of the Old Western Rajasthani Speech" wherein he had advocated through comparative study of grammar on the historic and linguistic grounds that the denomination of 'Old Gujarati' should be replaced by that of 'Old Western Rajasthani' aroused great controversy among the scholars. As Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterjee has remarked this essay is the 'most outstanding contribution to the study of the modern Indo-Aryan languages.'

In the first report submitted to the Asiatic Society of Calcutta, he has mentioned that "Vachnika Rathor Ratnasingh ji Ri, Mahesadasota Khiriya jaja Ri Kahi" was the first book in Rajasthani which he critically edited after going through the text of over a dozen available manuscripts. Besides this, he edited the famous Rajasthani epic, the "Veh Krishna Rukamani Ri Rathore Raja Prithi Raja Ri Kahi" which he had described as the 'richest gem in the mine of Rajasthani literature,' and the "Chhanda Rau Jetasi Ro Vithu Sujl Ro Kahyo." He also brought out the Descriptive Catalogue of Bardic and Historical MSS which he himself discovered in Jodhpur and Bikaner. In Jodhpur he had to confront tremendous difficulties which seriously hampered the speedy pace of his work. That is why after a short stay, he had to shift to Bikaner where he received the heartiest co-operation



Dr. Tessitori amidst the relics of Rajasthan's past glory

both from the local scholars and from the State. His Highness Sir Ganga Singh offered him a specific assignment of making a survey of the historical and bardic literature of the State. The detailed description of his research work is elaborately embodied in his five reports that he submitted to the Asiatic Society.

Dr. Tessitori was deeply impressed by Jainism. He had very intimate relations with Guru Vijay Dharm Suri, a revered Jain Acharya, who, it is said, made him (Tessitori) his disciple after observing formal *Deeksha* ceremony. Shri Agar Chand Nahata, a renowned research scholar of Bikaner, has a considerable collection of the letters written by Dr. Tessitori to Guru Vijay Dharm Suri and his successor Indra Vijaya. The author of this article had an opportunity to go through those letters which indicate a very great influence of Jainism on Tessitori's life.

Dr. Tessitori, though an Italian by birth, came to develop all the characteristics of a perfect Rajasthani. He had a keen liking for Rajasthani costumes and conveyance by camel. So long as he lived, he worked untiringly with an everlasting enthusiasm and missionary zeal. Neither the luxuries of the court accorded by various rulers made him lethargic, nor the inconveniences that he had to suffer in the villages during his tours compelled him to withdraw from the field. But the unsuitable hot climate of the sandy desert combined with over-exertion cut the strings of his life short at an age of 32.

The life and work of Dr. Tessitori is a perennial stream of inspiration to the Indologists abroad and to those who hold high the banner of Rajasthan's revival.

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ELLORA—THE MAGNIFICIENT

By Prof. R. N. DEB, M.A.

Ajanta is mostly memories. There is an atmosphere about those caves. It is largely due to their location. A sharp turn in the hill, a "U"-shaped fold, and, in between the two arms of the fold, a thick snout sharpening into an edge and falling down in broken steps to the bed of the stream. That stream the source of which is at the foot of one of the caves, a cascade of water leaping down the hill-side, is normally a thin line of wandering water on its pebbly bed. But when the rains come the little fall roars and the foamy water of the stream lashes against the boulders of its bad. "But," said the tea shop-keeper, "after the rains the water is clear like glass and one sees the glittering coloured stones of the river bed." I am sure it is so—the murmur of the crystal water, the coloured pebbles, the drowsy call of the noon-sleepy bird, all that fits in with this retreat of the hermits. The hills are around us and, even now, though the forest is not as thick as it was, yet the clumps of trees are thick. We may not meet with the tiger nor hear its kingly roar but we may, if we are lucky, spot a small herd of deer watching us from a distance. However, the denizens of the forest have disappeared with the march of civilization. What remains is the black road, the honk of cars and buses and the tourist keen on "doing Ajanta." Fortunately the cars and the buses and the tourists keen "on doing" are there only for a few hours. And when the last car has left and the sun casts longer shadows, there comes the silence and the calm of the caves and it seems as if something of the old Bhikshus' contempltaive withdrawal is stll lingering in the atmosphere.

But Ellora overwhelms one. Suddenly it bursts upon us. A low sprawling hill to our right, its entire side honeycombed with caves. The landscape though undulating lacks Ajanta's quiet-nestled charm, that faint-twilight-whispering qualitv.

where any moment you expect to hear the hushed footfall of an old Bhikshu. But in Ellora there is a sense of display. The caves seem to call us in a spirit of challenge. The quiet contemplation of Buddhist art gives place to a vigorous and virile form of carving. The gods are full of power and the goddesses full of beauty. What sensuous grace there is in the flow of the lines or in the smooth curves of the solids! Yet all the other caves and their carvings, and there are hundreds of pieces which are superb masterpieces all of them with their diverse beauty, almost pale into insignificance before the temple of Kailash.



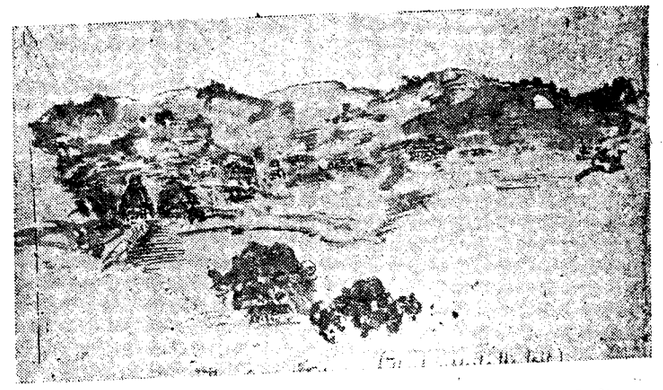
Hill-tops: Strange rock-shapes on the way to Ellora

I am sure it is one of the wonders of the world. For here the spirit of those masters perhaps tired of burrowing into hillsides, challenges the hillside itself, cuts and slices and carves it to its entire satisfaction. These builders must have been giants of imagination. They not only saw a shape hidden in a block of stone but saw an entire temple hidden in a hillside. And they attacked the hillside with their pick-axes and their chisels, undaunted by the magnitude of their task. The thousand-year old marks of the chisels are still to be seen. They cut the rock seam vertically and horizontally for hundreds of feet, working for years and years. The first batch of stone cutters must have died leaving their task to their children and they in their turn left it to theirs.

It is this stupendousness of the conception, this desire to rival the gods which overwhelms us. Who was that immortal visionary who had conceived the design of the temple? For even now when much has been damaged by time what remains shows the tremendousness of the task and the magnificence of the execution. Where else do we have such a carved-stone elephant as the remaining one near the gate of the temple? It is not only its proportions, for it is life-sized, but it is here that we have that rare quality in art the balance between the ideal and the real. It is an elephant all right but it is also an artist's dream. The slight sway of the trunk, the carving to tons of stone of the torso of the great beast and balancing it on feet which in spite of their massiveness have an indescribable grace—this certainly is a work of one of greatest sculptor's of all times.

Indian sculptors have a glorious tradition. Be it the artists of Orissa or Khajurao or Mahamallapuram, or the great sculptors of the Pala times there is the same sculptural conception where the master succeeds in creating out of the plastic masses a sinous flow of movement but giving to it a three-dimensional quality which is perhaps hardly ever paralleled in the field of sculpture. This beauty of movement, like the flowing of water, is the keynote of Indian art. It is to be met with in our rich lyrical literature, it is to be found in all our great pieces of sculptures, it is there in our painting. For the Indian artist has ideally blended the plastic imagination with what Ribot in his *L'Immagination Creatrice* has described as the "diffluent or emotional imagination." It is the sheer melody of Indian art, not so much patternisation which makes it so unique and slightly incomprehensible to the Western mind. But in the South and the West of our country, the figures carved are more monumental for the bringing of the material was no problem. The hills were at hand: they just carved them. And it is this monumental quality to which the artists of the times succeed in giving a melodic grace which is their true triumph. As one enters the main body of the temple one finds two images facing each other, one of Shiva in a Dhayani mood and the other of Durga in a warlike mood. Perhaps even in the long tradition of Indian art the two moods have been never expressed with greater force and dignity. Shiva sits deep in meditation but a joy seems to flow out of him, and Durga the expression of energy is all movement as if speed and the energy of lightning has been captured in stone and given a divine shape.

At every step one notices the beauty of the carving. The ring of elephants and lions all round the main temple, each one a magnificent piece in itself, but here in their scores, is truly astonishing. From the bottom of the temple to the top, wherever the stone has not suffered from ravages of weather one sees marvellous speciments of the stone-carver's art, not an square inch of space left untouched by the chisel, not a stone left without an ornament. It is true of all Hindu art in a way. No wonder the Mahabharat has hundreds of characters, and a line of Sanskrit verse, owing to the load of its imagery, moves with the grace of a floating swan. The Indian imagination is amazing in its fecundity. It simply could not leave a stone surface untouched, and, a blank space on a wall was a challenge to the artist and that is why the frescoes of Ajanta seem to be overloaded with figures of men and women. Indian imagination is baroque in the truest sense of the word, for the Indians of yore mixed together everything from the grotesque to the sublime and made a wonderful pattern of it all. It is the small and multitudinous details which somehow the Hindu harmonizes with a cosmic conception which makes his art so unique and so baffling.



The caves of Ellora: The temple to the left

We were feeling tired for we were trying to do the impossible We were trying to do the caves in a single day. It is not only perhaps impossible but it is not also desirable, for, the impressions one receives are too many, and, one's power of perception is dulled.

So we came out of the temple and sat on the restaurant outside. Our taxi-driver was really helpful. "Take your time. I don't mind reaching Aurangabad late." So after a little rest and a cup of tea we went back to the temple.

But we were not lucky. Two bus-loads of tourists had come from Aurangabad. They were all over the place. "Gee! how wonderful," one of them cried feeling the legs of the elephant. A young man with a beard was making a sort of dark paste and applying it to the cracks which had occured in the sculptured pieces, looked at the crowd, frowned and took away his ladder and the pestle and mortar to another corner of the temple. Poor fellow! he was besieged there by another group.

Fortunately, the tourists were in a hurry; so they left us in peace. We went again through the silent courts and stood once more before the image of Shiva. The sun was sinking. A warm red light fell on the carved old temple. Suddenly there seemed to be a mysterious change. The figures seemed to grow softer and strange whispers seemed to fill the place. It was no longer the carved figures of stone seen in the hard light of the day but figures which

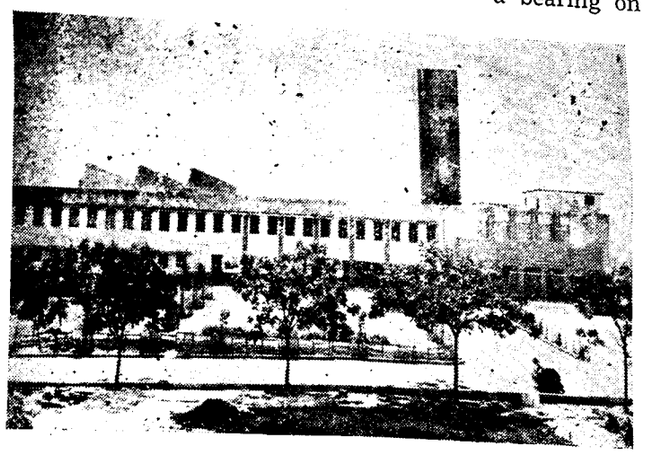
seemed to struggle and break out from their stone surroundings, and in a mysterious way, become alive. A hushed silence fell with the dusk and even the cicadas stopped their shrill orchestra suddenly. Then there was the strident call of the wild peacocks and the cicadas broke forth into their song and darkness came swiftly over the hills.

"Time to go back to Aurangabad," said our taxiwallah.

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REGIONAL RESEARCH LABORATORY, HYDERABAD

India's vast agricultural, forest and mineral resources are distributed far and wide in different regions. To ensure speedy, uniform development and utilisation of local resources in various regions, the Indian Council for Scientific and Industrial Research is working on a plan to set up regional laboratories, outside the chain of National Laboratories whose work is of a more specialised nature. The Research Laboratory at Hyderabad is the first such laboratory to be included in this scheme. The second of the regional laboratories has been located at Jammu; and the third one is going to be set up at a suitable place in Assam.



Front view of the building of the Regional Research Laboratory at Hyderabad

The research laboratory at Hyderabad had been in existence since 1944. It was established by the then Government of Hyderabad under the name of "Central Laboratories for Scientific and Industrial Research." In April 1956, it was taken over by the Council of Scientific and Industrial Research and reconstituted as a Regional Research Laboratory.

At the time of its reconstitution there was little need to change its old objective which is to assist in the industrial development of the region by organising systematic study of its natural resources, and finding ways and means for their maximum exploitation.

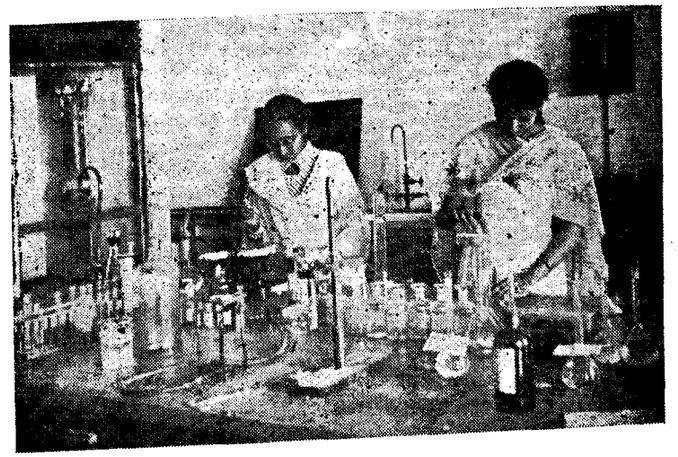
The distinctive character of the Regional Research Laboratory at Hyderabad lies in the fact that its activity is not confined to any one field of scientific research only. Any subject for research, which has a bearing on the raw materials available in the region, comes under the purview of this Laboratory. This results in a wide variety of research activities, ranging from fuels, vegetable oils, ceramics and heavy chemicals to antomology, X-ray, instrumentation and operational research.

Coal Research

Being located in the vicinity of a coal-bearing area, it was inevitable that the Regional Laboratory at Hyderabad should be specially interested in the study of the various types of coals found in Andhra Pradesh and adjoining areas. It is, therefore, no accident that this Laboratory's biggest exhibit at the Science Pavilion of the "India-1958" Exhibition in New Delhi is the model of a pilot plant relating to a coal utilisation process developed at the Laboratory itself.

Study of low temperature carbonisation of low-grade, high-ash, non-caking coals of Andhra has been going on at the Fuels Division of the Regional Laboratory for some time. The plant, which is on view at the "India-1958" Exhibition, is the prototype of a 25-ton-per-day capacity pilot plant for low-temperature carbonisation of coal which has been in operation at the Laboratory since 1954. The plant has yielded valuable technical and economic data. Also, the soft coke produced by this process has been marketed as smokeless domestic fuel called "Kolsite." Recently, the Laboratory has completed a survey of fuel consumption in the cities of Hyderabad and Seconderabad, to assess potential market value of this product.

Next to the Fuels Division, the most important Division of the Research Laboratory at Hyderabad is the one relating to oils. Cotton-seed, castor oil and fatty acids are the main materials on which research is concentrated. Several aspects relating to a fuller utilisation of cotton-seed have been studied here. India produces two million tons of cotton-seed, of which barely six per cent is crushed, while the rest is used as cattle feed. There is, therefore, plenty of scope for industrial and commercial exploitation of this commodity.



A section of the Chemisty wing of the Laboratory

The work being done at the Laboratory in this field is, therefore, of considerable importance. The Laboratory is also organising a symposium on cotton-seed and its by-products to bring to the fore the importance of this industry and the need for its proper development.

Another line of research which will be of benefit to the region is the utilisation of castor oil. Andhra, it should be remembered, supplies about a quarter of the world's castor. Castor is by a process of dehydration transformed into a drying oil which is used in light-coloured paints, enamels, linoleum and other similar products. Until recently no systematic effort had been made to produce high-quality oil from castor. The Regional Laboratory at Hyderabad has made some improvements in this field, and has been able to produce drying castor oil of a high quality by means of a new process. The Ceramic Division of the Laboratory has been engaged on the untilisation of another abundant local material, *viz.*, clays; and has been able to develop several processes for transforming various types of clays into high-grade material for the manufacture of pottery articles.

New Insecticide

Mention must also be made of a new insecticide, called "iticide," which has been produced at the Laboratory from indigenous turpentine. Work is now in progress on the testing and evaluation of this insecticide. The Laboratory is also working on the preparation of a plan for the setting up of a nitrogen fertilizer project at Kothagudem in Andhra Pradesh.

The Regional Research Laboratory at Hyderabad maintains efficient workshop facilities to fabricate equipment for the setting up of pilot plants, and to undertake repairs and maintenance of laboratory services. A Technical Information and Industrial Liaison Section is also maintained. Its job is to collect and provide technical, industrial, commercial and statistical

information relating to the various research projects carried out at the Laboratory.

The Laboratory remains in constant touch with relevant departments of the Government of Andhra Pradesh and the Governments of the neighbouring States of Mysore, Kerala and Madras. This contact helps it in making its contribution to the success of various projects for the utilization of raw materials available in the region—a purpose which the Laboratory has been specially designed to serve.—*PIB.*

THE SIMPLE LIFE

A Story of Thanksgiving

The first American Thanksgiving Day was observed in New England in 1621 by the Pilgrims who, like many others since, came to America in pursuit of a dream. They longed for a new world, particularly a world where religion was not proscribed. To realize the dream, they renounced a life of comparative security and comfort in the old world for one of uncertainty and hardship in a land unknown. They made a voyage across an uncharted sea; found harbor in a wilderness where, with the help of friendly natives, they built crude shelters and planted crops. With the first harvesting of the crops, the Pilgrims, ever mindful of the mercy of their God, set aside a day for prayer and the giving of thanks for the dangers they had survived and the blessings they had received. Such was the origin of America's Thanksgiving Day.

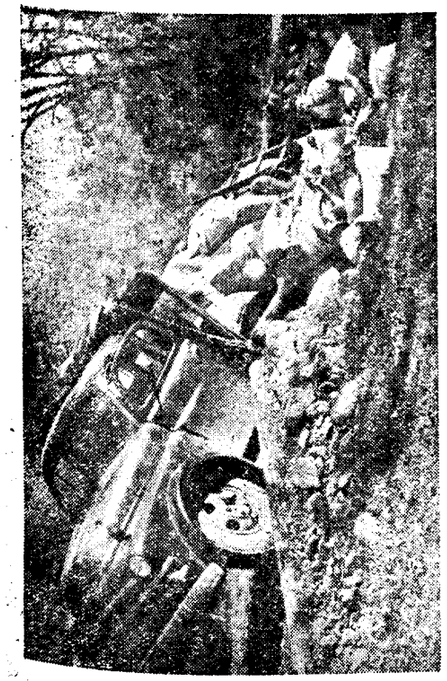


The hunting of the Varmints

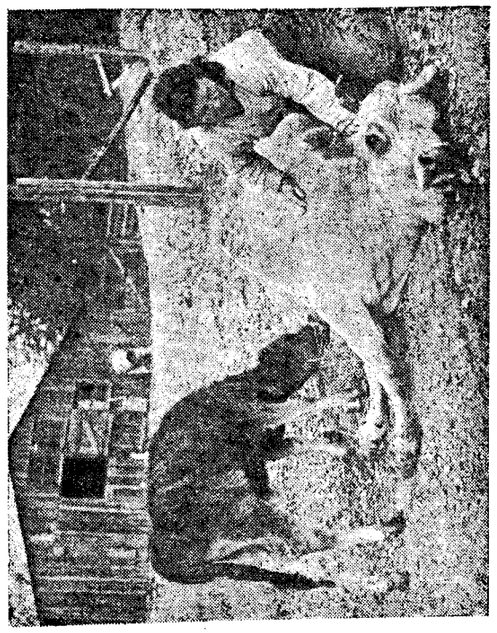


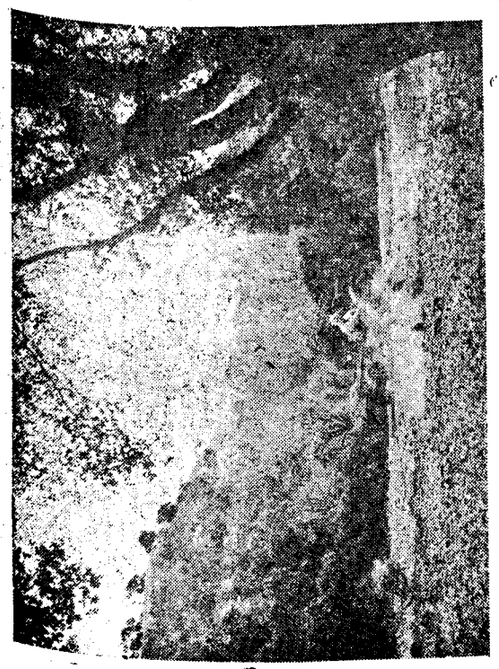
Sometimes chickens get sick and die

The Pilgrims were thankful for elemental things such as food, shelter, the tranquil content of achievement and the knowledge that they were free from the oppression of the world they had left be-



Sometimes the road to the farm is obstructed by a truck-accident





There is the hard work of keeping ranchland fertile

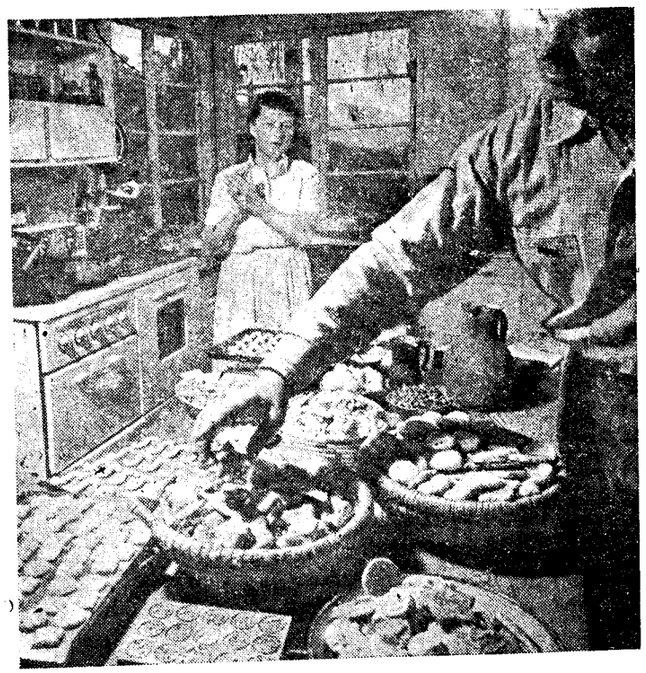




The feeding of the chickens



A diseased chicken



The spicy kitchen smell of cookies baking for the holidays



The production of eggs from the poultry



Dead chickens are burnt into ashes

hind. These were the rewards of their deep and unquestioning faith; a faith fortified, however, by their own perseverance and unremitting labor.

That such rewards are still worth the struggle is evidenced in a modern allegory of Thanksgiving which relates the experience of two photo-journalists, Otto and Hansel Hagel, who decided 15 years ago to forsake the turbulent life of the city for the simple joys of farm life. Products of a more sophisticated age than that of the Pilgrims and living in a richly productive land, their dream did not encompass the necessity for strenuous labor. Some work, they knew, would be required but the existence pictured in their minds was akin to that of the hedonistic Omar. On their own hill-top at Santa Rosa, California, they envisioned a life where "a loaf of bread, a jug of wine and thou were Paradise enow."

But these images of an effortless Eden were quickly dispelled by the realities of making 468 hilly acres productive. They found that building the house and barns with their own hands, planting fields and tending live-stock required 365 days a year of unceasing labor. This was an unexpected challlenge but not a defeat for the Hagels, since they, like the Pilgrims, had perseverance and believed in a compassionate God. They were willing to accept the toil, the sacrifices and the disappointments for they were confident that the best life for them was a simple one of their own making. When their harvests were in they, too, could rejoice and give thanks for elemental bounties: food, shelter, the tranquil content of achievement and the knowledge that they were free from the cares and complexities of the city life they had left behind.—USIS.

URBAN DEVELOPMENT TRENDS IN INDIA

By Prof. TILAK SINGH KATIYAR, M.A., M.Com.

Introduction

An analysis of the distribution of population is significant in a country generally known to be overpopulated. Its importance increases when the country has accepted the methods of planned progress with growing mechanization of the economy. Such a study may help us in finding out the suitable basis to reduce population pressure in the regions where it is greatly felt and transfer the surplus number to those having resources comparatively very little unexploited. An attempt has, therefore, been made in this paper to evaluate the population pressure in our towns and to discuss, in brief, the impacts of urbanization and to examine the problems of rural-depopulation and finally to initiate, if possible, appropriate measures of man-power planning.

We propose to analyse the above problem under five broad headings. Firstly, we shall discuss the growth of urban population which is likely to provide in the very beginning a knowledge about the magnitude of urbanisation in India. Here we shall take into consideration three-dimensional changes in urbanization, *viz.*, aggregate variations, percentage variaitons and periodical variations. Secondly, we shall also examine the urban population changes *vis-a-vis* those of the rural population and the impact of urbanization on small villages and big cities. These two aspects of our study, thus, will give a practical idea of the scope of future urbanization in the country. Thirdly, we shall examine the causes of urbanization which form a significant part of the paper in the sense that it may suggest some workable knowledge towards the optimum growth of urbanization. Fourthly, we shall also give a brief description of the social costs of urbanization, with special reference to the increasing sex disparity and the housing problems which are, perhaps, the root cause of many social vices. In the end, conclusions have been drawn on the general trends of urbanization in India and suggestions have been offered to encourage sound thinking in this field. Efforts have, however, also been made to compare, wherever necessary, the Indian conditions with those of the foreign countries.

Increase in Urban Population

Although, the number of people living in towns and cities in India is larger than the entire population of Great Britain and France, the absolute number in relation to the total is not very alarming. During the 30 years ending in 1951, it has, however, significantly changed. According to the 1951 Census, out of 3,569 lakhs of the total population 2,950 lakhs lived in the villages and 619 lakhs in towns whereas in 1921 the respective figures were 2,199 lakhs and 282 lakhs only.

Aggregate Variations

The urban development trend in India has been slow but steady. Its pace has further been well-marked during the later decades, when the economy began to feature a relatively greater industrialization. The following table gives an idea of the aggregate variations of urban population during the three decades following 1921:

Table I

Decennial Variations

Year	Persons (in Lakhs)	Variation (in Lakhs)
1921	282	...
1931	334	51
1941	438	104
1951	618	181

(Source: *Times of India Year Book and Directory, 1955-56*, p. 7).

Evidently, urban population during the decades between 1921-51 became more than doubled. In the year 1921, the total number of persons dwelling in towns were 282 lakhs, which rose in 1951 to 619 lakhs. Thus the urban population, during the period under review, registered an increase of 337 lakhs of people, which is more than the total urban population of 1931 by 3 lakhs. The percentage variations over the previous Census figures for the last three decades worked out as 18 per cent, 30 per cent, and 41 per cent. The figures of the urban population have shown a sharp rise because there had been a law of progressive percentage variation in operation.

Percentage Variations

The trends of urban population mentioned above are also supported by the percentage increase in urbanization. The percentage of urban population to the total population which was 10.2 in 1921, increased to 11 in 1931, to 12.8 in 1941 and 17.3 in 1951. Thus, the percentage increase has been sharp in the last two decades.

In spite of the marked rise in the percentage of urban population to the total population during the last decade ending in 1951, it is still substantially low when compared with that of the other highly industrialised cuontries. Hence, the oft-quoted proverb 'India lies in villages' still holds good. It will take at least a century for the country to come to the level of highly industrialised countries provided the pace of industrialization remains the same. The following table adequately supports this phenomenon:

Table II

Percentage variations compared with other countries

Country	Urban population per square miles	Urban population (per cent of total)	Population of towns with 50,000 and over
England and Wales	712	80	50.9
Belgium	690	60	17.3
U. S. A.	46	56	34.4
Canada	3(8)	53	27.4
France	187	53	21.7
Egypt	50(1375)	25	16.6
India and Pakistan	125	13	5.7
India (1951)	285	17	11.8

Source: *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, Vol. 1[illegible] page 231.

In the U.K., 80 per cent of total population live in urban areas and the percentage of the U.S.A. and Canada is 56 and 54 respectively. It is, thus, clear that urbanization in India is not yet a much pressing

problem and there is a wider scope for its growth. But what is more alarming is that the towns and cities do fail to accommodate properly the rising tide of migrants. We shall discuss this point at a later stage.

Periodical Variations

The trends of aggregate and percentage variations have a close bearing on the periodical variation of urban growth. It will be evident that the progress of industrialization and the implementation of national plans have given a further impetus. The rate of rural depopulation as compared with urbanization has another fascinating story to tell. It would be instructive, therefore, to study the rate of growth under these subdivisions, *viz.*, (i) the rate of growth prior to the plan era, (ii) the rate of growth during the plan period.

The urban population growth in India was slow and gradual before the Second World War. The war quickened its pace and it was during the war period that enormous urbanization took place. A vast multitude of people began to migrate to the cities for employment and business activities grew rapidly in the towns. In some of the cities, such as, Calcutta, the British Government stationed a large number of foreign troops which temporarily increased the urban population. In other cases, the war-inflated urban population became more or less a permanent feature. Those who established themselves in urban circumstances, got very little attraction to return to the villages, when the war terminated. The rate of urbanization during the war was more than usual.

The war initiated relatively high rate of urbanization and it received a further stimulus with the introduction of planning. The First Five-Year Plan, though a plan mainly of rural rehabilitation, could not prove to be a positive check on the rural de-population. As regards the Second Five-Year Plan it can very well be said that this is an instrument of active urbanization. Of course, the necessary data are not available so as to demonstrate the rate of urban population growth during the plan-period, but the speedier crowding of towns and cities and the breeding of new towns are being generally felt.

For instance, the springing-up, growth and development of steel-towns (Bhilai, Rourkela and Durgapur), fertilizer-town (Sindhri) State capitals (Bhuwaneshwar, Bhopal, Jaipur and Chandigarh) and industrial estate towns (Okla and Naini) have substantially added to the pool of urban population. Community development and refugee rehabilitation activities have also converted barren lands into lofty towns, such as Nilokheri. Many other centres of industrialization are now buzzing with activities.

Comparision with the Trends in Rural Population

When we compare the urban population growth with that of the rural population, we find that the rate of the former has been much higher than that of the latter. In 1951, the urban population registered an increase by 22 per cent whereas the rural population increased by 13 per cent. As a matter of fact, the total number of persons living in villages has come down whereas the total number of persons living in towns has grown up.

The decennial percentage will prove the fact that the tendency towards urbanization is greater. The rate of growth in respect of town population is much higher than the rate of growth in respect of village population. The table given below illustrates this trend:

TABLE III

Urban and Rural distribution of population and their rates of growth

Year	Population in lakhs		Rate of growth	
	Villages	Towns	Villages	Towns
1921	2,190	282	—	—
1931	2,420	334	+10.1	+18.4
1941	2,710	438	+12.0	+31.1
1951	2,950	619	+ 8.9	+41.3

The above table shows that the rate of urban population growth in 1931 was double the rate of the rural population growth. It was more than 2½ times in 1941 and about five times in the last Census.

Impact on Small Villages and Big Cities

The classification of villages and towns according to population further supports the trends towards a higher rate of urbanization. A comparison of figures of towns and villages of the last two censuses reveals that the number of villages has decreased whereas that of the towns and cities has increased, the greatest impact respectively being on small villages and big towns. The following table supports this observation:

TABLE IV

Categories and villages on the basis of population

Towns and villages with a population of—				Number in 1951	
1. Less than	500	.....		3,80,020	
2. Between	500	and	1,000	1,04,268	
3. "	1,000	"	2,000	51,769	I
4. "	2,000	"	5,000	20,508	
5. "	5,000	"	10,000	3,101	
6. "	10,000	"	20,000	856	
7. "	20,000	"	50,000	401	II
8. "	50,000	"	1,00,000	111	
9. Over	1,00,000			73	

Source: *Census of India*, 1951, Part I, Vol. I, p. 73.

According to population villages and towns have been classified into 9 categories and by a comparative study of 1941 and 1951 figures it is found that in the first four categories the number in 1951 has decreased from 450,092 to 380,000, 123,911 to 104,268, 56,408 to 51,769 and 22,151 to 20,508, respectively. The decrease in terms of precentage comes to 19.5 per cent, 16.11 per cent, 8.16 per cent and 7.66 per cent. The fifth category with a nominal increase of 2.6 per cent remains more or less stationary. However, it is interesting to note that in the last four categories the total number in 1951 has increased from 733 to 856,321 to 401,95 to 111 and 51 to 73, respectively. The increase in terms of percentage over the last census comes to 16.78 per cent, 24.92 per cent, 26.81 per cent and 28.07 per cent. Thus, it is clear that the greatest fall 19.51 per cent has been registered in the case of villages with a population of less than 500 people and the cities with a population of one lakh or over, have shared the largest (28.07 per cent) increase. Hence, there have been two distinct trends; on the one hand, small villages are being swallowed by big villages, and on the other, small towns attracted big cities.

Townwise Distribution

There can, be hardly any dispute on the fact that urban development in India has shown a centripetal tendency. The big cities have largely outgrown the small towns and townships. This is again evident from the following table:

TABLE V

*Townwise Distribution**

Category	Number of towns	Number of town-dwellers (in lakhs)	Urban population (percentage)
1. Cities	73	235	38.0
2. Minor towns	485	186	30.1
3. Major towns	1,848	178	28.6
4. Townships	612	20	3.3
Total	3,018	619	100.0

The total number of urban bases is 3,018 out of which there are only 73 cities each having a population of one lakh or more and it is astonishing that 38 per cent or more than one third of the urban population live in these (2.5 per cent) bases of urbanization. The second major share of urban population goes to the major towns where more than 30 per cent of the total urban people dwell. Major and minor towns account for 58.7 per cent of the total urban population.

The urban population living in townships is very small only when we neglect the figures for townships; the number of minor towns, major towns and cities and the statistics of inhabitants of such towns (96.7 per cent) do present

*The Census classification of towns is fourfold: all towns with a population of one lakh and over as *cities*, those with a population range of 20,000 to a lakh as *'major towns'*, those with a population range of 5,000 to 20,000 as *'minor towns'* and those with a population of 5.000 as *'townships'* (*Census of India*, 1951).

a comfortable picture of the pattern of urban life in different parts of the country. Thus the pattern of India's urban population is an indicator of the intensive growth of cities.

In Great Britain and other countries, where urban population is far more numerous than the rural population, towns have expanded so greatly that they have joined up into continuous built-up areas with inhabitants numbering crores, technically known as 'conurbations.' We have no such places in India. But we do have some towns which join one another so closely that it becomes somewhat artificial to refer to them as separate towns. Calcutta* and Delhi† are outstanding instances.

The Cities of India

The above-mentioned centripetal urbanization is well marked when we study the city-wise distribution of the urban population. It should, however, be marked that the centralization is not only in a few cities but in almost all the cities in general. The average growth rate of towns have been lower in comparison with that of the cities. During the decade 1941-51 there was a substantial rise in the population of the big cities of the country. The following table shows how the eight largest cities are arranged in order of population:

TABLE VI

Eight largest cities arranged in order of population

Town group	Population in lakhs (1951 Census)	Percentage over 1941 Population
1. Greater Calcutta	45.78	18.9
2. Greater Bombay	28.39	50.6
3. Madras	14.16	50.2
4. Delhi	13.84	54.7
5. Hyderabad	10.86	38.0
6. Ahmedabad	7.94	28.6
7. Bangalore	7.79	62.8
8. Kanpur	7.05	36.6

The largest percentage of urban population has concentrated in these eight cities. More than one fifth of the total urban population reside in these eight cities alone. When we examine the relative figures of these cities we find that the centrailzing tendency is still greater. Out of the total city population nearly one-fifth live only in greater Calcutta. This also represents 33 per cent of the total population of the above-mentioned eight big cities. Finally, the metropolis of Calcutta alone accounts for 2.5 million (about 60 per cent) of the total city population of 3.61 million of West Bengal. Calcutta and Bombay put together (74.17 lakhs) account for more than one-half of the total population of the eight big cities and it is noteworthy that the **big five** have attracted 83.1 per cent of this total.

The rate of population growth as stated above is much higher in big cities than in the smaller ones. The average decennial increase of the cities works out as much as 43.54 per cent whereas the average towns* have registered the lowest average growth during the decade 1941-51. The highest percentage increase (41.1 per cent) was in the case of Coimbtore and the lowest (8.3 per cent) in the case of Bikaner (Rajasthan) while Gaya and Aligarh (U.P.), Kozhikoda (Madras), Jullunder (Punjab), Ajmer, Trivandrum (Travancore-Cochin) was nearing the average, which works out at 24.94 per cent. It is, however, interesting to note that the average percentage increase of 27 new cities works out at 45.23 which is higher than that of the big cities by 2.31 per cent.

Another interesting phenomenon is to find that modern towns and cities have been fast outgrowing the older ones. This is well marked in the case of Calcutta Bombay, Kanpur, Madras. The old towns are decaying or are stationary. This is demonstrated by the folllowing table:

TABLE VII

Growth of Old and New Towns

	Modern Towns Population in 1891	Population in 1951	Increase over 1891
Calcutta	7.44	25.49	18.5
Bombay	8.00	28.17	20.17
Madras	4.53	14.16	9.63
Ahmedabad	1.44	7.94	6.50
Kanpur	1094	7.05	5.11
Bangalore	1.00	7.79	6.79
Kolar	0.24	1.59	1.35
Total	24.81	92.41	67.60
	Old Towns Population in 1891	Population in 1951	Increase over 1891
Benaras	2.23	3.56	1.33
Mathura	0.70	1.06	0.36
Jaipur	1.65	2.91	1.26
Patna	1.65	2.83	1.18
Gaya	0.80	1.34	0.54
Baroda	1.16	2.11	0.95
Bikaner	0.51	1.17	0.66
Total	8.70	14.98	6.28

Through a close study of the above table it is clear that during the last six decades the population of seven modern towns increased from 24.81 lakhs to 92.41 lakhs, *e.g.*, it has approximately quadrupled; while the population of seven old towns has increased from 8.71 lakhs to 14.98 lakhs, that is, it has not even doubled itself. During this period the percentage increase of modern and old towns has been 363.67 per cent and 172.18 per cent respectively.

Causes of Urbanization

It is now desirable to discuss the causes of urbanization in India. There is, as a matter of fact, no single factor leading to the growth of each and every town in the country. The factors of urbanization are many and varied. We have attempted here to summarise some of the important causes as under:

We have said earlier that during recent years industrial needs and certain other requirements, such as the location of capital towns, steel towns, industrial estate etc., have been the common factors of urban development in India. Apart from them, however, there have also been many other reasons leading the people to migrate from countryside to the urban areas.

In the first place, a much more potent reason is the fact that city life has begun to appeal to the ordinary middle class and the lower middle class people. The landless people from the village find employment and a certain amount of social equality in the towns which are generally lacking in villages. Secondly, the availability of better facilities exerts a powerful influence on the trends of migration. This can be seen in the case of better education, medical and cultural facilities in the cities. Thirdly, the anti-money-lending legislations in the States (*e.g.*, Punjab and Uttar Pradesh), the Usurious Loans Act passed by the Centre have made the village money-lenders move into the city to practise it there or to become merchants. Fourthly, the partition also left more urban population in the Indian Union. After partition urban population in India was 14 per cent of the total whereas in Pakistan it was only 8 per cent of the total. Fifthly, the safety of the life and property is considerably increasing in the towns and cities. Armed dacoities are more frequent in villages than in towns and cities. Sixthly, the progress in housing in the cities, specially during the plan-era, has encouraged urbanization. Last but not the least, urbanization has generally depended on the growth of transport facilities. It deserves mention that transport facilities played a dominant role in the urban development of the U.K. and many other countries of the world. The major cause of this redistribution of population in the U.K. has been the building of railways and the consequent revolution in transporation.

Railway construction provides employment, and stimulates employment; it puts the towns in need of more metal workers, engineers and so on. Railway canstruction also increases mobility, both by taking men to long distances to assist in the work of construction, and by making journeys to

* Calcutta consists of *six cities*—Calcutta, Howrah, Tollygaunj, Garden Reach, Bhatpara, and Southern Suburbs, *twenty-one major towns* and *eight minor towns*.

† Delhi includes *two cities, three major towns* and *one minor town*.

*An average town is one whose popu lation varies between 1 lakh and 2 lakh but excludes those towns which have bee classified as cities the first time in 195 Such average towns are 16 in number a present.

towns easier and cheaper. Finally, the railways by improving communications immensely reinforce the competitive power, large-scale urban enterprise and bring about displacement of rural crafts and small country industries to the towns.

In fine, the rapid pace of industrialisation, commercialization of agriculture, the attraction of the city life, the world wars, the plan-period needs and the introduction of cheap and quick means of transport and communication have been the main factors of urbanization.

Social Costs of Urbanization

It is generally accepted that industrialization, urbanization and replacement of subsistence economy by an exchange economy all combine to produce changes even in those parts of social living that have least to do with money and many of these changes are decidedly unpleasant. The new process involves the break-down of age-old customs and connections. The unfamiliar work, strange surroundings and new sources of income vastly affect a man's attitude to his family, his religion and his neighbour.

All these social disturbances are already being felt in certain parts of India, such as Calcutta, Bombay, Ahmedabad, Kanpur and few other industrial towns. Such trends are not only peculiar to the case of India, but can also be seen in other developing countries in almost identical form. They suggest that they are destined to become more acute and much widespread as industrialization countinues under the ever-more ambitious Five-Year Plans.

The symptoms of socio-economic disequilibrium in a developing economy are abnormal sex-ratios, the break-up of the family, marital instability, the commercialization of sexual and family relationships, increased prostitution, alchoholism, increase in mental illness, violence in industrial relations, exasperated communal, linguistic and provincialised struggle, juvenile deliquency especially in the form of children's gangs, increased adult crime, the decay of craftmentship and professional morality and the increase of political extremism. All of these sysmtoms of social disruption are to be seen in the industrial slums of Calcutta, Bombay, Kanpur, Ahmedabad and other towns. Among these symptoms, the growing sex-disparity in the industrial cities and the lack of proper accommodation are perhaps the roots of many of the social vices. In the ensuing paragraphs these two factors have specially been dealt with.

Sex Disparity

Sex disparity is an important fact of urbanization. It is highest in big cities. In average towns it is less. In other words, sex disparity moves up or comes down with the growth or decline in the city. In statistical terminology, the correlation is positive.

TABLE VIII

Sex disparity in big and average towns

	Sex Disparity in Cities		
1.	Bombay	.. ..	596 (=)
2.	Calcutta	.. ..	570
3.	Madras	.. ..	921
4.	Delhi	.. ..	770
5.	Hyderabad	.. ..	989
6.	Ahmedabad	.. ..	765
7.	Bangalore	.. ..	883
8.	Kanpur	.. ..	699
	Sex Disparity in average Towns		
1.	Gaya	.. ..	854
2.	Coimbatore	.. ..	890
3.	Kathiawar	.. ..	982
4.	Vellore	.. ..	1002—@
5.	Jullunder ..	.. ..	853
6.	Ludhiana	.. ..	835
7.	Sahajehanpur	..	805
8.	Aligarh	.. ..	812
9.	Jhansi	.. ..	858
10.	Bhatpara	.. ..	533
11.	Kolar	.. ..	1004
12.	Jodhpur	.. ..	875
13.	Bikaner	.. ..	935
14.	Bhavnagar	.. ..	924
15.	Trivendrum	.. ..	955
16.	Ajmer	.. ..	900

(=) In Western European countries, the tendency is opposite.

(@) There are two more such towns, Rajamundri 1,024, Tanjore 1,012.

From the above it is clear that the highest and lowest limits in the case of big towns are 570 and 989, whereas those in the case of average towns are 1,004 and 858. Hyderabad is not an industrial town hence the ratio of females per 1,000 males is very high. Bhatpara is an industrial suburb of Calcutta, hence its ratio, as opposed to Hyderabad, is very low. In the case of Kolar, the story is different due to female labour.

The average for cities (excluding Hyderabad) and average towns (excluding Kolar and Bhatpara) comes to 743.34 and 981.43 respectively. The average for all Indian cities comes to about 860 women per thousand men. Thus in cities and towns disparity is 257, and 109 only. In average towns, therefore, there are 148 more women per thousand than in cities.

This sex disparity is primarily due to the fact that workers leave their families in villages and come to the towns alone and secondly, women have meagre opportunities of employment in industries.

Housing

The progressive urbanization has given rise to shortage of houses in urban areas. The situation was aggravated by the war, when there was decline in building activities, and assumed serious proportions with the influx of displaced persons following the partition. In more recent years the rise in land values and shortages and high prices of building materials have led to a further deterioration in the situation. The industrial cities, particularly in relation to labour force, deserve special mention.

In Bombay, majority of the workers live in *Chawls* (blocks of flats erected for the accommodation of a large number of families), the largest percentage of which are impossible of improvement and fit only for demolition.* The degree of over-crowding and congestion that can be seen in *Bustees* around Calcutta are probably unequalled in any other industrial centre of the country. The housing conditions of labourers in *Ahtas* of Kanpur are akin to *Chawls* of Bombay, *Bustees* of Calcutta. *Charies* of Southern India, Travancore and Cochin are more dirty, filthy and clumsy than the *bustees* and *Ahtas*. In *Dhowrahs* or mine quarters, 85 per cent miner's families live in one-room houses and only 2 per cent in four-room houses. There were 664 lakhs of occupied houses—541 lakhs in villages and 103 lakhs in towns. Finally, the housing problems is more acute in big towns than in average ones.

A total provision of Rs. 48.7 crores was made for housing in the First Five-Year Plan. In addition to the allocation of Rs. 38.5 crores by the Central Government, housing schemes for workers in the coal industry are financed from the Coal Mine Welfare Funds. The housing scheme for the mica and coal mines is the responsibility of the Ministry of Labour. Besides the various schemes of the Ministries of the Central Government, State Governments and a certain number of local bodies also have their own housing programmes. During the First Five-Year Plan the Ministry of Rehabilitation provided 323,000 houses or tenements in urban areas and about three-lakh units were constructed by State Governments and by Central Ministries other than those constructed by the Ministry of Works, Housing and Supply. The various public housing schemes, it is estimated, added about 742,000 houses or tenements and in the private sector about 600,000 units approximately at a cost of Rs. 125 crores were provided. Thus, in all, during the First Plan Period about 1.3 million urban houses were constructed.† In the rural housing scheme about 29,000 houses were constructed and almost the same number were reconditioned. It would, however, be true to say that over the First Plan Period rural housing problem was scarcely touched.

It is gratifying to note that the Second Five-Year Plan makes a provision of Rs. 120 crores for housing, which is about three times of the first plan provision, and of which only Rs. 10 crores are allocated for rural housing and the rest, that is about 92 per cent, is to be spent in urban housing. It is commendable that a sum of Rs. 20 crores has been reserved for slum clearance and sweepers' housing. The social costs of slum-dwellers and sweepers will be considerably reduced and the housing accommodatior

*Royal Commission on Labour, p. 273.

†Second Five-Year Plan, p. 556.

for low income persons will improve. It is expected that, during the Second Five-Year Period about 753,000 units will be added to the public and 8 lakh units to the private sector.*

The shortage in 1951 was roughly reckoned at 2.5 million. By 1961, it is expected that urban population will triple itself (seems to be an understimate, and it is ours) over the 1951 figure. And in the absence of measures for constructing more houses the shortage in 1961 may be twice as much as it was in 1951.

Conclusion

The urban development trends in India as analysed in the preceding pages lead us to some important conclusions. They may help in framing the future policies in relation to urbanization on the one hand, and rural de-population on the other. They may also provide the basis of necessary developments in the amenities of life in both the urban and rural areas so that the rising social costs and inhuman conditions of life might be minimised.

In the first place, our discussion of the rate of growth of urbanization has revealed that in the past it has been comparatively slow but in the last two decades it has been moderate and in the plan era it is bound to be high. The slow growth of urbanization was due to the slow race of industrialization and lack of adequate amenities of life in industrial towns. Further, it is evident that the rate of growth of town population has been greater than the rate of growth of village population. It is neither possible nor desirable to check the growth of urbanization. But life in the big cities, on the whole, is not still very much pleasant and secure. The poor peasants, landless labourers and craftsmen who migrate to the cities have to face enormous difficulties in settling there. It is, however, true that with the growth of transportation and communication facilities, creation of opportunities of employment, security and amenities of life in the urban areas the rate of rural de-population will increase if there is no counter trend in the picture. Rural housing scheme and 'Adarsha Gram' should therefore have due share in the ensuing Five Year Plans.

Secondly, the lion's share of urbanization has mainly gone to the big modern cities like Calcutta, Delhi, Kanpur, Ahmedabad, Bombay and Madras. These towns have shown a remarkable tendency of conurbation. Several major and minor towns have combined to form the great cities of Calcutta, Bombay and Delhi. The tendency toward conurbation has received a further stimulus by the establishment of industrial estates. On the other hand, there has also been a marked tendency towards the amalgamation of smaller villages into superior townships. The progress of Community Development activities has been assisting this movement in order that it may take a clear shape. The further growth of these big cities should be curbed to reduce the social costs to minimise the town problems and to save humanity from the atomic and hydrogen warfare.

Thirdly, the social costs of urbanization have generally appeared to be on an increasing scale. With the increasing congestion and the growing sex disparity in the big cities new and numerous social vices have crept in. India should take a lesson from other industrialised countries where urbanization has meant greater social costs. Attempts should, therefore be made to minimise this through decentralisation of industries and the introduction of greater welfare measures in the towns and cities by Industrialists, Association and Mission philanthropists and social reformers, local bodies, State and Central Governments. The problem of congestion in the cities would have been much worse had the Central and State Governments not shown interest in encouraging the housing construction. The introduction of the social insurance scheme provision of medical aid, construction of parks, implementation of prohibition, etc. are reducing the drudgry of city life.

The housing schemes should be given greater fillip because the situation of housing shortage is not likely to improve much due to progressive urbanization and increased cost of construction. During the First Five-Year Plan period with about a triple of the usual expenditure the tenements are likely to be doubled. Good results are bound to come out of increased housing accommodation and to reduce sex disparity, introduction of prohibition and multiplication of co-operatives, implementation of electricity and water supply, provision of city transport facilities and, above all, the ban on prostitution provided of course its objectives are fulfilled.

Fourthly, We have to say that there is a prositive correlation between industrialization and urbanization. This correlation will grow stronger with the working of the present industrial policy of the government. There is, however, a necessity of the balanced development of cities in India to reduce the social costs. It can be attained by laying greater emphasis on the development of smaller scale (small-scale) industries in average towns and Community Development centres so that they may attract and focus the attention of the villagers towards them. These towns will then grow to balanced ones by attracting village folks towards them on the one hand, and silently asking much-depressed sections of the people of the big cities to come and settle there on the other. The policy of our government towards the reduction of the social costs of the urbanization is commendable. But unless exodus of city-minded population towards big cities is checked, the measures so far taken will act only as a palliative medicine to the worst malady.

Finally, India is a land of villages and hence the saying 'salvation of India lies in villages' is quite true. Our country will progress and develop when villages progress and develop. In the subsequent plans therefore more emphasis should be laid on 'rural planning' than on 'city planning'. Master Plans for cities, undoubtedly, will bring about better conditions for the minority which deserves protection. 'Adarsha Grams' will touch and tone up the heart, and through it, the whole body, i.e., the whole nation.

'Master Plan' and 'Adarsha Gram' should be our slogans for urban and rural uplift but the former should be less ambitious but more practical whereas the latter need be more simple and extensive. Our Government should regularly keep a vigilant eye on urban development trends on the one hand, and rural de-population on the other, in future so that cities and villages may become better places economically, socially and culturally.

*Ibid.

K. M. JHAVERI COMMEMORATION VOLUME

By Principal A. K. TRIVEDI

This little, but very valuable instructive book* is a collection of reminiscences by 33 distinguished men from different walks of life—being personal reminiscences connected with the personality and life-work of the late Diwan Bahadur K. M. Jhaveri.

The Diwan Bahadur was referred to by all who knew him as "Kaka." Whether it was in a literary gathering or in private circles, he had so endeared himself to all and was so highly respected by all, that everybody simply mentioned "Kaka" (Uncle) when he wanted to speak about him. One naturally inquires the secret of the

*Diwan Bahadur Krishnalal Mohanlal Jhaveri Commemoration Volume (In Gujarati): *Compiler* Natvarlal Malvi. *Published by* Gandiva Sahitya Mandir, Havadio Chaklo, Surat. 1959. Pages 94.

high esteem in which he was held by all, and the reply in short is, the secret lay in his *sweet temper*. In his own words we may envisage it well. The Diwan Bahadur's words are as under:

"After so many years of experience, I have learnt a lesson, and it is—Follow the Path of Truth, speak with a smile on your face, show Humility. Do not put on airs and don't insist on your Ego; if you wish to have smooth sailing in the world, avoid this extreme or that extreme, but keep to the middle path. 50 per cent I give up on my side and 50 per cent I persuade the other side to give up from his side, and everything proves to be alright."

Amongst the great persons of India who pay tributes to the Diwan Bahadur are Purushottamdas Thakordas, Dhanvanthi Rama Rao, S. Radhakrishnan, Morarji Desai, Motilal Setalvad, C. P. Ramaswamy Aiyar and others.

Some very interesting reminiscences are those of Chandravadan Mehta, who describes how he stole "Kaka's Parsi black cap", played the part of a Parsi, and played it so well that he earned compliments from the Kaka, who saw the farce enacted but hardly realised that the cap was his cap stolen by that mischievious Chandravadan. In his reminiscences, Chandravadan narrates this mischief which he played so early as in 1924 in the Elphinstone College.

Shri Barjor Faramji Bharucha giving thousands of bowings describes the scholarship of Krishnalal Jhaveri in English, his authorship of various types, his greatness as a Pleader, Judge, and Chief Judge. Krishnalalbhai is further described as Punctuality Personified. Some of the Headings of reminiscences speak volumes of praise. Smt. Premlila V. Thackersey's heading is "Ajata-Shatru" (Enemyless Personality), Shree Vaikunth Lallubhai Mehta's Heading is "Vyavaharadaksha" (Clever in Practical Matters), Mr. Motilal Vin's Heading is "Revano Balak" (Child of the River Reva), Mr. Jyotindra Dave's Heading is "Sada Pravritta" (Ever Active), Dr. Chamanlal Mehta's Heading is "Gaya, Chhatan Samaksha Chhe" (Gone, but is present before our eyes), Mr. Yashodhar Mehta's Heading is "Niragrahi" (Non-Fighting), Mr. A. K. Trivedi's Heading is "Adag Nyayagrahi" (Firm in Justice), and Mr. G. H. Bhatt's Heading is "Saojanya Moorti" (The very Idol of Gentlemanliness). All these headings suggest various aspects of goodness and greatness of this venerable old scholar of Gujarat.

Mr. Ramlal Navnitlal's reminiscences under the Heading "Nana Mama" (Maternal Uncle Nana) is bristling with vivid personal touches and gives a most impressive picture of Krishnalal Jhaveri. It shows how wide was the circle of Jhaveri's friends, how voluminous his correspondence was, how highly trusted he was in the whole of Bombay, how useful he was as Vice-chancellor of the S.N.D.T. University and as Syndic of the Bombay University and how exceptionally humble he was in manners with all with whom he had even to face conflicts.

Diwan Bahadur's Reviews of Gujarati Books in *The Modern Review* were read by Gujarati and other scholars for numbers of years. His *Milestones o Gujarati Literature* and *Further Milestone* rendered valuable services to Gujarati language and literature.

He died at the very green old age o 89 years, loved and respected by all. Th *Smaraka Granthn* should be read by a who wish to learn something from the lif of an illustrious son of Gujarat.

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 acknowleged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

EDITOR, *The Modern Review*

ENGLISH

SELECT DOCUMENTS OF THE BRITISH PERIOD OF INDIAN HISTORY (IN THE COLLECTION OF THE VICTORIA MEMORIAL, CALCUTTA): *By D. C. Ganguly. Published by the Trustees of the Victoria Memorial, Calcutta, 1958. Pp. 251. Price Rs. 15.00.*

The noble mausoleum of the Victoria Memorial, Calcutta, is not only a repository of some valuable relics (paintings, sculptures and other works of art) of the period of British rule in our country, but also of a collection of historical documents bearing on the early history of that period. Dr. D. C. Ganguly, Secretary and Curator of the Memorial, has deserved well of the students of modern Indian history by making available in the original a select list of eighty-four documents from this collection which range over the century from 1758 to 1859. In an ably written introduction he has set the documents in their proper historical setting. We have noticed in the course of our perusal of this portion one important slip. On p. 7 three lines from the bottom "the Governor in Council secured *from* the Nawab the Subahdari of the provinces of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa . . . . . ." *for* should be read in place of *from*. Of the value of this collection it is not possible to say much. Not only are the documents unevenly distributed (nearly half the collection being confined to the period ending Warren Hastings's administration), but the collection, small as it is in size, is wanting in documents referring to such important developments as the Permanent Settlement of Lord Cornwallis and the social and educational reforms of Lord William Bentinck. The paper, print and get-up are excellent.

U. N. GHOSHAL

INDIAN MINIATURES: THE RAJPUT PAINTERS: *Edited with Introduction and Notes: By Robert Reiff in the Series: Art Treasures of Asia, under the General Editorship of Jane Gaston Mahler. Published by Messrs. Charles E. Tuttle Co, Tokyo. 1959. Letter-press 32 pp, 10 colour plates and 2 Monochrome Illustrations Price 720 yens, or Two Dollars.*

All lovers of Indian Painting should welcome this new publishing enterprize—to propagate the knowledge of Indran Arts—through cheap publications of very high standard—of reproduction and critical appreciation. As Mr. Reiff explains in his introduction, for the most part the Rajput painter preferred native themes. Four such themes predominate—the musical modes, the epics and romances, religious themes and love themes. The miniatures offer more than a travel tour through the country: they reveal the dreams and aspirations of the people. . . . The earth and all its creatures are united with man in a panorama that is both intimate and timeless, for in the villages and temples and on the broad highways one still may see the colourful processions of stately men and women who inspired the Rajput miniatures. The remarkably well-written introduction, the graphic commentaries and the selection of the plates are the work of Robert Reiff, staff member of the Art Department, Middlebury College, Vermont, and graduate student at Columbia University. Mr. Reiff deserves high praise from admirers of Oriental Art for having illuminated an aspect of Indian paintings that has until now received comparatively little public attention. It is of interest to note that the originals of all miniatures reproduced in this volume are to be found in American collections. The loss to India of her finest art-treasure has been a gain to America incidentally providing an intellectual link between the two countries through an understanding and appreciation of the masterpieces of Art.

O. C. GANGOLY

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF INDOLOGICAL STUDIES in 1953. (*A survey of periodical publrcations*): *By S. Chaudhuri, Librarian, The Asiatic Society. The Asiatic Society, Calcutta, 16. Price, Rs. 4.*

Dearth of bibliographical aids is a great handicap to workers in the field of Indology. Attempts have been made from time to time by different institutions and individuals to remove this want. But regular and systematic work has not been possible. The Kern Institute of Leyden was doing very laudable work though within a limited compass through its *Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology* but as a result of the disturbances brought about by the war it is now very badly in arrears, its last two volumes covering 1940-47 and 1948-53 were published in 1950 and 1958. *The Annual Bibliography* issued for some time by the Bombay Historical Society is not coming out since 1949. Under these circumstances the undertaking of Sri Chaudhuri will be greeted heartily by the world of scholars. It covers a much wider ground than its predecessors and will be helpful to workers in different branches. It makes a new venture in including contributions made in Indian languages also and in this connection for the present refers to publications appearing in a number of journals in Sanskrit, Hindi and Bengali. Its appearance under the auspices of the Asiatic Society. the oldest Indological Institute of Asia, if not of the world, is a happy coincidence. It is hoped the position and resources of the Society, if properly utilised, will go a great way in ensuring the success of the valuable endeavour.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

THE ISLE OF LANKA: CEYLON: *By J. Vijaytunga. Published by Orient Longmans Ltd., Bombay, Calcutta and Madras. Price Rs. 12/-.*

Ceylon, our little island-neighbour to the south, with whom we have a thousand ties and one, has a history similar to ours in many respects. Ceylon, like India in the past, was the happy hunting ground of foreign adventurers one after another—the Portuguese, the Dutch and the English. Like India, she passed under the British rule in the end. Foreign rule harassed, humiliated and degraded the people. Attempts were made to foist an alien culture on the indigenous. Buddhism, the national religion of Ceylon, a gift from India, languished. Like India, Ceylon recovered her independence in the late forties, and has been making rapid strides in different directions. In recent years, Ceylon has been India's faithful ally in her peace-mission. Ideologically, however, she seems to be closer to the West than India has ever been. The recent general elections, which upset the apple cart of Prime Minister Sir John Kotelawala, and brought Mr. Bandarnaike to power at the head of the *Mahajana Eksath Peramura* (M. E. P.) may be symptomatic of Ceylon's ideological re-orientation.

Indo-Ceylonese relations are not as cordial as they should and might have been. The policy of the Government of Ceylon to the Indian settlers, who constitute about 14 per cent of Ceylonese population, and who have contributed not a little tn the island's prosperity, has caused considerable resentment in the mainland. Agreements on Indians between the two Governments have been violated in spirit. The language policy of the Bandaranaike Government is the latest proof of Ceylon's anti-Indian bias.

Mr. J. Vijaytunga's book gives a very readable account of things and places in Ceylon with occasional glimpses of his country's past and of the glories that are no more. The shortcomings of the Government, the snobbery of the sophisticated Ceylonese and the blind imitation of the West by the latter come in for some adverse comments that they rightly deserve. The author has also shown with a fair measure of success how traditional Ceylon still survives under a thin veneer of Westernism. The get-up and printing of the volume are excellent.

SUDHANSU BIMAL MOOKHERJI

SERMONS AND SAYINGS OF THE BUDDHA: *By Sudhakar Dikshit. Published by the Chetan Ltd., 34, Rampart Row, Bombay-1. Pp. 114. Price Rs. 3.50nP.*

It is one of the publications of the Buddha Jayanti Charities Society of Bombay in commemoration of the 2500th anniversary of the enlightened Shakyamuni. Though it is based on the Digha Nikaya, Majjhim Nikaya, Angusttar Nikaya, Udana and other important Pali works, complicated terms and archaic phraseology have been purposely eschewed in order to make it readable for the common people. Interesting and instructive portions have been selected from the Buddhist scriptures mentioned above to place before the general public the kernel of what the Buddha taught twenty-five centuries ago and what have made one-third of the whole humanity to follow his sacred footsteps! Though it is like a drop from the vast ocean, it has the genuine flavour of the latter. The book is divided into forty-two short chapters containing the sayings of Bhagavan Buddha from the first sermon delivered at Sarnath to the last sermon said at Kushinagar. The thirty-fourth chapter describes the Buddhist conception of Nirvana as given in the Udana. It is an agreeable surprise to note that this is exactly the same as that of the Vedic conception of Samadhi found in the Upanishads. According to both the conceptions, Nirvana is an abode of everlasting peace and passionlessness. The book is written in a lucid style, printed in good paper and bold type as well as attractively got up. The frontispiece contains a beautiful line-drawing of the Blessed One. The cover design and other drawings are done by Chhaya Dikshit.

SWAMI JAGADISWARANANDA

ECONOMICS AND ECONOMY: *By Dr. Kenneth Rivett, M.A., Ph.D., of the University of Melbourne, Australia. Pages 61. Price Rs. 2.00.*

The book contains three lectures on the scope and methods of Economics and its relation to social philosophy delivered at the institute during July 1957. Dr. Rivett is Nuffield Dominion Travelling Fellow in Social Philosophy.

The first deals with the scope and definition of economics and the meaning of the word economic as used in economics and criticised by Ruskin and others. The second discusses the logical methods of economics. The third attempts to show the relation between economics and ethics and includes a brief description of the problem of distribution. He has tried to relate the issues to Indian problems with considerable success.

The publication will be a helpful study for the students of Economics.

INDIAN PLANNING AND THE PLANNING COMMISSION: *By Dr. D. R. Gadgil, Director, Gokhale Institute of Politics and Economics, Poona. Pages 31. Price Re. 1.00.*

In this lecture delivered in March 1958, Prof. Gadgil after making a preliminary observation on the nature of planning examines the Second Five-Year Plan which India has taken up for the economic developments. The learned lecturer has analysed very carefully the methods of working of the Planning Commission and has shown the various defects which hamper the progress and thwarts the success of the Plan. He has also suggested methods of improvement which the authorities will do well to consider carefully and adopt those which they consider suitable in the interest of better working.

Students of Economics, who have to study the Plan, will do well to go through this learned lecture, which not only throws new light on the defects of the present working but provoke thinking as to the future planning.

BUSINESS EDUCATION: *Edited by Prof. L. R. Dasgupta. Published by Research Board, City College, Commerce Department, 13, Surya Sen Street, Calcutta-12. Pages 232. Price not mentioned.*

This is a timely publication. A 'high-powered' committee has undertaken an enquiry into the present position of commerce education in India 'in all its aspects' and to suggest measures for its reorganisation and improvement.

The book has been divided into eighteen sections and eight Appendices have been added including a short Bibliography. The items were written on different occasions by different writers and some cover the same grounds and repetitions have unavoidably been made. But in spite of these shortcoming trends of discussion throw considerable light on the various aspects of the commerce education. It must be admitted that the advocates of commerce education do not hold one and the same opinion as to methods, objects and ideals of this branch of education. There are fundamental differences among the authorities. But in spite of this there are no two opinions as to the utility of commerce education in present-day industrial society. Systems of education in U.K., U.S.A., Switzerland and Germany differ and as such India shall have to build up her own system of commerce education most suitable to a developing economy under Five-Year Plans aiming at a socialistic pattern of society. The Editor Prof. Dasgupta must be congratulated for his efforts in collecting the valuable materials so very useful to the teachers and educators and particularly the authorities of the country who are reshaping the technical education of new India.

A. B. DUTTA

HINDI: THE NATIONAL LANGUAGE: *By Kanhaiyalal Bhemulal Malvia, M.P. Malvia Prakashan, 64, North Avenue, New Delhi. Price not mentioned.*

There has been a good deal of controversy over the propriety of the early official adoption of Hindi as the sole national language of India. Protagonists, more than antagonists, have

often created confusion. Nobody, we believe, has objected to its steady circulation all over India or its acceptance as one of the national languages for the time being. What has evoked criticism is the importunate attempt by some overzealous persons to impose Hindi on the non-Hindi-speaking people, to establish its immediate sovereignty in the administrative and the educational spheres, to debar other languages from entering the precincts of educational institutions in the Hindi-speaking areas, to enforce its introduction for all-India competitive examinations and if possible, even to thrust it as the medium of instruction in all the states. Unity is desirable, but that must come through mutual trust and goodwill. The responsibility devolves not merely on the people who do not speak Hindi. Perhaps, for every student in India the knowledge of another state language is advisable, mutually beneficial and likely to foster unity and better understanding. The book under review is an instance of clever advocacy for Hindi. In the preface, the author says: "I could have answered every argument in my own words, but that might be termed as the logic of 'Hindi imperialist'." So he prefers to quote others. Nevertheless his attitude is clear. Dr. Chatterjee's note of dissent to the Language Commission Report is, according to him, a 'political blunder'. He has charged him for inconsistency, or in his own word 'somersault.' He advises calm thinking; we expected him to follow his own precept and rise above vanity and provincial prejudce. Of course, he gives evidence of argumentative capacity but he is not thoroughly convincing.

D. N. MOOKERJEA

BENGALI

ALOR AKAS: *Susil Kumar Gupta. Messrs. M. C. Sarkar & Sons Private Ltd., 14, Bankim Chatterjee Street, Calcutta-12. Price Rs. 2/-.*

SWAPNA-SADHANA: *Santosh Sen Gupta. Grantha-Balaka, 15, Bhupendra Basu Avenue, Calcutta-4. Price Rs. 2-50 nP.*

MAUNA-MUKHAR: *Jitu Gupta. Published by M. L. Das, 163-A, Diamond Harbour Road, Calcutta-34. Price 00.50 nP.*

CHHAI-BHASMA (2nd Series): *Keshablal Das. Basumati Sahitya Mandir, 166, Bowbazar Street, Calcutta-12. Price Rs. 3-50. nP.*

MALIKA: *Satyakinkar Sahana. Distributors: Sarat Book House, 18B, Shyamacharan De Street, Calcutta-12. Price Re. 1-4 as.*

BANA-BITHI: *Salil Mitra & Others. Chandpur, P.O. Chanchua, Dasghara (Hooghly). Price Re. 1.00.*

EK JE CHHILA RAJA: *Sukamal Das Gupta. Published by Devi Prasad Mukherjee on behalf of Eastern Trading Co. 64-A, Dharmatala Street, Calcutta-13. Price Rs. 2/-.*

Seven books of poems different in content and quality.

'Alor Akas' consists of nearly fifty lyrics, all tender and sweet. The poet does not escape from reality, but after all, he finds life worth living. Clouds appear, but the sky has its eternal light.

In spite of the tall claims of our ultra-moderns, the Tagore tradition still continues in Bengali Poetry and finds new adherents of considerable ability and Sri Sen Gupta is one of them. His 'Swapna-Sadhana' will surely find response in hearts susceptible to the beauty and mystery of life.

'Mauna-Mukhar' is a very thin book of verse. Perhaps threatened by a deadly disease the poet casts his longing look at the world which he may soon have to forsake. His expression is often weak and his metre faulty but there is a note of sincerity in his broken music.

To compose a few rhyming lines on themes precious or insignificant more as a pastime than under inspiration was a common hobby with mid-nineteenth century Bengali poets. Temperamentally Sr Das belongs to that past generation Occasionally the reader might come acros a few happy expressions or agreeable senti ments in 'Chhai-Bhasma.' The pieces o translation tagged at the end are no totally disappointing.

The author of 'Malika' who passed hi student-life in the nineteenth century ha nicely assimilated the style and diction c Tagore and the delicate poetic touch tha can transform any idea into a 'thing c beauty' works behind each of the poem presented here. At one time he was fairl well-known to the readers of Benga Poetry and he deserves to be remembered even today.

'Bana-bithi' is a joint venture of some very young poets—Salil Mitra, Sailen Kumar Datta, Dinabandhu Hajra, Devaranjan Mazumdar, and Anil Kumar Modak. On the technique they have fair command; with culture and experience they are expected to reveal their true selves.

Sri Das Gupta has given an agreeable biographical account of Raja Rammohan Roy in simple, easy-flowing verse.

D. N. Mookerjea

HINDI

MAGADHA: *By Baijnatha Sinha "Vinode". Jaina Sanskriti Sanshodhana Mandala, Banaras-5. Pp. 62. Price Re. 1.*

VISVASHANTI KA AGRADUTA SHRI VARDHAMAN MAHAVIRA: *By Digambara-dasa Jaina. Available from the author at Saharanpur, U.P. Pp. 528. Price Rs. 6-8.*

The first is a history from the cultural standpoint of Magadha, that ancient nursery of the religions of the *Shramanas*. It is an objective study of the conflicting ideologies of the *Shramanas* and the *Brahmins* and their ultimate synthesis.

The second is, on the whole, a miscellaneous compilation of the biography of the illustrious founder of Jainism, the pioneer apostle of *ahimsa*, Mahavira, his teachings and tributes to him in Hindi, English and Urdu. It lacks, however, adequate editing as well as abridgment.

G. M.

GUJARATI

1. VISHWAJYOTI: *By Mangaldas J. Gordhandas, Presidency Magistrate, Bombay. Pp. 100. Price four annas.*
2. PRAUDHA VACHAN PURTI: *By Sanabhai Bhansar. Pp. 47. Price four annas.*
3. DESHA PURHO: *By Sanabhai Bhansar. Pp. 43. Price four annas.*
4. JNAN LAHARI: *By Swami Ramatirtha. Pp. 96. Price eight annas.*

All published by the Society for the Encouragement of Cheap Literature, printed at its own press, Ahmedabad. Paper cover. 1957.

Light of the World is a political composition of Shri Mangaldas, in its second edition consisting of 101 *shlokas* all eulogising the patriotic services of Gandhiji of which the last three *shlokas* are composed by Mrs. Mangaldas. It is a very good epitome in verse on a high level, of Gandhiji's valuable work. Nos. 2 and 3 are intended for love of children and serve their purpose well. *Jnan Lahari*, in the form of Question and Answer, explains the philosophical aspects of our religion.

K. M. J.

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Indian Periodicals

Indo-Vietnam Links Through the Ages

In an article in *The Aryan Path* H. I. S. Kanwar dwells on the happy history of India's cultural and religious influence on Indochina, which has been assimilated and made fruitful in a characteristic and charming culture by the original genius of that land:

"To know my country," said the sage Rabindranath Tagore in his writings, "one has to travel to that age, when she realized her soul and thus transcended her physical boundaries, when she revealed her being in a radiant magnanimity which illuminated the eastern horizon, making her recognized as their own by those in alien shores who were awakened into a surprise of life." This could be appropriately applied to Vietnam, one of the lands in South-east Asia with whom India's cultural links date back to over 2,500 years.

Although ancient Hindu customs forbade emigration, they could not hold back the adventurers of Hindustan from going abroad to acquire first-hand knowledge of new lands and to preach the tenets of their creed. It may be said with some certainty that the desire to realize this was expedited by the rapid rise of the ship-building industry in ancient India.

An engraving on the stupa of Sanchi depicts a small boat sailing down a river, as also a royal ship having on it an empty throne. This may well be taken as one of the earliest references to shipping activity in India. That ship-building became a highly specialized art and a prosperous industry, thus providing adequate facilities for Indian seafarers to sail away from the shores of India, may be observed from the evidence available in the *Yuktikalpataru*, an ancient Sanskrit document whose origin dates back to time immemorial, which sets down in some detail the art and science of ship-building and allied subjects.

Tales of the pre-Buddhist period reveal instances of Indian ships sailing from the Ganges to Ceylon. In his treatise *Arthashastra*, Chandragupta's minister Chanakya refers to Indian vessels proceeding abroad, a contention supported in the writings of Megasthenes, the Greek envoy to Chandragupta Maurya's court over 2,000 years ago, who states that he found shipping activity not only on the Ganges and the Indus and their tributaries but also their river mouths. Ancient Sanskrit accounts make mention of Indians experiencing dangerous voyages and shipwrecks in which many hundreds perished.

During the period of Ashoka the Great in the latter half of the third century B.C., groups of Indian traders and missionaries ventured across the Bay of Bengal to ply their trades in gold, ivory, rhinoceros horn, sloes and camphor, and to spread the Gospel of Gautama Buddha. After crossing the Bay, the seafarers sailed down the west coast of Malaya, steered through the Malacca Straits, and reached the scattered islands of the Malay Archipelago, whence they veered northwards soon to find themselves on the shores of a new land, which they referred to as Champa. As a matter of fact, the inhabitants they visited began to appreciate the doctrines of the Indian missionaries and Sanskrit scholars so much that they invited them to settle down in their countries, and by stages the inhabitants found themselves converted to Hinduism and Buddhism.

In the third century B.C., we hear of Indians visiting Indochina, including Funan, the Chinese name for a state then flourishing in Kamboja. Ptolemy, that ancient geographer and astronomer of Alexandria in the second century A.D. states that Indian colonists existed not only in Burma and Malaya but also in Indonesia and Indochina, a fact supported by contemporary Arab and Greek manuscripts which reveal that a regular maritime intercourse existed between India and South-east Asian lands.

According to various authorities on Oriental history, during the first thousand years of the Christian era there were four or five waves of colonization by Indian adventurers all over the East. Scattered as these colonies were, they were mainly situated at strategic points and trade

tes. These settlements were given old lian names. Thus Cambodia, as it is own now, was called Kamboja, which s a well-known town in ancient India, ile Annam was called Champa (founded in the late second century), after its old mesake (modern Bhagalpur) in Bihar, ience the original people of Annam may ve come. However, it may be stated at the earliest Indians to venture over e seas came from Bengal and Kalinga, d, since Andhra coins dating back to 0-300 A.D., bear the effigy of a double-asted vessel, it is reasonable to assume at latterly Indians went abroad from uth-eastern India.

Ample evidence is available to show ie high esteem in which Indians were eld in Indochina. Contemporary documents state that one Kaundinya, described as an Indian Brahmin of great talent, ettled down in Funan, where he accepted ie hand in marriage of a beautiful Cambodian princess named Naginisoma. Further, or qualities of head and heart, he was equested by the retiring monarch to succeed to the throne of Funan, which he did!

Incidentally, Kaundinya's was not the nly case of its kind, for an old Chinese anuscript records that "more than a housand Brahmins reside there [in Funan]. The people follow their doctrines nd give them their daughters in marriage. They read their sacred books day and night." These events may well be taken as the consummation of cultural and blood ties between the Indians and the Indochinese. What is more, it cannot be doubted that it was from India that Hinduism, Buddhism and Indian culture spread over Indochina, which in later days became an essentially Buddhist empire, and, as the people of Bali have stuck to Hinduism, the Indochinese once for all decided on Buddhism as their faith.

The early Indian Buddhist scholars established several institutions of Sanskrit learning, the most outstanding being at Angkor. Sanskrit was absorbed to such an extent into the life of the Indochinese that everything, even their musical instruments, came to be known by a Sanskrit name, and public recitation of the great Sanskrit epics was the order of the day, even as late as the seventh century A.D. The Khmer rulers also adopted the old Indian title of "Varman" after their names. In Kamboja, the alphabet was derived from a South Indian script.

A third-century document states that the ruler of Funan, during the course of an audience given to an Indian visitor, was much impressed by the latter's wonderful description of the existing conditions of life in India, as a consequence of which the Funan King despatched a close relative as his personal envoy to India, where on arrival the latter and his retinue were accorded a warm reception by the Indian ruler. During his stay as a royal guest, the Funanese was presented with half a dozen horses of Indo-Scythian breed as a personal gift from the Indian ruler to the King of Funan. This gesture of friendship further cemented the ties between the two countries.

In the fourth and fifth centuries, several famous Indian scholars visited South-east Asia, namely Shrijnan Dipankar, who met there Acharya Chandra Kirti, the eminent Buddhist scholar, and declared Shrivijaya to be the headquarters of Buddhist faith in the region; Prince Gunavarman, another Buddhist missionary, ventured from his native Kashmir in 420 A.D., to spread his gospel in Indonesia and Indochina, which he visited in 423 A.D., on his way to China; and there were others who followed them to continue their good work.

For over 1,000 years, Buddhism and Hinduism flourished side by side. Both acted as unifying forces, whence emerged the mighty Sailendra empire of Shrivijaya which flourished in glory for seven hundred years. A great naval power based on trade and commerce, it reached its peak of power and influence in the eleventh century, when it held sway over Ceylon, Malaya, Indonesia, Indochina, Formosa, the Philippines and even a part of south-eastern India.

Since Kamboja was already a powerful state long before the Sailendras had consolidated their domains, to what extent Indochina came under their hold is debatable. It is clear, however, that Kamboja was fully independent in the ninth century, its empire existing until the close of the thirteenth century. It was King Jayavarman who established the Kamboja empire with his capital at Kamboja after uniting the smaller states with his own in the

ninth century. The state religion was Mahayana Buddhism.

The ancient glory of Indochina, whose cultural parents were India and China, reads like a fairy tale. Subject to foreign incursions and mandarin exactions in the days of yore, Indochina emerged over a thousand years ago as the hub of a vast empire extending from the Bay of Bengal to the China Sea, prosperous and thickly populated. Under the rule of such great builders as Jayavarman, Suryavarman, Yashovarman and Indravarman, Indochina was covered with a wonderful network of roads, which have since vanished through the ravages of time, and much of the area through which they wound is now a wilderness.

By nature lovers of music, arts and crafts, this people erected colossal palaces and temples, whose architectural beauty is a match to those built during the same period in Indonesia and elsewhere. The Indochinese were ahead of others in South-east Asia in one important sphere. Alongside their temples, they put up buildings which they filled with choice Sanskrit manuscripts; but though the remnants of the former may be seen today, the latter are no more, perhaps having rotted during the disintegration of the empire.

Angkor, the capital of this vast empire, was called "the Magnificent City," in which flourished a million inhabitants. Behind the massive towers of mysterious Angkor, thrusting its ruins above the forests near the Tonle Sap, looms ancient Brahmin culture, which also influenced the Chams whose brick towers and a mere lakh of people are the only remnants of a once powerful kingdom. The enlightened kings and bonzes were influential in making the Khmer tribes civilized, and their culture spread even to the tropical jungles of Kamboja. The Indian Brahmins who sparked the native genius of the Khmers and the mandarin intruders from neighbouring China who lent their culture to the Annamese were not the only immigrants in Indochina. Indochinese ancestry can also be traced to the mountains of Tibet, north-western India, the wind-swept plains of Mongolia and down south to the Malay Archipelago. A Chinese traveller visiting Angkor towards the end of the thirteenth century mentions its immense wealth, splendour and high standard of luxury.

All of a sudden, disintegration set in soon afterwards, and chunks of the empire were torn away by the Mongol emperors of China and northern intruders of Tibetan stock. The fall of the Khmers was expedited by their internal petty squabbles, as also partly by the silting up of the Mekong River, which converted the approaches to the city into marshlands and led to its abandonment. Even the jungle folk, whom the Cambodians looked after so well, especially by establishing ashramas or forest schools similar to those in old India, once more returned to their previous wild life, their numbers rapidly reduced by the prevalence of tropical disease.

Consequently little remains of the great and glorious Hindu civilization, except the charming and romantic court of Cambodia. But there are several historic monuments of Hindu architecture and sculpture, and a royal school of ballet dancing, whose sacred performances are a challenge to those of immortal Bali. The ancient Hindu temples were dedicated to Shiva and Krishna, whose complete life is depicted in stone sculptures in the Misong Temple; but the biggest Buddhist Temple is located in Dong-duong, famous for its exquisite standing bronze Buddha, an exact replica of that existing in Amraoti in India. The sculpture of all temples is Gupta in style, and from its detailed nature it is evident that Indian Brahmins supervised its construction.

Angkor Vat is to Indochina what the Taj Mahal and the Sanchi Stupa are to India, a living memory of the Khmer genius which produced it in the twelfth century in the reign of the "Varman" kings. About a furlong in length and 270 yards wide, the main temple is formed in terraces one above the other, and has five towers of which the centre one takes the form of a lotus-bud and rises over 200 feet in height. As elsewhere, the sculpture of Angkor Vat predominantly depicts stories from the Mahabharata and the Ramayana and of the incarnations of Vishnu and other Hindu deities. Every inch of stone work is finished to the smallest detail.

The environments of this great edifice the largest of its kind in the world, comprise a vast area of mighty ruins and artificial tanks and pools. Life-size elephant

sculptured in stone figure along the whole length of one terrace. The five gates are also in the form of elephants picking lotus flowers with their trunks; another favourite subject of sculpture here is that of female dancers and goddesses, whose marvellous dress and postures are to this day adopted in all dances and rituals in Indochina.

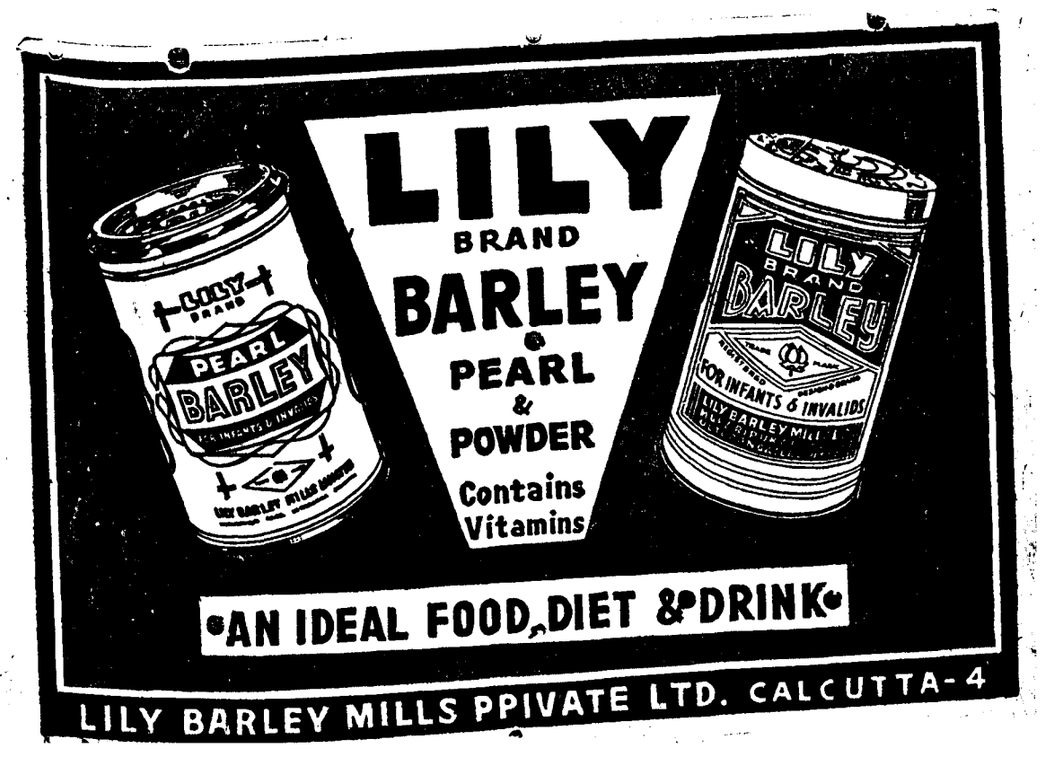
The greatness of Angkor has been praised to the skies by authorities on Oriental sculpture, most of all by Osbert Sitwell, who expresses himself thus:

"Let it be said immediately that Angkor, as it stands, ranks as the Chief wonder of the world today, one of the summits to which human genius has aspired in stone, infinitely more impressive, lovely, as well as romantic, than anything that can be seen in China."

Since Khmer culture existed when the Hindu adventurers and Buddhist missionaries from India arrived in Indochina to introduce Indian culture, Indians had no alternative but to merge into the local population. Thus, it would be incorrect to say that they came to fill a vacuum. There was a fusion of cultures, from which arose a new one comprising the best of both, with the Indian influence predominating. The art of Indochina is actually a mixture of Hindu-Buddhist and Indo-Khmer arts which have been used to express the ideas deeply rooted in the native ancestor cult. It was but inevitable that, initially, art in Indochina should have been predominantly Indian in character, but later it gradually adapted itself to native ideals.

And thus, since the earliest times, Indochina has been influenced by Indian culture, which pervades the life of the people in every sphere. One of the most befitting tributes to the influence of Indian culture in Indochina has been paid by Doctor Quaritch Wales, the noted archaeologist, who says:

"When the guiding hand of India was removed, her inspiration was not forgotten but the Khmer genius was released to mould from it vast new conceptions of amazing vitality different from, and hence not properly to be compared with anything



matured in a purely Indian environment. . . . It is true that Khmer culture is essentially based on the inspiration of India, without which the Khmers at best might have produced nothing greater than the barbaric splendour of the Central American Mayas; but it must be admitted that here, more than anywhere else in Greater India, this inspiration fell on fertile soil."

Restoration through Religion

Prabuddha Bharata writes editorially:

Speaking of the present condition of our own society, we may trace the source of many a social evil to the absence or neglect of the religious spirit. It is our belief that the absence of the purifying influence of religion and the loss of faith in the moral and spiritual principles of life are responsible for the many ills that afflict our national, social, and individual lives. In the tempo of fast industrialization and the consequent growth of urban temper and mood among large sections of people, traditional values and beliefs have suffered a severe set-back. As a result, there has been a thorough upsetting of established conventions, religious and social, at all levels and in every sphere of life and activity. There is indiscipline among students in schools and colleges; there is insecurity writ large in the faces of people; constant political agitations caused by dissatisfaction are the order of the day; disruptions in family life are increasing; corruption is rampant among persons entrusted with responsibility to look after public funds; mal-practices are widespread in trade and commerce; and a hundred and one evils of various types are showing up their ugly faces in our social life. To further accentuate the process of our spiritual downfall come new ideologies that have no need for God in the affairs of men. The cause of all this moral degradation, in our opinion, is that man and society are gradually losing sight of those virtues which hold society together. If they are restored, then society will have a healthy growth, and there will be all-round progress. And this restoration of virtues can come only through an ardent and faithful practice of religion.

Hence it is that in any plan for national regeneration and social reconstruction, the spiritual traditions of the country must be given due consideration, with proper emphasis on individual and social virtues and by providing for religious education at all levels. If we keep religion, practising it in our daily lives, religion, too, will protect us. That is the meaning of the significant statement of Manu, when he says, 'Dharmo rakshati rakshitah.' And to Indians, who claim their descent from him, Manu has laid down once for all that protection of the treasure of dharma is their foremost duty (Dharma kosasya guptaye).

As Swami Vivekananda in his prophetic vision said: 'Every improvement in India requires first of all an upheaval in religion. Before flooding India with socialistic or political ideas, first deluge the land with spiritual ideas. . . . After preaching spiritual knowledge, along with it will come that secular knowledge and every other knowledge that you want; but if you attempt to get the secular knowledge without religion, I tell you plainly, vain is your attempt in India, it will never have a hold on the people.'

Will the country pay heed to this warning?

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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

The Science of Tomato Juice

Walter Theimer writes in *Deutsche korrespondenz* of May 21, 1959:

A layman would fancy that making tomato juice is a very simple affair. Just take tomatoes and squeeze them, he would abvise. This may indeed be a domestic method for producing a sort of tomato juice at the breakfast table, but it is not vaild for industrial processing designed for large-scale production of high-grade tomato juice to be sold in bottles. Quality and durability requirements are very particular in the trade. Professor Julius Koch of the Hessian State Research Institute for Fruit-Growing, Viticulture, and Commercial Gardening at Geisenheim on the Rhine has made a thorough-going scientific study of processes necessary for making juice for sale from German-grown tomatoes. German consumers increasingly ask for tomato juice, as they do for other vegetable juices. Production is still on a small-scale, but those interested see chances for development. One prerequisite is finding a suitable manufacturing process. Above all it was necessary to find out if German tomatoes are at all suitable for the preparation of a good juice. The qualities of tomato juice may differ a great deal.

The health value of tomatoes rests particularly on their vitamin content. It is mainly a matter of vitamin C, also known as ascorbic acid, and to a lesser degree of beta carotin, a dark-red pigment acting as a precursor of vitamin A. The tomato owes its characteristic hue less to this pigment than to a kindred substance, lycopin. This compound seems capable of changing into carotin and later into vitamin A.

Tomatoes also contain acids, mainly citric asid, and some sugar. The sugar content of a plant is, not merely a matter of variety, but rather a result of solar irradiation. The leaves are "the plant's sugar factory," and they produce sugar in proportion to the sunshine they receive. Everywhere some salt is added to tomato juice for general taste improvement, and this eclipses the small difference, if any, in sugar content.

Extracting juice from tomatoes requires a very special process, according to Professor Koch. It is impossible to make tomato juice simply on the pattern of fruit juice. Tomato juice is expected to contain fruit-flesh also, but there should be no shreds of skin, no seeds, and no sizeable bits of tissue. A mill makes the fruits into a pulp, and this pulp is pressed against a sieve in a helical centrifugue. Now the size of the pores in this sieve is all-important. It must be determined by scientific investigation. The fruits must be fully ripe, and pore size is chosen within the range of 0.1 and 0.16 millimetres according to circumstances. These tiny differences determine the quantity of suspended matter, and this again determines the homogeneity of the juice. There should be no sedimentation in the juice even after prolonged standing, and it should stay homogeneous all the time. This is achieved by a stage of homogenization equalizing the size of the suspended particles. But Professor Koch emphasizes that no homogenization will be of long avail unless the total quantity of suspended particles is carefully adjusted.

If the juice were left in its primary stage, the enzymes contained in it would decompose it. So the enzymes must be inactivated by heating. The pulp is heated to 85 deg. centigrade by passing it through tubing surrounded by hot water, which inactivates pectin-destroying enzymes. The crude juice is de-aerated and homogenized, whereupon it is heated to 117 deg. centigrade by means of plate heaters. This destroys oxydases, meaning oxydation-promoting enzymes. Now the temperature is raised to 135 deg. centrigrade to sterilize the juice, for bacteria would soon decompose it. Yet this temperature must act on the juice no longer than a second. A certain loss of vitamin C, most sensitive to heat, is inevitable, while the other stages of the process change nothing in vitamin content. It is essential to cool the juice, filled at 95 to 97 degrees within ten seconds. If this prescription is observed, a vitamin C content of the amount mentioned earlier is preserved.

Light too decomposes vitamin C, and this is why Professor Koch advocates storing the juice in brown bottles. During the whole process the tomatoes and the juice are not touched by anything except high-

grade steel parts. This direction too must be carefully followed if aroma and vitamins are to be protected.

British Education in India

The following are some of the extracts from the lecture-article of Professor M. S. Sundaram, Education Counsellor, office of the High Commissioner for India, published in the *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts*, June, 1959:

Great Britain and India have a historic association of three centuries and a half. The first British explorers arrived in the Moghul courts at the beginning of the seventeenth century, and Britain officially withdrew from India in the mid-twentieth century. Indo-British contacts have played a prominent role in the shaping of the new India. When Great Britain quit India in August, 1947, as a ruling power, she left behind a rich legacy in many fields. A sound administrative system, a well-trained army, an incorruptible judiciary, and faith in the Parliamentary form of Government were among these; but all these legacies of Indian public life have an intimate connection with the educational policies that were developed largely under British auspices.

The purpose of this paper is not to give a historical or a chronological account of the role of British education in India. These could be obtained from any well-documented chronicle or history of Indian education. I am concerned primarily with the basic values in British educational thought and educational policies which influenced not only the past history of India but also, have continued to present certain problems vital to the future of the new India.

Indian educational policies were shaped by innumerable British leaders, administrators, educators, people in high authority as well as humble missionaries, religious reformers, publicists, propagandists and politicians throughout the three centuries of Indo-British relations. The early policy statements came in the form of Despatches and Charter Acts of the Court of Directors of the British East India Company. Many eminent persons who were deeply exercised about education in India have left their mark on the subject. Sir Thomas Munro, Mount-Stuart Elphinstone, William Adam, Lord William Bentinck, Charles Grant, Lord Moira, Lord Macaulay, Mr. Prendergast, Wilberforce, Warren Hastings, Lord Auckland, Sir Charles Wood, David Hare were among the pioneers of the first half of the nineteenth century. The great many missionary societies contributed their own special points of view to Indian education. Duff, Wilson, Miller, Hislop, Bishop French, Robert Noble, and many distinguished Roman Catholic priests and proselytizers shaped Indian education in the same period independently of the Government of the day.

India has had the longest tradition in Asia (along with China) of respect for learning and pursuit of knowledge. Many indigenous schools worked on the monitorial system, the more advanced pupils tutoring the lower grades in each school. Dr. Bell, the Presidency Chaplain in Madras, commended this system for adoption in England. He called in 'the Madras system by which a school or family may teach itself under the supervision of a master or parent.' The system was used successfully in several parts of England. The fact is established that India was by no means an uneducated country at the beginning of the nineteenth century. There was a network of autonomous, self-supporting decentralized school systems all over the land. The village priest and the village craftsman played the role of teachers in addition to their religious and occupational pursuits.

British educational effort in India started off with one of the greatest controversies of all times. This controversy eventually turned out to be a setback to the whole process of Indian education. Under the first Educational Charter Act of 1813, the Board of Directors of the East India Company resolved that a sum of not less than 100,000 rupees in each year 'shall be set apart and applied to the revival and importance of literature and the encouragement of the learned natives of India and for the introduction and promotion of a knowledge of the sciences among the habitants of the British territories in India,' Two schools of thought known as the 'Orientalists' and the 'Anglicists' debated endlessly as to what type of schools should receive support from the company funds. There is still current a mistaken notion that education in the English language and through the medium of English was forced

down on unwilling Indian subjects. Nothing is farther from the facts. There were many 'Orientalists' among the British, and many 'Anglicists' among the Indians.

The Great Charter of Indian Education was to come in 1854 in the famous Wood's Educational Despatch. Missionary activity in education during the two decades preceding Wood's Despatch grew at a very rapid pace. Although in 1813 the Missions from Great Britain had the first preference, in 1833 Missions from other western nations were accepted without any restrictions. German and American Mission Societies entered the country in quick succession in the fervent hope that English education would lead to the spread of Christianity. The well-meaning and hard-working missionaries came to realize very slowly but surely that their expections to win the masses of India for Christ were not to be realized in any spectacular way.

British educational policy in India was outlined elaborately in the Education Despatch of the Court of Directors, dated 19th July, 1854, known popularly as Wood's. It was the longst Governmental document known, consisting of a hundred paragraphs. It enunciated the aim of education as 'the diffusion of the improved arts, science, philosophy and literature of Europe; in short of European knowledge.'

The Indian languages gradually ceased to be used in the higher spheres of administration, the judiciary, legislation and public life, with the consequence that they failed to develop the expressions and idioms pertaining to all these aspects of day-to-day life. Indian languages today suffer from a century of stagnation when phrases and words were not coined quickly to meet the demands of modern life and thought. Wherever the learned "pundits" had coined them, they were seldom used by the ordinary people because the English-trained classes held themselves aloof and apart from the rest of the community.

A century of British education in India has now resulted in the old controversy being resumed in its new guise. We have today the new 'Anglicists,' this time composed of Indians who are putting up a brave fight for the retention of English as the offical language of the Indian Union. The framers of the Constitution of India noted under Article 343 of the Indian Constitution 'that the official language of the Union shall be Hindi in Devanagari script.' They took particular care not to use the words 'national language' in describing the place of Hindi. It was also stated in the Constitution that 'notwithstanding anything in Clause 1, for a period of 15 years from the commencement of this Constitution the English language shall continue to be used for all the official purposes of the Union for which it was being used immediately before such commencement.'

During the entire period of British educational effort in India, it had never occurred to any Secretary of State for India, or Viceroy, or Governor of an India State, to have a general survey made of India's needs on a national or even a provincial level. It is the last British Educational Adviser to the Government of India, Sir John Sargent, to whom belongs the honour of having presented the first draft of a report on the educational needs of India on an all-India basis. In his foreword to this Report, entitled 'Post-war Educational Development in India,' dated September 1943, Sir John wrote:

"In a country where apathy and inertia have reigned so long in the educational field and where poverty has been the accepted excuse for leaving undone what ought to be done, a prodigious effort will be needed on the part of those responsible both to set things going and to face the financial implications which such action will involve. Other countries, however, are alredy on the march towards the goal of social security, and if India continues to evade her responsibilities in this respect, she must be content to relegate herself to a position of permanent inferiority in the society of civilized nations."

What Mr. Gokhale failed to put through in 1910 and 1913, and Sir John Sargent produced as a comperhensive paper plan, the framers of the Indian Constitution of 1950 have accepted both as a challenge and an adventure in educational experiment and expansion. If the progressive countries of the world—the United Kingdom, the United States, Western Europe, Russia, Japan and the new China, could accomplish the task of universal compulsory education, nothing should stop India from setting her goal in that direction. Among the directive principles of

the Indian Constitution, the founding fathers of Modern India set out that "The State shall endeavour to provide within a period of ten years from the commencement of the Constitution free and compulsory education for all children until they complete the age of fourteen years'.

At a time when all the resources of the country and its manpower are being mobilized for economic reconstruction at home, India cannot afford to maintain such large numbers of her young people in foreign countries. Their educational needs have got to be met by the institutions at home. In course of time, only those at the very advanced levels of learning, in the post-graduate and post-doctoral fields, should find it necessary to go overseas. This does not mean, however, that travel in itself has no educational value. While we should continue to encourage young university graduates to undertake study tours abroad, it would, in course of time, be economical for the country to stop the vast flood of undergraduates from going to technical and technological institutions in search of basic knowledge. India is well on her way to developing technology at home. Three new All-India technological institutes are being developed with the co-operation of the three advanced countries in Europe—Russia, West Germany and the United Kingdom. Under the Indo-American technical co-operation schemes, substantial numbers of technicians are being exchanged between India and the United States. The Indo-German technical assistance programme is also in operation on similar lines. India is thus determined to catch up with the technological age.

India's educational goals cannot be reached by mere adherence to British methods, to which we have been accustomed for a long period. We have to experiment boldly in new ways and techniques, not forgetting of course the rich legacy of Indo-British collaboration of the last three centuries.

History has no parallel to the introduction and imposition for so long a period of the educational system of one country, with a totally different civilization, upon another country of a much older civilization. The whole pattern of Indian life and thought has undergone a change as a result of this experiment. It is entirely a matter of speculation at this date to say how Indian education would have developed had it not been influenced by British administration or British ways of life. We have two major developments as a consequence of our having been under the influence of the British—the problems of illiteracy, which had been left unchecked, and the problem of an enforced foreign language which we can neither abandon altogether nor continue to retain and develop indefinitely.

Uprising in Tibet

Richard Lowenthal writes in course of an article in *New Leader*, April, 1959:

It is here that the object-lesson of Tibet will be important, provided it is understood in its true context. That context is not the gradual extension of a tribal uprising to Lhasa, the capital. The tribal trouble had actually become less dangerous since 1957, when the Chinese promised a five-year standstill in "reforms."

The roots of the new crisis are to be found in the internal development of China and, in particular, in the forcible extension of the new rural "communes" to the Chinese Province o Tsinghai, which borders Tibet and has a popu lation largely consisting of national and reli gious minorities, notably Moslem Dungans and Tibetan Buddhists.

Last autumn, this attempt resulted in considerable local uprisings admitted in the local Communist press. But the Tibetan minority in Tsinghai acknowledges the spiritual authority of the Dalai Lama. Hence their resistance convinced the Chinese Communists that the standstill of proposed reforms in Tibet was incompatible with their disciplined execution in China proper.

Accordingly, Party cadres from Tibet were called to China to study the practice of the new communes early this year, and the Dalai Lama himself was invited to Peking for April to clinch the matter. It was a realization of these Chinese plans to end the truce, to impose the full rigors of Chinese Communism in Tibet and to hold the Dalai Lama in Peking if he refused to co-operate, that led to the Lhasa uprising.

In other words, the promise to maintain Tibetan autonomy was broken because it proved an obstacle to the fulfilment of the Communist program in Tibet, and even in part of China itself. But this is part of the nature of the Communist system. In exactly the same way, the Communists describe the existence of an independent West Berlin as a "cancerous growth.

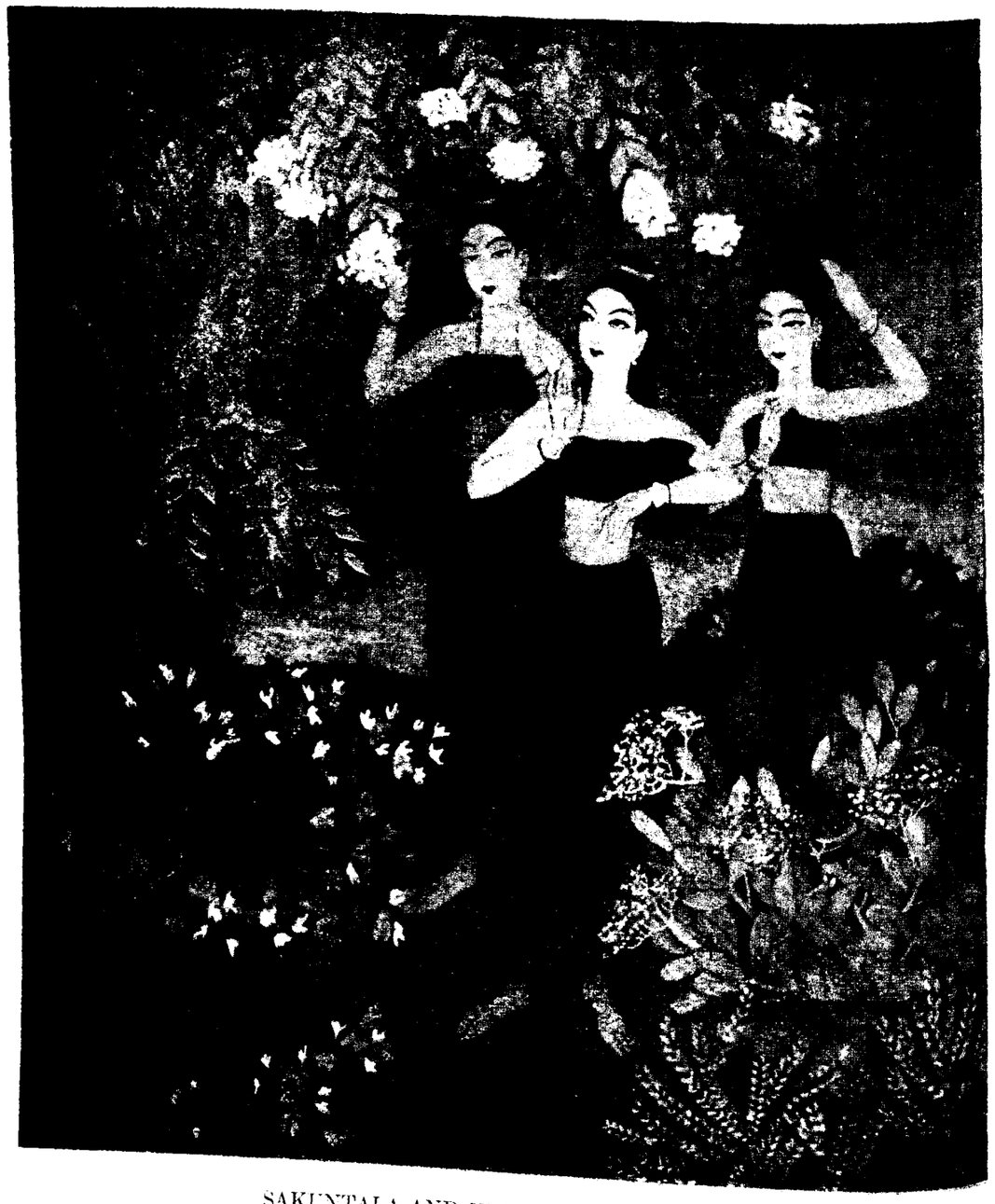
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Section of a deodar tree from Tehri Garhwal—704 years old



A pavilion in Indian Industrial Exhibition in Buenos Aires containing various items made of coir



SAKUNTALA AND HER TWO COMPANIONS
By Satindra Nath Law

Prabasi Press, Calcutta.

THE MODERN REVIEW

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NOTES

The Aftermath

The smallest State in the Indian Union has written in bold letters a new chapter in the history of democracy in Asia. Kerala, with its 14,937 sq. miles of land surface and a population of about 1 crore and forty odd lakhs, has unseated a government established along the accepted democratic practice by means of a mass movement on a scale that has made Pandit Nehru say that "he had seen many movements but he had seen nothing like the 'tremendous sweep' of the movement in Kerala."

The movement had many characteristics that seemed curious against the background of the Kerala political scene. Amongst all the States of India, Kerala perhaps has the most party-faction troubled record, since independence, in the political field, which is further complicated by the communal schisms as between the Hindu, the Christian and the Muslim. This party-consciousness is, perhaps, the inevitable result of a high degree of literacy added on to the tremendous pressure of population on the land, which is only partially capable of being brought under the plough. In this movement, which ended with the Proclamation, under Article 356 of the Constitution on July 31st, of the taking over of all the functions of the Government of Kerala by the President, these party-factions and communal rifts were all totally merged into one massive upsurge against the Communist Government. This was perhaps the most extraordinary feature of this sustained and strenuous movement which penetrated into all parts of the State.

It is too early as yet to analyse in detail the genesis and the progress of this movement, because the clamour and the dust of the struggle has not subsided as yet. But despite all that Pandit Nehru has said, in his Press Conference at New Delhi on August 7, there must be a thorough sifting of all charges and counter-charges, against and by the Communist Government of Kerala, that has been just displaced.

The factors that by their synthesis let loose this tremendous upsurge have to be clearly identified and all their characteristics sharply defined, for the benefit of the poor humble common citizen, who is the prime sufferer, first and last.

This leads us to the second curious characteristic of this struggle and its consequence. No one, not even Pandit Nehru, seemed to have really considered the question of the rights of the Common Citizen, in this affair. The Communist Government, of course, cared nothing for the poor humble man in the street or in the fields. The whole history of the World Communism has but little to show about the sanctity of the Rights of the individual man. On the contrary. So why should this particular Communist Government, which was running along a rigid pattern, which its administrators were either incapable or unwilling to adapt to an Indian perspective, be any different?

But what about the Government at the Centre, with its high-falutin claims about 'Government *for the People*", etc.? All along

these last few months it seemed to be far more solicitous about the tender feelings of the Communist Party, or the most delicate reputation of the Congress Party than about Common Citizen of Kerala, who must have passed through hell during the struggle, when all semblance of law and order was abrogated, making the hard path of daily life cruelly full of pitfalls and thorns.

Of course, there is the Constitution! That particularly futile and anti-diluvian Instrument, has become like the Laws of the Persians and the Medes, by which the Rights of Man can be not only circumscribed and rigidly limited on all sides, but the law-breaker, provided he has either political or financial strength, can victimise the weak at every step, with nobody caring for his sufferings.

There is no means, say the administrators, to punish the profiteer or the black-marketeer nor can the adulteration of prime necessities of life be stopped. The poor sufferer may chew a few pages of the Constitution, and perhaps, like Coca leaves or Poppy extract, it might alleviate pain. The corrupt "Public Servant" may extract bribes at every step, or otherwise invoke the unjustifiable use of Laws, which have been kept vague—much to the profit of the corrupt, the idle and the inefficient amongst officials—and the poor honest citizen is in the toils. He may, of course, plod his weary way through the tortuous channels of the Law, oozing the life-blood of himself and his helpless family, and then, if he can get together the hard cash, he *may* get justice—or what passes for it in India. But the corrupt oppressor goes scot-free. He neither has to pay, nor has he to face any consequences for his action, for, we are told, the Laws and the Constitution, stand in the way of punishing the corrupt and the deliberately inefficient official. But why continue?

The Kerala Movement was just an indicator and its significance cannot be ignored just for the sake of quieting 'the passions in Kerala': In other States the people are suffering, and the Congress might have to face "the awful majesty of the peoples' will" as the Moslem League did in Pakistan. The Kerala P.C.C., in its memorandum, before the President, Indian Republic, gave a list of the major causes that led to the mass upsurge of a normally peaceful and hard-working people against a Government established by Law. The reasons given, according to the Kerala P.C.C., "are by no means exhaustive but only illustrative. There are many counts of this sample indictment, of which eleven are the major heads. We do not know what reply or rebuttal the erstwhile Government of Kerala gave, as that has not made public to our knowledge. But on some of the counts, like that of a murderer, *who had been sentenced to death by the Courts of Justice*, being let loose by a subterfuge, *permissible under our wonderful Constitution*, amongst the people, without any check, the increase in the incidence of major crimes and undermining the services, need a searching enquiry. This is necessary to see how to amend the Constitution in order to safeguard the law-abiding citizen. Otherwise the very basis of democracy becomes unstable.

There are many charges, in this memorandum, which some of the Congress Governments of many States may have to face. For the Congress is by no means free of the Party virus. Indeed today we have a Government by the Officials, for the benefit of the Party in Power and their myrmidons, to the complete denial of the Rights of the Common Citizen. Nemesis will follow, may be soon may be late, unless there is rectification.

Progress in Colombo Plan

It may be recalled that in January 1950, Commonwealth Foreign Ministers met at Colombo to exchange views on world problems and particularly on the needs of the countries of South and South-East Asia. At this meeting was born the idea of the Colombo Plan. A Consultative Committee was set up to survey the needs, to assess the resources available and required, to focus world attention on the development problems of the area to raise their living standards The original members were Australia, Canada, Ceylon, India, New Zealand, Pakistan and the United Kingdom together with Malaya and British Borneo. The seventh report of the Consultative Committee has just been published. The report makes a review of economic progress in this region and also

points out the task ahead. Today the Colombo Plan consists of 18-member Governments.

The report states that significant progress continued to be made in furthering the development of the Colombo Plan region. The rate of progress was, however, somewhat less than in previous years. It appears that the rate of growth in per capita real income in the region mentioned in previous reports was not maintained. In some countries of the region, adverse weather and a decline in food production, inflationary pressures, and heavy imports accompanied by a decline in export earnings, and other factors, brought about setbacks. Progress, however, continued to be made at a substantial rate in such vital economic sectors as industrial capacity and improvement of basic facilities, including roads, irrigation and land reclamation.

Increased imports by the countries of this region partly reflected the need for foodgrains to offset bad harvests resulting from adverse weather conditions. Since export availabilities within the region were reduced for the same reason, the shortfall was made good chiefly through imports from outside the area. One of the more important factors responsible for the increase in imports was undoubtedly the direct and indirect effects of the development programmes undertaken by these countries. To reduce the future demand for imports, some of these programmes had to be curtailed. These difficulties were further aggravated by world economic trends during this period, particularly in 1957. In the latter part of 1957 some countries in Western Europe were obliged to tighten up their internal financial policies because the external position of their currencies came under pressure.

The slowing down of industrial activity in Europe and America resulted in some disadvantage to producers of industrial raw materials. And the general fall in world economic activity noticeable in the first half of 1958 tended further to reduce the export earnings of non-industrialised countries. As a result the terms of trade movement against non-industrialised countries, and on account of the high level of imports, most of the non-industrialised countries suffered very heavy trade deficits with consequent losses in external reserves. In the Colombo Plan area, economic difficulties were particularly marked in countries where large development programmes were under way.

Export earnings did not keep pace with the increase in import expenditures. This in part, the Report states, reflects the fact that an increasing proportion of imports of these countries consists of capital goods or raw materials for the manufacture of capital goods. It is difficult to abandon projects once started and equipment ordered cannot always be cancelled. Most countries in the region have a similar pattern of development expenditures; and all development programmes contain an element, small or large, requiring public investment. This in turn has necessitated a greater resort to fiscal measures for mobilization of domestic resurces. In some countries considerable additional taxation has been levied and also additional small savings have been mobilized. Internal resources mobilized have generally not been adequate to meet the requirements of the development plans. This, coupled with continuing development expenditures, tended to exert a pressure on prices and balance of payments position of the countries in this area.

The main objectives of development programmes of these countries have more or less been similar. The objectives include greater agricultural output, creation of the basic framework for development, a speedier development of industries, and creation of greater opportunities of productive employment. Public investment, particularly investment in industry and transport now plays a more important role than in the past in almost all the countries of the region. However, the predominant position of agriculture and of small-scale and cottage industries, in terms of employment and output, underlines the importance of private initiative and effort.

The Government expenditures in India for development purposes during 1958-59 stood at £1,015 million as against £963 million in 1957-58.

During the year under review, the objectives of economic policies of India were threefold, namely, to reduce the strain on the balance of payments; secondly, to keep a check on prices particularly prices of foodgrains; and thirdly, to augment to the extent possible resources available for development by mobilizing domestic resources and securing additional loans and credits from abroad. The measures in the fiscal, monetary and foreign exchange fields have been taken to further strengthen the position of resources in India. Special attention was paid to the promotion of exports and to obtaining foreign resources which would have an immediate effect on the foreign exchange position and also long-term credits.

Since the beginning of the Colombo Plan, technical assistance has been a major factor in securing a steadily increasing rate of economic growth in South and South-East Asia. The ability of the under-developed Colombo Plan countries to utilise their own capital resources and external capital assistance has been conditioned, to a marked extent, by a general shortage of skilled technicians at all levels and in all fields. The technical assistance made available under the Colombo Plan and through other agencies has, therefore, played an important part in securing a better utilization of capital resources and in increase in the rate of economic and social development.

Banking Statistics

"The Statistical Tables relating to Commercial Banks in India," 1958, recently published by the Reserve Bank of India, presents the statistics relating to individual banks and the banking system as a whole on the same lines as in previous issues except that data relating to co-operative banks have been excluded from this year's publication.

During the year 1958, there was a further rise in deposits, advances, investments and number of offices of scheduled banks. Non-scheduled banks, on the other hand, witnessed all-round declines in deposits, investments and number of offices. A large part of this can, however, be ascribed to the inclusion of some of the non-scheduled banks in the Second Schedule to the Reserve Bank of India Act, 1934.

As regards scheduled banks, the most striking feature during the year under review was the further accretion to their deposits which recorded a rise of Rs. 226 crores, on top of a rise of Rs. 280 crores last year. Deposits of Indian scheduled banks registered a rise of Rs. 234 crores during the year, whereas deposits of foreign scheduled banks declined by Rs. 8 crores. Nearly half (Rs. 112 crores) of the increase in deposits of the Indian scheduled banks was accounted for by the State Bank of India alone, the bulk of which may be attributed to the accruals covered by P.L. 480 imports. Nearly nine-tenths of the deposits expansion took place under time deposits, the growth of these deposits being considerable even after adjustment for P.L. 480 deposits.

The total of advances and bills discounted of scheduled banks at Rs. 901 crores registered only a moderate increase of Rs. 7 crores in 1958 as compared with a rise of Rs. 74 crores in 1957 and of Rs. 155 crores in 1956. The slowing down in the rate of bank credit expansion may be ascribed to the slackening in the rate of growth of investment in the private sector occasioned by drastic curbs imposed on private imports. This moderate demand for credit coupled with the impressive growth in deposits left banks with large liquid funds which they invested in Government securities. As a result, investments of scheduled banks in Government securities rose sharply by Rs. 201 crores during 1958 as compared to Rs. 70 crores in 1957.

This change in the assets structure of banks had a restraining effect on their earnings and net profits of scheduled banks (Indian and foreign) declined by Rs. 3 crores during the year as against an increase of over Rs. 2 crores noticed last year. The total current operating earnings of the Indian scheduled banks rose by Rs. 10 crores to Rs. 72 crores as compared to a rise of Rs. 12.7 crores in 1957 and Rs. 8 crores in 1956. The current operating expenses, on the other hand, rose more sharply by Rs. 12 crores to Rs. 61 crores as compared to Rs. 10 crores in 1957 and Rs. 5 crores in 1956. As a result, net profits showed a decline of Rs. 2 crores to Rs. 10.5 crores in 1958 as against a rise of Rs. 2.4 crores to Rs. 12.5 crores witnessed in 1957.

The number of offices in the Indian Union of joint stock banks showed a marked rise by 275 as compared to a rise of 155 in 1957 and 55 in 1956. The State Bank of India alone accounted for as many as 90 additional offices during the current year, as against 84 additional offices opened in 1957. Taking scheduled and non-scheduled banks together there was one office for every 11,398 of the population served by banks at the end of 1958. About half the number of the offices of scheduled banks were concentrated in the larger towns having population of over 50,000 each.

Although the liquidity of banks increased last year, particularly in cash in hand, on account of the slowing down in the rate of growth of investments, the velocity of circulation of deposit money rose appreciably in 1958. The velocity of circulation of deposit money is to be understood in this context as the rate of turnover of current deposits This is the total of debits to current, cash credit and overdraft accounts for twelve months divided by the monthly average of current deposits. The rate of turnover of current deposits was the highest in 1958 since 1939. It was 49.7 in 1958 as against 44.4 in 1957, 45.7 in 1956 and 45.2 in 1955. The monthly average of current deposits was lower at Rs. 418 crores in 1958 as against Rs. 430 crores in 1957. But the total of debits to current deposits, cash credit and overdraft accounts marked a rise to Rs. 20,785 crores in 1958 as compared to Rs. 19,071 crores in 1957 and Rs. 17,952 crores in 1956. This rise in the velocity of circulation of deposit money indicates a large transactions among business houses and individuals, although borrowings from banks have almost remained static, perhaps due to the tightening of credit control by the Reserve Bank. Much of these business transactions have their root in specultive deals in essential commodities. This is just an indication how credit control by the Reserve Bank can be dodged by mutual accommodations among business houses and individuals.

Developments in Currency and Finance

The Reserve Bank's *Report on Currency and Finance* for the financial year, 1958-59, published recently, presents a review of the economic situation in India during the year against the background of a brief survey of economic and monetary developments abroad. According to the Report, the Indian economy revealed mixed trends during 1958-59, with a blend of elements of stagnation and forces of sustained progress and of recessionary tendencies with basic inflationary factors. With continuing drastic import curbs and larger external aid, the balance of payments position underwent a distinct change, with a marked easing of the drain on foreign exchange reserves. This improvement was, however, to a not inconsiderable extent, associated with a slowing down of the rate of new investment and of growth of industrial production. These developments, which were already apparent in the latter half of the last year, became more pronounced in the first half of 1958-59, with the general level of prices recording an almost continuous rise. However, in the latter half of the year, the situation showed improvement with a seasonal decline in prices and a recovery in the rate of growth in industrial production. The resumption of economic expansion was accompanied by a substantial monetary expansion during the busy season of the year, though this would appear to have been somewhat excessive.

Outside India, the most outstanding development in the world economic scene in 19 was the vigorous revival of the U.S. economy from out of the short-lived but sharp recession of 1957. The developments during the year dispelled the fears entertained earlier that the U.S. recession would lead to a general international liquidity crisis. In fact, indu

trial countries, aided by a favourable turn in their terms of trade, were able to raise their gold and dollar reserves to record levels. This, in turn, made possible, towards the close of 1958, the move to convertibility in Western Europe which marked a significant step towards a freer system of multilateral trade and payments. In most European countries, the decline in economic activity, the degree and timing of which varied, proved to be much less than what was apprehended. In general, the recessionary phase in these countries was characterised by an abatement of inflationary pressure, reflecting the slowing down of the rate of economic expansion, due mainly to internal causes. In many of these countries these developments provided the conditions for resumption of a more sustainable rate of economic growth and permitted a widespread relaxation in the monetary and credit restraints imposed in 1957; in some cases like the United Kingdom and Canada, monetary and credit policies were also supplemented by appropriate changes in fiscal policies with a view to stimulating economic expansion. In a majority of European countries, monetary conditions were dominated by excess liquidity of the banking system arising partly from balance of payments surpluses. Consequently, simultaneously with action to reduce interest rates, measures of a restrictive nature like raising of commercial banks' reserve requirements, open market net sales, and funding were taken. On the other hand, in the primary producing countries, which were confronted with persistent payments difficulties arising from the continued weakness in world commodity prices, credit restrictions generally continued to be kept in force or even strengthened.

In India, the rate of increase in industrial production showed a further slowing down in 1958, the average general index being 139.4 (base: 1951=100), representing an increase of only 1.5 per cent as compared to 3.5 per cent in 1957 and 8.3 per cent in 1956. The decline in the rate of growth of industrial output was partly attributable, as in the previous year, to the shortage of industrial raw materials, arising from import restrictions. In some industries, notably cotton textiles, the decline in output was also due to the slackness in domestic demand during the greater part of the year and the difficulties of maintaining exports. The employment situation continued to cause concern as a result of a more rapid rise in the number of people seeking employment as compared to job opportunities.

The over-all agricultural production suffered a sharp set-back in 1957-58, the index of agricultural production (base: year ended June, 1950=100) falling from 123.8 in 1956-57 to 113.4 in 1957-58. The fall was as much as 11 per cent in the case of foodgrains. For 1958-59, provisional estimates indicate an encouraging position. The production of foodgrains is expected to attain a record level of 73 million tons. The output of jute also reached a new record level during the year.

The price situation caused some concern during 1958-59. Reflecting mainly the impact of the sharp fall in foodgrains output in 1957-58, prices rose almost continuously up to October, 1958, but thereafter there was a slow decline. The general index of wholesale prices, which had showed no material change in 1957-58, recorded a net rise of 6.5 per cent in 1958-59, the food article group rising by as much as 11.2 per cent. Government's efforts continued to be directed towards holding the price line and to this end, a number of measures were adopted during the year to control the movement, consumption and prices of foodgrains as well as to build up stocks. Partly as a result of these measures but mainly because of the substantial rise in the 1958-59 foodgrains output, the weekly index for food articles, which had touched its peak of 122 in mid-October, 1958, declined to 112.7 at the end of March, 1959. But this level was still higher by 9 per cent than that a year before and since May, 1959, there has been again a rise, the index going up to 120.9 by mid-June.

Monetary and banking trends during 1958-59 differed in important respects from those in 1957-58. The seasonal swings in both money supply and bank credit were more marked than in the previous year and, in the busy season, monetary expansion assumed larger proportions than in any previous year; this was mainly due to the estimated record agricultural output and the rising tempo of industrial production but speculative influences were also at work. Over the financial year, the expansion of money supply at Rs. 109 crores was larger than in 1957-58 (Rs. 76 crores), but smaller than in 1956-57 (Rs. 129 crores) and in 1955-56 (Rs. 264 crores). The expansion in scheduled bank credit in 1958-59, on the other hand, was only Rs. 51 crores, as compared to Rs. 63 crores in 1957-58. The rise in scheduled bank deposits (Rs. 184 crores), though substantial, was only about two-thirds of the preceding year's expansion (Rs. 276 crores); however, the rate of turnover of current deposits of business and individuals recorded a further rise. Of the use of funds, the most conspicuous feature was the very sharp rise in investments in Government securities, the rise (Rs. 173 crores) being almost twice that in 1957-58 (Rs. 95 crores); counterpart funds arising from P.L. 480 imports continued to be an important factor in the growth of bank deposits and the gilt-edged portfolio of banks.

The credit policy of the Reserve Bank continued to be one of controlled expansion directed to meeting the genuine credit needs of the productive sectors of the economy. The state of excess liquidity in the banking system, which tended to exercise some pressure on prices of shares, commodities and bullion, reinforced the need for continued monetary restraint in general. Under these circumstances, the Reserve Bank not only maintained the selective control on credit against foodgrains and sugar, with suitable modifications, but also extended its scope to groundnuts. With a view to checking unhealthy speculation on the stock markets, the Reserve Bank impressed upon banks the need to exercise vigilance in the matter of advances against shares.

Conditions in the capital market continued to reflect the slackness in the rate of growth of the economy which set in during 1957-58. The overall investment in the economy would appear to have recorded only a modest rise during 1958-59, the rise occurring in the public sector. Investment activity in the private sector would appear to have been somewhat lower than in 1957-58, due mainly to foreign exchange difficulties. The trend of company profits appeared to be downward as in 1957. However, during the year under review, Government adopted several measures to assist the private sector of industry.

As regards Government finances, due mainly to larger domestic borrowing and external assistance, the combined actual overall deficit of the Centre and the States was appreciably smaller in 1958-59 at Rs. 136 crores, as compared to Rs. 503 crores in 1957-58, and Rs. 253 crores in 1956-57. The Plan outlay of the Centre and the State Government maintained its uptrend; the outlay which had increased from Rs. 639 crores in 1956-57 to Rs. 846 crores in 1957-58, recorded a further rise to Rs. 981 crores in 1958-59. The contribution of external assistance to resources was material. During the year under review, net receipts from market borrowings amounted to Rs. 227 crores as compared to Rs. 71 crores only in 1957-58, the larger Government borrowing reflecting partly the ample liquidity of the banking system during the greater part of the year. The performance of small savings was also slightly better than in 1957-58, the net receipts amounting to Rs. 78 crores as compared to Rs. 69 crores in 1957-58.

The strain on India's balance of payments experienced in the previous two years was considerably relieved in 1958-59. Owing to the combination of a much larger inflow of external assistance and a severe curtailment of private imports, the draft on the country's foreign exchange reserves in the third year of the Second Plan was reduced to Rs. 47 crores; it had amounted to Rs. 260 crores in 1957-58 and Rs. 221 crores in 1956-57, even after taking credit for IMF assistance of Rs. 34 crores and Rs. 61 crores respectively. In fact, from November 1958 onwards, up to the end of the year, there was a rise of Rs. 44 crores in the reserves. Export earnings at Rs. 576 crores recorded a further decline of Rs. 19 crores in 1958-59, while aggregate import payments at Rs. 1047 crores represented a fall of Rs. 157 crores over 1957-58. The total external assistance available for the Second Plan as at the end of March 1959 amounted to about Rs. 1,216 crores, inclusive of a carry-over of Rs. 190 crores from the First Plan. Of this amount, Rs. 697 crores were estimated to have been utilised during the first three years of the Second Plan, so that Rs. 519 crores are avail-

able for utilisation during the rest of the Plan period.

The Police State

There is as yet no exact definition of the attributes which mark the transformation of a State into a Police State. Despite this handicap, however, its identification in practice offers no insurmountable difficulty inasmuch as the general body of world public opinion has come to associate it virtually with the suppression of public criticism against the Government of the day in any country. Frequently, however, the emergence of the Police State leads to the curtailment of other rights of the individual such as the rights of the freedom of residence, association, movement, and speech The contemporary world conditions of a Police State prevail in most of the colonial territories of Africa. Among the independent States the closest approximation to a Police State is to be found in the Union of South Africa where the Government has reduced to almost complete negation the dignity of the individual for the greater majority of the people of the Union, whereby people are debarred not only from criticizing the Government but also from setting up residences or getting into educational institutions of their own choice. Whatever variation may have been there in the definition of a Police State none, however, even remotely suggested the inclusion of the Unted Kingdom in its fold. By characterising Great Britain as a Police State, Professor Max Beloff of Oxford has thus provided a new dimension to the definition of a Police State Professor Beloff has based his definition on the existing restrictions in Britain on the issue of passports and visas and the export and import of cars. If this criterion is adopted no country in the world can perhaps escape from being labelled as a Police State. Prof. Beloff's standard being so broad thus falls short of fulfiling the essential requirements of a scientific definition which is that it must help in making distinctions and classifications. But obviously he was not so much after providing a correct definition of a Police State as to emphasize the general trend in the development of the State system in the world which involves the ever-increasing abridgement of the freedom of the individual matched only by an ever widening scope for governmental interference.

India and China

The disclosures about the extent of deterioration in India-China relations which were made in two authoritative statements of the Indian Prime Minister, during the first week of August, must have come as a great surprise to a good many Indians. The Chinese have unilaterally adopted a number of measures which have a direct and adverse repercussion upon the interests and the prestige of the Government of India. The Chinese authorities have imposed restrictions on the movements of Indian traders putting them to loss and hardship and have not spared even the official Indian Trade Agent from such harassment. In Gyantse—one of the two Tibetan towns where the Indians were allowed to keep a Trade Agent under the terms of the 1954 Treaty between India and China—the Chinese authorities have refused permission for the reconstruction of the Indian Trade Agency Building which had been washed away by floods. As if these were not enough, the Chinese have now passed orders banning the Indian Currency in Tibet—an act which, according to Shri Nehru, also impinges upon the terms of the aforementioned treaty. Add to these the unsettled border disputes and the matter is seen in its true, though grave, perspective the Chinese have an irritating way of keeping silent over communication and representations —even from friend Governments—(the India Government might be learning how the persistent refusal of its various departments to respond, with any degree of promptitude, to public complaints and representations felt to the suffering public) and there seems to have been no way of inducing them to come forward for a friendly discussion of the ways and means

resolving these difficulties. This obstiacy cannot but have a very adverse impression among the people living in other countries bordering on China and increase their apprehension about the true Chinese designs. It is thus in everybody's interest that the Chinese Government should see the unwisdom of continuing to stick to its obstinacy.

Threat in the Far-East

The renewal of the hostilities in Laos between the forces of the pro-West Government and the pro-Communist Pathet Lao presents a great danger to the maintenance of peace and tranquility in the Far-East. The situation in Laos which is covered by the Geneva Agreement of 1954 on Vietnam had been causing anxiety for sometime past. Sensing the imminent dangers the Government of India had a few weeks earlier sought the reconvening of the International Commission of Supervision, consisting of the representatives of India, Poland and Canada, which had been adjourned *sine die* last year. Of the two co-Chairmen of the Geneva Conference—the USSR and the UK—the latter disagreed as also the Government of Canada. The Laotian Government had all along expressed the view that the International Commission had fulfilled its task and should be disbanded The picture within Laos is far from clear; but fighting was reported as late as on August 8.

Cuba

The Cold War has created not only a clear-cut division between the major World Powers, but also two well-defined groups of statellites, attached to them and maintained by large-scale aid from the U.S., others again being sustained by the Soviets

A group of nations, with India in the van, has taken a stand on neutrality and friendship with all. But as neutrality is neither understood nor regarded with any friendly attitude, by the Western Powers particularly, their lot has not been particularly happy in the Comity of Nations.

On the other hand any country or nation that makes a bid for alliance with either of the warring groups or makes a gesture expressing an inclination either way, is immediately offered substantial consideration for leaning the other way. This has resulted in the emergence of another small group to whom the **pundits** of the West—and perhaps of the East as well—cannot assign any political colour.

Cuba is a case in point. For a long number of years it had a corrupt and thoroughly dictatorial Government under General Fulgencio Batista. Thanks to the Cold War and the most anomalous definition of democracy that prevails in the West, Batista looted the country and put down all opposition with a mailed fist, without anyone batting an eye-lid in any centre. of World Politics. A revolt that was started on the 26th of July 1953, at the city of Santiago in the eastern region of Cuba, by an eccentric individual named Fidel Castro with a ragged band of poorly equipped followers, was dismissed after a cursory notice in most newspapers as being of no consequence

But contrary to what the political Pundits of the West thought, Castro went on gaining ground where his fellow countrymen were concerned. And when he staged the final show-down on New Years Day of this year, Fulgencio Batista the all-powerful dictator fled ignominiously, leaving his henchmen to face the wrath of the "Liberator."

Fidel Castro's actions followed no typical pattern, after he had all Cuba within his grip. Says *The New York Times* of July 26:

"'One of Castro's first acts last January was to install Senor Urrutia as Provisional President, a more or less honorific post. Six weeks later, on February 17, Castro formally agreed to become Prime Minister. Since then he has revolutionized Cuba's way of life. He has established what his supporters claim is the first honest regime in Cuban history; instituted a major and drastic agrarian reform which may alter Cuba's entire economy; reduced rents drastically; suspended the right of habeas

corpus; decreed the death penalty for "counter-revolutionary activities;" dismissed thousands of public employees who worked for Batista; had thousands of persons associated with Batista arrested and more than 550 executed.

In foreign policy, Castro has adopted the role of revolutionary leader in the Caribbean. He has pledged to work for the downfall of the Trujillo regime in the Dominican Republic and the Somoza regime in Nicaragua—both of them right-wing dictatorships.

"Although there is no doubt of Castro's popularity, his moves have antagonized some of his former supporters. Recently there has been mounting criticism of him on two major scores. First, his economic policies have frightened and antagonized the business community with the result that business is contracting, money is scarce and unemployment is mounting. Second, Castro's critics maintain his government is influenced by communism and that Communists hold key posts.

Last week in Washington a former Castro aide, Maj. Pedro Luis Diaz Lanz, who resigned as Air Force Chief last month and fled to the United States, testified before the Senate Internal Security sub-committee. Major Diaz charged that Castro was an "out-and-out Communist" who is using Cuba as a base to attack other Latin-American nations.

"President Eisenhower dissociated himself from such views. At his news conference Wednesday he said that charges of communism and pro-communism such as those made against the Castro regime "are not always easy to prove." "The United States has made no such charges," he pointed out.

But in Havana, Castro charged the United States was "interfering" in Cuba's affairs. He said Major Diaz was a "traitor."

"President Urrutia supported Castor's statements. At the same time, however, the President made a strongly anti-Communist speech which semed designed to show the U. S. that Major Diaz' charges were unjustified.

On Friday the explosion came. That morning Castro's newspaper, *Revolucion*, reported that Castro had resigned. President Urrutia announced: "Fidel Castro is the maximum leader of our revolution and its power is in the people. If the people ask him not to resign, he will listen to them."

"The response was prompt. Workers in Havana shops and factories began a walk-out to demonstrate support for Castro. University students swarmed through Havana's streets shouting for Castro. The unions organized demonstrations in the plaza of the Presidential palace. Buses and cars cruised the streets with signs reading: "Fidel, we're with you until death!" "Do Not Resign, Fidel!" and "Fidel, We Need You!"

"In the evening, Castro went on television and made an emotional, four-hour speech. He accused President Urrutia of joining Major Diaz in an "elaborate plan" to defame the revolutionary Government. He said the President had become increasingly hostile toward the revolution, had delayed land distribution, had failed to sign recent regulations providing the death penalty for counter-revolutionary activities. Finally, his voice quivering, Castro said: 'I am not a Communist and neither is the revolutionary movement but we do not have to say we are anti-Communists just to fawn on foreign powers. . . . In the midst of the Diaz Lanz blackmail game, the President suspiciously pictures himself as the champion of anti-communism.'

"President Urrutia listened to the broadcast for a short time, then submitted his resignation. Late that night the Council of Ministers met and elected as his successor Osvaldo Dorticos Torrado, 40, a lawyer, and until Friday Minister of Revolutionary Laws. Yesterday morning the new President announced from the balcony of the Presidential Palace that the ministers had refused to accept Castro's resignation. The news was greeted with wild cheering."

But Castro's triumph in this dramatic move has not solved any of the vital economic and political problems of Cuba. Her

relations with the United States have deteriorated, and its relations with its neighbours are about to be brought up before a meeting of the Foreign Ministers of the twentyone American Republics this month. The United States of America is also in a dilemma. Says *The New York Times*:

"The issue of Cuba's relations with its neighbors will soon be brought up at a hemisphere meeting. Last week the Council of the Organization of American States voted unanimously to call together the foreign ministers of the twenty-one American republics next month. The meeting is to deal with unrest in the Caribbean and the problems of representative democracy and human rights throughout Latin America.

"On that score, the United States is in a dilemma. Washington is reluctant to support dictatorships such as that in the Dominican Republic. But, there is marked distrust of the Castro regime and concern about the wave of unrest."

Ferment in the Congress Party

The Congress Party in various States is passing through a period of convulsion the true magnitude of which can be clear only with the passage of time. The situation in Uttar Pradesh has, however, assumed a particularly critical character and there have been open charges and counter-charges against the Chief Minister and the State Congress President, serious allegations had earlier been made against the Home Minister, Shri Kamalapati Tripathi and the Chief Minister had to promise an enquiry into the matter to assuage the members' criticism. The proposed enquiry has now been dropped. Ninety eight Congress members of the Legislative Assembly have drawn up a charge-sheet against the Sampurnanand Ministry, and though in the division in the House they sided with the Government there is to be no mistaking the seriousness of their attitude. Meanwhile the Ministerial Group had sent a Deputy Minister to present a charge-sheet against the State Congress President, Shri Chaturbhuj Sharma, for his alleged acts of factionalism in favour of Shri Chandra Bhan Gupta. In Bombay the Secretary of the Gujerat Provincial Congress has tendered his resignation as a protest against the action of the President in staging a demonstration to indicate the Party's support to the State Chief Minister, Shri Y. B. Chavan, who is also a Congress nominee. The High Command has so far taken no action of these matters. It is clear, however, that the situation is ripe with grave potentialities for the future of the Party not only in the States where the schism has come to the fore but also elsewhere, where it may for the present be sub-terranean.

Posts and Telegraphs Department

The report of the Posts and Telegraphs Department for the year 1957-58 has been published—nearly one and a half years after the close of the period to which it relates. The usefulness of even a very informative report may be largely vitiated by the delay in its presentation before the public, if only because of the fact that in the intervening period the factual basis might have undergone so much change as to render any comment on the published report unreal to a great extent and rather purely academic. In so far as reports of activities of Government Departments are designed to help public scrutiny of activities the cost of which is met from public funds, the delay in the publication of a report almost constitutes a breach of the proper discharge of the duties of a responsible Government. The delay again robs a report of much of public interest and reduces it into waste paper and amounts to a wastage of money, stationery and human efforts. If the only aim were to put in writing the activities of a department the aim could be achieved with less pains by simply putting the typed copies in the departmental docket.

Delay is, however, not the only defect of the report under discussion. It paints a picture of an all-round progress in the activities of the department but leaves many queries unanswered. There was a rise in revenue under all the principal

heads and except in the case of air-mails, money-orders, registered articles, insured articles and telegrams, the volume of traffic was larger in all other cases than in the previous year. Even in the items in which the volume of traffic marked a decline there was generally no fall in revenue. The number of post offices also increased from 58,871 at the end of March, 1957, to 61,886 at the end of March, 1958. The profit and loss account showed a surplus for the first time in twelve years. There was also marked advance in the field of welfare work for the staff. Some of the other remarkable decisions taken during the period involved the reduction of the licence fee for the possession of a wireless receiving set from rupees fifteen to rupees ten per annum in rural areas, the reduction of postage for the transmission of printed books by the inland-post, and the total exemption from paying postage for blind literature packets.

From a comparative study of the growth of mail traffic and postal revenue in relation to population it is seen that while the revenue per head of population increased by more than five times from Rs. 0.19 in 1921 to Rs. 0.98 in 1957-58 the number of articles per head increased by a little over two times from 4.54 to 9.41 during the same period. Of the 275,719 miles of surface mail routes in the country about 20.5 per cent (56,693 miles) was covered by railways, 25.0 per cent (68,842 miles) by motor services, 52.7 per cent (145,243 miles) by runners and the remaining 1.8 per cent (5,031 miles) by various other means such as steamers, boats, mail-carts, horses, camels and ekkas.

It is, however rather puzzling to find that despite the upward revision of rates for letters and parcels the postal branches should have shown a net loss of 200 lakhs of rupees against the net profit of 133 lakhs of rupees earned in the previous year. No explanation has been given in the report for this fact. Four thousand seven hundred and thirth-six employees were punished during the period for various offences but no details about the nature of offences have been given. One thousand and eighty-six employees—the highest number in five years—were implicated in criminal offences involving a total loss of Rs. 5,61,896 out of which a sum of Rs 1,29.159 was subsequently recovered and Rs 3,261 written off leaving a balance of Rs. 4,29,476 remaining unadjusted. The volume of public complaints increased from 468,134 in 1956-57 to 491,470 in the year under report of which nearly thirty-eight thousand remained pending at the end of the year. There is however feeling among a wide section of the members of the public that their complaints are not dealt with as much seriousness as is due to them. The number of pending complaints against the telephone services was 2,526.

There was a marked rise in the accumulation of general store and workhop stores. What is of great significance is that net receipts during the year exceeded utilisation leaving a larger balance at the end of the year. In the absence of any break-up of the figure of utilisation it is not possible to comment upon how much of the utilisation represented the consumption of old stock. Stores are liable to become unserviceable if allowed to remain unutilised beyond a certain period of time, but no explanation has been given about the reasons for such huge stock-piling stores blocking so much capital (nearly eight crores of rupees) when they are not required.

A Matter of Principle

The refusal of Professor N. G. Ranga, who has resigned from the Congress Party on account of his disagreement over the Nagpur resolution on joint Co-operative farming, to resign from his seat in Parliament, to which he was elected with the support of the Congress Party, touches upon an important question of democratic principle, namely, whether a person should continue to occupy a seat to which he was elected by the support of a party from which he has since broken away. The practice in this country has generally been not to resign though there have been notable exceptions. While, therefore, Professor Ranga's refusal to give up his seat is not extraordinary, the reasons which he has adduced in favour of that decision are hardly tenable. The change in the public opinion caused by the adoption of the Nagpur resolution could hardly be so marked among the electors in Andhra as has been suggested by him without finding its reflections among their representatives, none of whom has so far given vent to such a change of opinion with the exception of the professor himself.

Calcutta's Water Supply

A deputation headed by the Mayor of Calcutta has arrived in the capital in the first week of August, to acquaint the Central Government with the problems faced by the Corporation of Calcutta in maintaining the water supply in the city. The immediate problems is to find suitable outer coating for the new 72-inch pipes which are proposed to be laid connecting Palta (the pumping station) with Tallah (where the reservoirs are located) replacing the worn-out 60-inch pipes which are running leaks in many places threatening the entire water supply system. The new pipes, the experts say, cannot be laid without treating these with an outer coat which is not available within the country and the import of which has been held up reportedly through the Central Government's inability to provide the necessary foreign exchange. Efforts made in the meanwhile to do the work by using locally manufactured outer coating having proved fruitless, the Corporation decided to send a three-man delegation consisting of the Mayor, the Chief Engineer, and the Chairman of the Standing Water Supply Committee to Delhi, to urge upon the Government the extreme urgency of the matter It is stated that the total amount of foreign exchange required to import the outer coating—1,400 tons of enamel and 3,720 gallons of coal tar primer—will come to about Rs. 9,75,000. This is evidently too small a sum to be allowed to stand as an insuperable difficulty in the way of the execution of an urgent work touching upon the lives of more than half a crore of people living in the premier city of India. As a result of persuasion from the Mayoral delegation the Central Government has agreed to allocate the necessary foreign exchange. The question, however, remains if the same thing could not have been done with less delay, less expenditure and less inconvenience to the public —the cost of the delegation would have to be borne by the tax-payers who are already experiencing great difficulties and will have to suffer more if anything goes wrong with the water supply system in the meanwhile.

Opposition and Legislatures

A foretaste of what might overtake the nation unless all the major political elements chose to observe an agreed code of conduct was provided by the forced adjournment of the proceedings of the Bombay Legislative Assembly on August 3. When the House assembled for the monsoon session members belonging to the Opposition Samyukta Maharashtra Samiti began to shout slogans demanding the resignation of the Chief Minister, Shri Y. B. Chavan. Unable to proceed with the day's work, the Speaker, Shri S. L. Silam, adjourned the House for 15 minutes. However the trouble could not be averted in that way. As the House reassembled, the Opposition members again resorted to shouting slogans—this time regarding the unsolved border dispute between Bombay and Mysore. The Speaker thus found himself with no other alternative than to adjourn the House for the day. It is clear that if this tactics is emulated on a wide scale the functioning of the legislatures would be made exceedingly difficult the only result of which would be the eventual throttling of democracy itself. The Opposition parties cannot want themselves to be deprived of such a prominent forum for focussing their grievances as is provided by the legislatures. In their eagerness to pay the Congress "back in its own coins" they should not overlook the fact that by resorting to obstructionist tactics within the

legislatures they might be objectively working for precisely this very eventuality.

Rehabilitation of Women

The re-integration of fallen women into society poses a number of complicated questions. Women who are now serving prison sentence on various charges may perhaps be rehabilitated economically being employed on some productive projects. But economic rehabilitation hardly solves the main problem of emotional integration which cannot be achieved unless they have also an opportunity to have their own families—husbands and children. The greatest difficulty is encountered at this point. The Uttar Pradesh Government's Jail Department is reportedly in search of eligible bechelors to marry young female prisoners and has entered into correspondence with a number of social service institutions to find willing grooms. The Government has taken the initiative in the matter only after the girls have themselves expressed their preference for this kind of rehabilitation. The Government's move is laudable beyond doubt but there are certain problems involved in the process and unless due caution is observed the whole thing may turn out to be a fiasco. Who will be eligible to marry these girls? How is the genuineness of willingness is to be tested? How are the departmental authorities going to prevent further exploitation of these girls by scheming persons? Moreover how far their experiences in jail make these girls suitable for a domestic life? These are some of the problems to which adequate replies have to be found before the Government can hope to achieve success in its aims.

Regional Languages

The measures adopted by the Government of Bombay to replace English as the language of administration in the State amply bear out the truth of the proposition that the difficulties in the way of this changeover from English can be expected to be got over only through the speediest implementation of the principle of making regional languages the media of administration. The Government has ordered that all official business in offices at the district level and in those subordinate to them should be transacted in the regional languages. All correspondence issuing from these offices is to be in the regional languages irrespective of the language of the letters received by them. The notings in the official files are also to be gradually changed over from English to the regional languages. The officers at the secretariate have been asked to prepare translations in the regional languages of the statutory orders and notifications that are meant for the rural areas. Regional language tests have also been prescribed for executive and judicial officers. Under existing conditions the changeover has necessarily to be done in stages and the initiative taken by the Government of Bombay deserves the most unstinted praise. The more important thing, however, is to sustain the effort until the object of replacing English is achieved. Past experience justifies this warning. Immediately after Independence the Government of West Bengal had initiated comparable measures for the adoption of Bengali as the language of administration within the State. With the change of the Chief Minister and the Chief Secretary, however, the project met an untimely death so that there has since been little progress in that direction despite the fact that in the meanwhile the State Assembly had unanimously passed a resolution calling the attention of the Government to the extreme urgency of effecting this change.

"Rastra Bhasa"

The vexed question of choosing an official language, as a medium of an official transactions, came to a head with the Lok Sabha resolution moved by Mr. Frank Anthony demanding the inclusion of English in the Eighth Schedule of the Constitution. We append below the relevant portion of the Lok Sabha debate, as given by the *Statesman* of August 8:

New Delhi, Aug. 7.—Although Mr. Frank Anthony today withdrew his Lok Sabha resolution demanding the inclusion of English among the principal Indian languages enumerated in the Constitution's Eighth Schedule, it occasioned a major and lucid speech on language policy by Mr. Nehru.

Hindi, the Prime Minister declared, must become the country's official language according to the constitutional provisions, but English should simultaneously be used as an "associate or additional" official language indefinitely.

He added, amidst loud cheers, that he would leave it to the non-Hindi-speaking people to decide the duration for which English may be used as an "alternative" official language.

Uncompromising opposition to the imposition of Hindi or of any other language was the keynote of the Prime Minister's speech and he pulled no punches in attacking the "Hindi enthusiasts."

He blamed them for arousing opposition to Hindi in the South, and for going to the "absurdest limit" in coining "monstrous" Hindi expressions..

Of equally great interest was the Prime Minister's elaborate reference to the status of English in India. It was, he said, the country's only window on the modern scientific world and it could be closed only "to the peril of our future."

But he had no doubt that in spite of its indispensability English would have but a secondary position in India for two reasons.

First because, as medium of instruction, it was being replaced by Indian languages and this desirable process was likely to be completed by the next generation. Secondly, the fate of India would be decided by the millions who knew no English rather than by the English-knowing elite.

This however was not his major argument, for contending that the resolution of Mr. Anthony was "not a wise step."

Without affecting the position of English either way, he said any attempt to amend the Eighth Schedule would create unnecessary conflicts and controversies.

There were several Indian languages —in these he included French, the mother-tongue of the people in Pondicherry— which found no mention in the schedule, and were not any the worse for it.

Departing from his usual practice, Mr. Nehru today spoke from prepared notes and created great impression by his remarks. The overriding importance of his speech and the welcome it received from the House almost deprived the rest of the debate of interest.

At any rate, the debate proceeded on an even tenor until Mr. Anthony evoked frequent and vociferous protests by his somewhat pungent reply. Seth Govind Das was among those who rose frequently and interrupted the Anglo-Indian leader.

Mr. Anthony said if English was contended to be a foreign language by some then everything that India had—parliamentary democracy and the legal system—was foreign. There were loud shouts of "no no" when the Anglo-Indian leader asserted that English was the lifeline of Indian unity.

Though freedom of voting had been given to Congress members and everyone was eagerly awaiting the fate of the resolution, there was an anti-climax. Mr. Anthony expressed his willingness to withdraw the resolution because, he said, pressing it at this stage might lead to "unnecessary friction."

Seth Govind Das, a strong protagonist of Hindi, opposed the withdrawal of the resolution and wanted it to be put to vote but a majority of the members granted leave for its withdrawal.

Dr. P. Subbaroyan (C) strongly supported the resolution and said much of the opposition to it stemmed on the misconception that the passage of the resolution settled the question of official language.

He said he did not share the fears of the opponents of the resolution that the inclusion of English in the Eighth Schedule would hamper the growth of Hindi. The inclusion of English, on the other hand, would be a great gesture towards the Anglo-Indian community which constituted the smallest minority.

Mr. Nath Pai (PSP) supporting the contents of the resolution suggested that instead of amending the schedule in piece-

meal, there should be a comprehensive amendment covering other equally deserving languages like Sindhi, Rajasthani, etc.

Mr. Nehru said that since the Government had accepted that the medium of instruction should be the mother-tongue, he did not think that the resolution was a wise one. Nor did he think that it would help the Anglo-Indian community whose mother-tongue was English. Rather it would hinder the process which Mr. Anthony wanted to encourage by bringing another bitter dispute, fears and apprehensions. Mr. Nehru said he wanted to avoid all that.

The Prime Minister said he was against the imposition of any language on any people. If Hindi was objected to "by many people in the South" it was not because those people were against it but because of a feeling of imposition. Vast numbers of people in the South were learning Hindi but the moment one talked of imposition quite rightly the people there got angry. "Therefore, the talk of imposition must go."

"Personally I am an enthusiast of Indian languages as well as English, provided they function in their proper domain and sphere. I do not see any real conflict —they may be overlapping—but they are not harmful to each other's development. It will have a good effect on each other."

He expressed his confidence that the country would get over the "separatism" in Indian languages provided right tendencies were encouraged, and no effort was made to impose one language over another. "I shall go further and say that if they (people in the South) do not want to learn Hindi, let them not learn Hindi. But by following this approach you will gradually bring them and the Hindi-knowing people nearer to each other."

A major change had taken place in the country and that was the medium of instruction in the schools was in the language of the region. He defended this as a correct step, for it was of the utmost importance that people grew from their roots. Any uprooting of that would cause enormous injury.

Referring to the question of Anglo-Indian schools he said that full facility for their education should continue and further facilities must be extended, if necessary.

Mr. Nehru made it clear that despite his partiality for English, for technological knowledge and other reasons, it could not be forgotten that "we have to carry the 400 million with us and not only the elite, a few thousand or a million or two."

He added amidst cheers: "You cannot carry these vast masses of people with you psychologically and emotionally or in any other way except through their own languages."

Mr. Nehru warned against coining new words in Hindi or other regional languages for scientific and other terms. "This business of coining words seems to me to have been carried to rather absurd limits (laughter). This process of making a language noble has resulted in its progressively becoming more and more artificial and ununderstandable. I think that the chief persons guilty for this were some of the Hindi enthusiasts. They have made it (Hindi) very difficult. Leave out the question of literary graces—I too in my own small way am a lover of the language —but it hurts my aesthetic sense to see those artificial monstrosities thrown upon me at the crossroads or railway stations —huge long (Hindi) words which nobody understands, not the public at least. I do not know whether the man who invented them understands them either. It is a terrible thing."

Mr. Nehru said that the danger of Hindi would come from these very enthusiasts. They were trying to put Hindi in "steelbonds" which would prevent it from growing. Its creativeness would go and it would stultify itself.

He said India could not progress industrially without the aid of a foreign language, even if all the Indian languages were put together. It was possible to have science books in Hindi for high schools or colleges but this would not bring India into contact with the jet and the atomic age.

A totally new language was developing in the world today—"the language of the elite, the language of the mysteries and the language of the 'high priests"—which average people could not understand. The development of this language had to keep pace with the development of technology and science. That language was going to be a language of mathematical formulae. The world would be lost to them if they decided to have a separate language other than this.

Mr. Nehru said it was of the highest importance that India retained and continued to use the international numerals progressively. The international numerals were the symbol of modern age and formed the basis of scientific and mathematical formulae. "Let us not reduce them in the Davanagari numerals. At least let us have them, in common in India and in common with the world."

Replying to the debate, Mr. Anthony said that it was the hatred of the English and the desire to impose Hindi that had created a revulsion against Hindi in the country. He denied Prof. Hiren Mukherjee's contention that English had led to the cultural enslavement of India. He said that Hindusthani and not Hindi should be the national language.

The Kerala Proclamation

We append below the full report as given by *The Statesman* on August 1, for record:

New Delhi, July 31.—At 6 P.M. today the President, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, put his signature to a proclamation under Article 356 of the Constitution assuming to himself all functions of the Government of Kerala and dissolving the State Legislative Assembly.

One result of the proclamation was automatic dismissal of the first and only Communist Ministry in India, which had been in power since April 5, 1957, though with a majority of only two (once reduced to one), obtained through the support of five independents.

Simultaneously with this the President made an order that all functions of the State Government shall, subject to his superintendence, direction and control, be exercizable also by the Governor.

The proclamation declares that general election in Kerala will be held as soon as possible.

The proclamation was signed in the President's study where the Prime Minister, accompanied by the Home Secretary, Mr. B. M. Jha, arrived five minutes earlier. Mr. A. V. Pai, the President's Secretary, was also present.

Subsequently, the proclamation and the order of the President, were published in an extraordinary issue of the Gazette of India.

Giving the reason for the action taken in Kerala, the President says: "I am satisfied that a situation has arisen in which the Government of the State cannot be carried on in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution of India."

Now that the State of Kerala has come under Presidential Rule, it shall be administered by the Governor, Dr. B. Ramakrishna Rao, with the assistance, apart from the existing Governmental machinery, of any special officer which he and the Government of India may consider necessary.

One high-ranking officer of the Government of India is already in Trivandrum. He is Mr. V. Shankar, Director-General of Posts and Telegraphs, who arrived there a few days ago. Mr. Shankar is to remain in Trivandrum and is functioning as a special officer in addition to his own duties.

For the time being, there is no proposal to appoint an adviser to the Governor. Perhaps in the present circumstances, or in view of the changes brought about by the States Reorganization Act, such an appointment is not considered necessary. The Constitution Act does not mention the post of an adviser to the Governor.

However, it seems clear that Dr. B. Ramakrishna Rao will need high-level assistance. He has not been keeping well and is now and then bed-ridden. It is conceivable that at some stage he may ask

to be relieved of the burdens of this exacting office.

The proclamation issued by the President tonight follows in all important details those which were issued on earlier occasions to meet constitutional breakdowns in the States.

Action under the emergency provisions of the Constitution was taken on five previous occasions, in Punjab and the former States of PEPSU, Andhra and Travancore-Cochin (twice).

With the Presidential proclamation the expectation here is that conditions in Kerala, which were almost that of a civil war will rapidly return to normal, and that all the Opposition parties will withdraw the agitation, as indeed has already been done by most of them.

After careful consideration it was decided that no explanatory statement should accompany the President's proclamation, partly for the reason that opportunity for such statements will occur soon in Parliament and partly because of the impression, widely shared, that the Government of India as such is itself out of the political controversies which raged over Kerala.

The process of thinking and rethinking which went on continuously among members of the Government and in consecutive meetings of the Cabinet showed that the decision was not lightly taken.

Consequently, there were tonight more signs of sorrow than jubilation in Government of India circles and also anxiety about future political trends in the country.

As the proclamation makes it clear the Government of India's intention is to hold fresh elections in Kerala as soon as possible.

It is realized that the atmosphere must first improve; the machinery of elections may also require closer examination by the Election Commission which already has on its hands a large number of complaints about electoral rolls especially.

Naturally in such matters the Election Commission will act judiciously and in consonance with the laws made for the purpose.

The following is the text of the proclamation by the President taking over the administration of Kerala :

"Whereas I, Rajendra Prasad, President of India, have received a report from the Governor of the State of Kerala and after considering the report and other information received by me, I am satisfied that a situation has arisen in which the Government of that State cannot be carried on in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution of India (hereinafter referred to as 'the constitution').

Now, therefore, in exercise of the powers conferred by Article 356 of the Constitution and of all other powers enabling me in that behalf, I hereby proclaim that I (a) assume to myself as President of India all functions of the Government of the said State and all powers vested in or exercisable by the Governor of that State; (b) dreclare that the powers of the Legislature of the said State shall be exercizable by or under the authority of Parliament; and (c) make the following incidental and consequential provisions which appear to me to be necessary or desirable for giving effect to the objects of this proclamation, namely,

(i) In the exercise of the functions and powers assumed to myself by virtue of clause (a) of this proclamation as aforesaid, it shall be lawful for me as President of India to act to such extent as I think fit through the Governor of the State;

(ii) The operation of the following provisions of the Constitution in relation to the State I hereby suspend, namely :

"So much of the proviso to Article 3 as relates to the reference by the President to the Legislature of the State; so much of Clause (2) of Article 131 as relates to the laying of the reports before the Legislature of the State; Articles 163 and 164, Clause (3) of Article 166, Articles 167 and 169, Articles 174 to 186 (both inclusive), clause (3) of Article 187 so far as it requires consultation with the Speaker of the Legislative Assembly, Articles 188 and 189, Articles 193 to 198 (both inclusive), Article 200 as relates to salaries and allowances of the Speaker and the Deputy Speaker of

e Legislative Assembly, Articles 208 to
(both inclusive), the proviso to clause
and the proviso to clause (3) of Article
3: "and so much of clause (2) of Article
3 as relates to the laying off the report
ith a memorandum before the Legisla-
re of the State."

(iii) The Legislative Assembly of the
id State is hereby dissolved;

(iv) Notwithstanding anything con-
ined in the Constitution or any law for
ie time being in force, the geneal
ection for constituting a new Legislative
ssembly for the said State shall be held
s soon as possible;

(v) Any reference in the constitution
the Governor shall in relation to the
aid State be construed as a reference to
ie President and any reference therein to
ie Legislature or Legislative Assembly of
ie State shall, in so far as it relates to the
unctions and powers thereof, be construed
s a reference to Parliament, and, in parti-
ular, the references in Article 213 to the
Governor and to the Legislature or Legis-
ative Assembly of the State shall be con-
trued as references to the President and
o Parliament respectively;

Provided that nothing herein shall affect the provisions of Article 153, Articles 155 to 159 (both inclusive), Article 299 and Article 361 and paragraphs 1 to 4 (both inclusive) of the Second Schedule or prevent the President from acting under sub-clause (1) of this clause to such extent as he thinks fit through the Governor of the said State;

(vi) Any reference in the Constitution to acts or laws made in exercise of the powers of the Legislature of the State, by Parliament by virtue of this proclamation, or by the President or other authority referred to in sub-clause (a) of clause (1) of Article 357 of the Constitution, and the interpretation and general clause act (Act VII of 1935), as in force in the State of Kerala and so much of the general clauses Act, 1897 (10 of 1897) as applies to State laws, shall have effect in relation to any such Act or law as if it were an Act of the Legislature of the State.

In pursuance of sub-clause (1) of clause (c) of the proclamation issued on this the 31st day of July, 1959, by the President under Article 356 of the Constitution of India, the President is pleased to direct that all the functions of the Government of the State of Kerala and all the powers vested in or exercisable by the Governor of that State under the Constitution or under any law in force in that State, which have been assumed by the President by virtue of clause (a) of the said proclamation shall subject to the superintendence, direction and control of the President be exercisable also by the Governor of the said State."

Urbanisation in India

Last month the *Yojana* gave some interesting details about the migration of the people to the cities of India. We append it below:

Some cities grow and develop; others just bulge and distend. The urban population of India has more than dobuled in the last thirty years. In 1931, there were only 27 million townsmen in the country. In 1951, the urban population was 62 million. There were at least 17 townsmen out of every 100 people in our country. The 1961 census is bound to show that urbanisation is going on at an even greater pace, because the decade between 1951-61 will really represent the first systematic effort towards industrialising the country. The story of individual cities is even more illuminating. Here are the telling figures :

	1931	1951
Calcutta	11,93,651	45,78,071
Bombay	11,61,383	28,39,270
Madras	6,45,586	14,16,056
Hyderabad	4,66,894	10,85,722
Ahmedabad	3,10,000	7,93,813
Bangalore	3,06,470	7,78,977
Kanpur	2,19,189	7,05,383

What happens when a city bulges ? The limbs go out of control. House-building lags behind. Slums spring up. Even clean areas get run down. Water will be in short supply. Drainage will be insufficient. (Even Malad, the large suburb of Bombay, had no underground drainage till very recently). Milk and vegetables become scarce and costly. Transport will present a

...problem, not to speak of medical aid and the education of children.

Calcutta Corporation and the Government

The history of local self-government in this country is a chequered one. The alien rulers in their acute distrust of the Indian people had kept all powers centralized in the hands of a few. While such centralization suited a bureaucratic administration its unsuitability in a democratic set-up was manifest even during the early years of Independence. The plea for a greater decentralization and local autonomy has come from diverse sources and in some regions there is also a move afoot in this direction. Strangely, however, in many parts of the country there has been a tendency towards the opposite direction of even greater centralization than before. In this category falls the ordinance which was promulgated in the beginning of July by the Government of West Bengal dealing with the appointment of the Commissioner of the Corporation of Calcutta. The Calcutta Municipal Act 1951 under which the city of Calcutta is administered curtailed much of the authority enjoyed by the institution even under the British regime. The present ordinance seeks to restrict that autonomy still further. It provides inter alia that the Commissioner will be appointed by the State Government and such appointment need not have the approval of the Corporation or of the State Public Service Commission as hitherto. Moreover the ordinance also empowers the Corporation of its powers to remove and to the State Government the removal of the Commissioner if it is dissatisfied with his work. The ordinance virtually supersedes the Act passed by the Legislature and places an official over the head of the popularly elected Councillors. What makes the situation more unfortunate is the fact that there were no special reasons for the Government to assume such drastic authority. If the Government had grounds to believe that the Corporation as at present constituted could not run the affairs smoothly it had ample powers to supersede the Corporation. But it has not done so apparently because there are no convincing reasons. The condemnation of the local body implied in the ordinance creates a very bad precedent. The Corporation has in a resolution asked the Government to withdraw the ordinance. As the Government has refused to re-consider its decision the Councillors headed by the Mayor are contemplating the holding of a special meeting to decide upon the course of action. This unseemly controversy has very much lowered the prestige of both the Government and the Corporation before the eyes of the public and it is through such unwise acts on the part of men in authority that the institutions of administration come to lose their respectability and the field becomes clear for the free play of disruptive forces.

Arbitration

The Indian Labour Conference, which concluded its deliberation is in Madras on July 29, has suggested that industrial disputes should be settled more through arbitration and mediation than through adjudication. This suggestion has been endorsed by the representatives of both the employers and the employees. To facilitate the task of finding qualified arbitrators the Government has been asked to maintain a panel of arbitrators; but the parties would be free to choose arbitrators even from outside the panel. The Central Government has further been asked to examine afresh the provisions of the Industrial Arbitration Act with a view to determining the extent to which it could be made applicable to the arbitration procedure laid down in the Industrial Disputes Act. It is indeed a highly welcome development that all the parties—the employers, employees and the Government have accepted the primacy of the principle of arbitration for the settlement of industrial disputes. The greatest merit of this procedure is that it will, if sincerely adhered to by the principal parties, obviate the need to lose valuable man-days and to suffer a fall in production which cause hardship to the nation; we relieve the workers of the strain of undergoing a period of strike which often means substantial loss of income, and ensure the employers of a steady flow of profit.

INDIAN REACTIONS TO TIBETAN DEVELOPMENTS

BY SUBHASH CHANDRA SARKER

THE disturbances in Tibet leading to the dissolution of the Local Government of Tibet and the exile of the Dalai Lama came as a great shock to the Indians who have for long been told by their Government to disbelieve reports of disturbances in Tibet. The Government of India was by no means unaware of the fact that the situation in Tibet was not normal. Indeed, it could not be, as it had to find an explanation for the inability of the Chinese Government to permit a group of Indian scholars to visit Tibet to study certain old manuscripts bearing upon early Indian history and, what is of greater significance, of the Chinese request to the Government of India to agree to the cancellation of the Indian Prime Minister's proposed visit to Tibet. Reports began to circulate early this year of unrest in Tibet and of the imposition of restraints upon the Dalai Lama.[1] By the end of February the Tibetan disturbances had begun to have their impact felt upon the people living on the Indian side of the border.[2] In the beginning of March fighting was reported in Outer Tibet casting its spell upon Lhasa, the capital city of Tibet.[3] The resistance movement was stated to be well organised having the support of the great majority of Tibet's 80,000 monks.[4] Yet on March 6, the Indian Prime Minister declared in his monthly press conference that press reports about Tibet were grossly exaggerated.[5] He confirmed that there were troubles in Khampa areas but discounted reports about disturbances in Tibet proper: "I cannot tell you the extent of these troubles. The Khampas, as you may know, come from that part of the Tibetan region which was more or less integrated into China long ago, not in the last few years, but previously, and it had been a very difficult part to govern even in earlier years. It is that part which has apparently given trouble,"[6] he said.

It was not long before the Indian Prime Minister had to give up his reticence. Speaking before the *Lok Sabha* (the Lower House of the Indian Parliament) on March 17, Shri Nehru said: "There have been difficulties and conflicts (in Tibet) sometimes on a small scale, sometimes on a somewhat bigger scale. They are creating new situations and I do not know if it will help at all for me to go into such details as we know at the present moment, except to say that the situation is a difficult one."[7] He, however, added that there had been no large-scale violence and the situation, although a difficult one, represented "more a clash of wills at present than a clash of arms or physical bodies"[8] The Prime Minister further vigorously defended the Government's restrictive orders on a particular journalist resident in Northern Bengal in the interest of maintaining friendly ties with China.[9]

There was unmistakably an element of deliberateness in the Prime Minister's restraint in replying to questions on Tibet. The *Delhi Hindusthan Standard* in an editorial article on March 20 pointed to this aspect and wrote: "We do not think that the Prime Minister can really want the Chinese to understand that his Government feeling is wholly contained by the words he used on the subject (Tibet) in the *Lok Sabha* on Tuesday (March 17) or at his press conference on 6th March.

1. *Statesman*, Delhi, February 7, 1959.
2. Mahesh Chandra: "Political Commentary," *Statesman*, Delhi, February 25, 1959.
3. "The Pattern of Revolt in Tibet," *Statesman*, Delhi, March 2, 1959.
4. *Statesman*, Delhi (Report of the Gangtok Correspondent), March 6, 1959.
5. *Hindustan Times*, Delhi, March 7, 1959.
6. *Ibid*.
7. *Statesman*, Delhi, March 18, 1959, *Times of India*, Bombay, March 18, 1959.
8. *Statesman, Ibid*.
9. *Ibid*.

While criticising the exaggerat
Nehru not only used language to understand the situation in Tibet but he managed to give the impression that he was restraining himself and that the understatement was deliberate."[10] It added that the Prime Minister's statement that the situation in Tibet represented more a clash of wills than a clash of arms or a clash of physical bodies needed crucial qualifications "for, in the clash of wills, one side (*i.e.*, China) has in reserve an infinite superiority in arms to back its will."

That the newspaper's reading of the Tibetan situation was not far wrong was confirmed on the same day (March 20) by the news released in New Delhi by the External Affairs Ministry of the Government of India. It was stated therein that widespread rebellion had broken out in Tibet in which the Tibetans and the Khampas were fighting the Chinese in Lhasa, the capital city of Tibet, and in the countryside."[11]

The reaction in India to this confirmation of the unhappy turn of events in Tibet was one of sympathy for the Tibetan people in their struggle against the Chinese and subdued criticism of the Government of India's policy of reticence on Tibet.[12] But most of the people preferred to await the turn of events before making any comment upon the developments in that unfortunate land.

The Prime Minister made a statement on March 23 in the *Lok Sabha* in which he tried to give a sketch of the developments on the basis of information available with the Government of India. He disclosed that the disturbances had occurred following rumours in regard to the safety of the Dalai Lama. A large number of Tibetan women had come to the Indian Consulate-General in Lhasa to ask the Consul-General to accompany them to the Chinese Foreign Bureau and be a witness to their presenting certain demands. The Consul-General had naturally to [illegible] inability to comply with such a request. A few days later, on March 20 fighting had suddenly broken out between the Chinese troops and Tibetan elements in the heart of the capital so that it had become impossible for the Indian Consul-General to go out of the premises. The outbreak of violence in Lhasa was a new development. Shri Nehru expressed his anxiety about the safety of the Dalai Lama who was held in high veneration by the people of India. He, however, counselled restraint upon all Indians declaring that India had "no intention of interfering in the internal affairs of China with whom we have friendly relations."[13]

The Chinese Government and the press remained silent over the developments in Tibet until March 28 when it was announced that the Tibetan Local Government had been dissolved by the Central Government in Peking. It was stated that the rebellion had broken out in Lhasa on March 10 and had been inspired by imperialists and reactionaries. The statement issued by the Chinese Government said: "Most of the Kaloons of the Tibet Local Government and the upper strata reactionary clique colluded with imperialism, assembled rebellious bandits to carry out rebellion, ravaged the people, put the Dalai Lama under duress, tore up the 17-article agreement on measures for the peaceful liberation of Tibet and, on the night of March 19, directed the Tibetan local Army and rebellious elements to launch a general offensive against the People's Liberation Army garrison in Lhasa. Such acts which betray the motherland and disrupt unification are not allowed by law. In order to safeguard the unification of the country and national unity, in addition to enjoining the Tibet Military Area Command of the Chinese People's Liberation Army to put down the rebellion thoroughly, the decision is that from this day the Tibet Local Government is dissolved and the Preparatory Committee for the Tibet autonomous region shall exercise the functions and powers of the Tibetan Local Government." Eighteen 'traitorous' Tibetan leaders were named who would be punished if found out. As the whereabouts of the Dalai Lama was not known the Panchen Lama was named the Acting Chairman of the Preparatory Committee.[14]

Two points in the Chinese statement affected India. In the first place it was alleged in that statement that the Tibetan rebellion was being directed from the Indian soil; secondly the reference to Tibetan developments in the Indian Parliament was characterised as interference into the internal affairs of China. The suggestion that the Tibetan rebellion had been conducted from the territory of India was promptly repudiated by the Government of India[15] and subsequently by the Prime Minister himself who personally made a statement in the *Lok Sabha*.[16] Referring to the other point the Prime Minister said in reply to a short notice question in the *Lok Sabha* on March, 30 that Parliament had certainly the right to discuss any topic it considered proper though he admitted that it might be difficult for people trained in a different tradition to understand the way of parliamentary democracy.[17] On April, 3 the *Lok Sabha* was informed of the fact that in response to his own request the Dalai Lama had been granted political asylum in India. Explaining the Government of India's attitude towards the Dalai Lama Shri Nehru said that he would be accorded "respectful treatment" and no bar would be placed upon his activities though the Government of India hoped that he would do nothing to embarrass its position *vis-a-vis* China.[18]

The Dalai Lama's flight to India marked the end of one phase of the Tibetans' struggle against China though it did not mean an end to fighting.

The Chinese action in Tibet, and more particularly the reference to India being the commanding centre of the rebellion in Tibet greatly scandalized the Indian conscience. It was particularly the allegations against India that enraged almost everybody in India with the exception of a few among the members of the Communist Party. The charge against India appeared so fantastic that Indians did not know what to say in reply. The reaction, when it came, was unmistakably definite. In a strongly worded editorial article entitled, "The Rape of Tibet", *The Hindustan Times* wrote referring to the India-China Agreement on Tibet: "An elaborate enunciation of principles which describe non-interference in five different ways was surely an extravagant way of safeguarding a few lakhs worth of business. Our meaning was, and the Chinese seemed to understand it then, that Panch Sheel had a validity in the ordering of relations between China and Tibet. We were not wrong in experimenting with the begetting of trust by trust. If to depend upon Chinese good faith was a risk, it was a calculated risk. Since then we have had several warnings that Panch Sheel pipeline of good-will was one-ended. And, now when we should be torn between feelings of shame and impotence the Chinese have had the audacity not only to frighten us into continued silence by giving us the undeserved credit of harbouring the 'commanding centre' of the rebellion in Indian territory at Kalimpong but to tell us how we shall conduct ourselves in our sovereign Parliament."[19] Much the same sentiment was expressed by many other newspapers, if in less harsh words.[20] "Do the Communist rulers of China seriously believe that the world will be taken in by their version of the tragedy that has overtaken the Land of the Lamas, though words and phrases like 'counter-revolutionary forces', 'traitorous clique', 'reactionary forces of Tibet', and 'patriotic people' are there to hit the reader's eye?" asked the *Amritabazar Patrika*, the leading nationalist daily of Calcutta.[21] "No, truth cannot be smothered by words. There is enough in the State Council's orders and the *New China News Agency's* separate despatch to corroborate and strengthen the impression already formed on the basis of reports received from other sources

10. *Delhi Hindusthan Standard*, Delhi, March 20, 1959. "Feeling on Tibet"—Editorial article.
11. *Statesman*, Delhi, March 21, 1959.
12. See the Editorial article "Tibet" in the *Statesman*, Delhi, March 22 and the Editorial article "Tibet" in the *Hindu*, Madras, March 22, 1959.
13. *Statesman*, Delhi, March 24, 1959.
14. *Statesman*, Delhi, March 29, 1959.
15. *Statesman*, Delhi, March 30, 1959.
16. Statement made on March 30, reported in the *Statesman*, March 31, see also *Hindu*, March 31.
17. *Ibid*.
18. *Statesman*, April 4, 1959.
19. *Hindustan Times*, Delhi, March 30, 1959.
20. See the editorial articles in *The Statesman*, Delhi, March 31, *The Times of India*, Bombay, April 1, the *Delhi Hindusthan Standard*, Delhi, April 1, *The Hindu*, Madras, April 1, the *Amritabazar Patrika*, Calcutta, March 31.
21. Editorial article April 1, 1959.

that what the (Chinese) People's Liberation Army under orders from Peking has suppressed and is engaged in suppressing is a valiant people's last desperate fight for political and religious freedom," it said.[22]

There was always an undertone of anxiety in Indian minds about the fate of the Dalai Lama.[23] The news of the Dalai Lama's safe arrival in India was therefore greeted on all hands. Welcoming the arrival of the Dalai Lama in India the liberal daily of Lucknow, *The National Herald* affectionately referred to the well-known fact of India's respect for his personality.[24] The press in general endorsed the Government of India's action in granting political asylum to the Dalai Lama.[25] "In granting political asylum to the Dalai Lama", the *Times of India* editorially wrote, "New Delhi has demonstrated, in the clearest manner possible, its awareness of moral responsibility in a matter that has ravaged civilized opinion throughout the world."[26]

The Dalai Lama's Statement

The Dalai Lama made a statement on April 18 after his arrival in India which was a ringing denunciation of the Chinese conduct in Tibet. The statement pointed out that the Chinese (Hans) and the Tibetans were different peoples and that despite recurrent Chinese efforts to impose their suzerainty upon Tibet "in any event, at all times, even when the suzerainty of China was imposed, Tibet remained autonomous in control of its internal affairs." It affirmed that the 1951 treaty between China and Tibet had been signed by the Tibetans under duress and that the Chinese had persistently violated the terms of even that agreement and the Tibetan Government had been denied the autonomy promised to it. The preparatory committee for the autonomous region of Tibet which had been set up in 1956 under the Chairmanship of the Dalai Lama with the Panchen Lama and General Chang Kuo-hua as Vice-Chairman had also little authority all the effective authority being exercised from Peking. This had led to disturbances in the Kham areas which assumed serious proportions in 1956.

Giving the background of the latest developments the statement said:

"The relations of Tibetans with China became openly strained from the early part of February 1959. The Dalai Lama had agreed a month in advance to attend a cultural show in the Chinese headquarters and the date was suddenly fixed for the tenth of March. The people of Lhasa became apprehensive that some harm might be done to the Dalai Lama and, as a result, about 10,000 people gathered around the Dalai Lama's summer palace at Norbulingka and physically prevented the Dalai Lama from attending the function.

"Thereafter, the people themselves decided to raise a bodyguard for the protection of the Dalai Lama. Large crowds of Tibetans went about the streets of Lhasa demonstrating against the Chinese rule in Tibet. Two days later, thousands of Tibetan women held demonstrations protesting against the Chinese authority. In spite of this demonstration from the people, the Dalai Lama and his Government endeavoured to maintain friendly relations with the Chinese and tried to carry out negotiations with the Chinese representatives as to how best to bring about peace in Tibet and assuage the people's anxiety.

"While these negotiations were being carried out, reinforcements arrived to strengthen the Chinese garrisons in Lhasa and Tibet. On the 17th March, two or three mortar shells were fired in the direction of the Norbulingka Palace. Fortunately, the shells fell in a nearby pond.

"After this, the advisers became alive to the danger to the person of the Dalai Lama and, in those difficult circumstances, it became imperative for the Dalai Lama, the members of his family and his high officials to leave Lhasa.

"The Dalai Lama would like to state categorically that he left Lhasa and Tibet and

22. *Ibid.*
23. See the editorial articles in the *National Herald*, Lucknow, *The Hindu*, Madras.
24. Editorial article entitled "Dalai Lama" April 4, 1959.
25. Editorial articles in *The Statesman*, Delhi April 4; *Delhi Hindusthan Standard*, Delhi, April 4; *Hindustan Times*, Delhi, April 4; *National Herald*, Lucknow, April 4; *The Times of India*, Delhi, April 6, 1959.
26. April 6, 1959 Editorial article.

ame to India of his own free will and not nder duress.

"It was due to the loyalty and affectionate upport of his people that the Dalai Lama was ble to find his way through a route which is uite arduous. The route which the Dalai Lama ook involved crossing the Kyichu and Tsangpo rivers and making his way through the Lhoka area, Yarlung Valley and Psonadzong before reaching the Indian frontier at Kanzey Mane, near Chuhangmu.

"On the 29th March, 1959, the Dalai Lama sent two emissaries to cross the Indo-Tibetan border, requesting the Government of India permission to enter India and seek asylum there. The Dalai Lama is extremely grateful to the people and the Government of India for their spontaneous and generous welcome as well as the asylum granted to him and his followers.

"India and Tibet have religious, cultural and trade links over a thousand years and for Tibetans, it has always been the land of enlightenment, having given birth to the Lord Buddha. The Dalai Lama is deeply touched by the kind greetings extended to him on his safe arrival in India by the Prime Minister, Shri Jawaharlal Nehru and his colleagues in the Government of India. The Dalai Lama has already sent reply to this message of greeting.

"Ever since the Dalai Lama entered at Kanzeymane, near Chuttanmu, he has experienced in full measure the respect and hospitality extended to him by the people of the Kameng Frontier Division of the North-East Frontier Agency and the Dalai Lama would like to state how the Government of India's officers posted there had spared no effort in making his stay and journey through this extremely well-administered part of India as comfortable as possible.

"The Dalai Lama will now be proceeding to Mussoorie which he hopes to reach in the next few days. The Dalai Lama will give thought to his future plans and, if necessary, give expression to them as soon as he has had a chance to rest and reflect on recent events.

"His country and people have passed through an extremely difficult period and all that the Dalai Lama wishes to say at the moment is to express his sincere regret at the tragedy which has overtaken Tibet and to fervently hope that these troubles will be over soon without any more bloodshed.

"As the Dalai Lama and the spiritual head of all the Buddhists in Tibet, his foremost concern is the well-being of his people and, in ensuring perpetual flourishing of his sacred religion and freedom of his country.

"While expressing once again thankfulness at his safe arrival in India, the Dalai Lama would like to take this opportunity to communicate to all his friends, well-wishers and devotees in India and abroad his sincere gratitude for the many messages of sympathies and concern with which they have flooded him."*

The Chinese called the statement to be a forgery perpetrated by the Indian Government officials claiming that the Dalai Lama was under duress in India. The Panchen Lama who was named acting Chairman of the Preparatory Committee in Tibet said in a speech before the National People's Congress (Parliament) of China on April 22: "It is worth noting that reactionaries in India, walking in the footsteps of the British imperialists have always harboured expansionist ambitions towards Tibet and have carried out various forms of sabotage activities."

"It is obvious," he added, "that the so-called statement of the Dalai Lama was imposed on him by foreigners."

The Dalai Lama clarified the position in a statement from Mussoorie on April 22 reiterating that the Tezpur statement had been "issued under my authority and indicated my view and I stand by it."

To meet the growing interest generated by the Dalai Lama's presence in India was the centre of acute interest for many, he agreed to hold a press conference at Mussoorie on June 20.

The Dalai Lama said on that occasion that he did not propose to stay in India indefinitely but his return to Lhasa would depend upon his obtaining the rights and powers which the Tibetans had enjoyed and exercised prior to 1950, *i.e.*, the Chinese action in Tibet. He would welcome a meeting between the Prime Ministers of India and China, he said.

**Free Press Journal*, Bombay, April 19, 1959.

In a statement issued to the press at the conclusion of the press conference, the Dalai Lama said:

"Ever since my arrival in India, I have been receiving almost every day sad and distressing news of the suffering and inhuman treatment of my people. I have heard almost daily with a heavy heart of their increasing agony and affliction, their harassment and persecution and of the terrible deportation and execution of innocent men.

"These have made me realise forcibly that the time has manifestly arrived when in the interests of my people and religion and to save them from the danger of near-annihilation, I must not keep silent any longer but must frankly and plainly tell the world the truth about Tibet and appeal to the conscience of all peace-loving and civilised nations.

"To understand and appreciate the significance and implication of the recent tragic happenings in Tibet, it is necessary to refer to the main events which have occurred in the country since 1950. It is recognised by every independent observer that Tibet had virtually been independent by enjoying and exercising all rights of sovereignty whether internal or external. This has also been impliedly admitted by the Communist Government of China for the very structure, terms and conditions of the so-called agreement of 1951 conclusively show that it was an agreement between two independent and sovereign States.

"It follows, therefore, that when the Chinese armies violated the territorial integrity of Tibet they were committing a flagrant act of aggression. The agreement which followed the invasion of Tibet was also thrust upon its people and Government by the threat of arms. It was never accepted by them of their own free will. The consent of the Government was secured under duress and at the point of bayonet.

"My representatives were compelled to sign the agreement under threat of further military operations against Tibet by the invading armies of China leading to utter ravage and ruin of the country. Even the Tibetan seal which was affixed to the agreement was not the seal of my representatives, but a seal copied and fabricated by the Chinese authorities in Peking and kept in their possession ever since.

"While I and my Government did not voluntarily accept the agreement, we were obliged to acquiesce in it, and decided to abide by the terms and conditions in order to save my people and country from the danger of total destruction. It was, however, clear from the very beginning that the Chinese had no intention of carrying out the agreement.

"Although they had solemnly undertaken to maintain my status and power as the Dalai Lama, they did not lose any opportunity to undermine my authority and sow dissensions among my people. In fact, they compelled me, situated as I was, to dismiss my Prime Ministers under threat of their execution without trial, because they had in all honesty and sincerity resisted the unjustified usurpation of power by the representatives of the Chinese Government in Tibet.

"Far from carrying out the agreement they began deliberately to pursue a course of policy which was diametrically opposed to the terms and conditions which they had themselves laid down. Thus commenced a reign of terror which finds few parallels in the history of Tibet.

"Forced labour and compulsory exactions, a systematic persecution of the people, plunder and confiscation of property belonging to individuals and monasteries and execution of certain leading men in Tibet, these are the glorious achievements of the Chinese rule in Tibet.

"During all this time, patiently and sincerely I endeavoured to appease my people and to calm down their feelings and at the same time tried my best to persuade the Chinese authorities in Lhasa to adopt a policy of conciliation and friendliness. In spite of repeated failures I persisted in this policy till the last day when it became impossible for me to render any useful service to my people by remaining in Tibet. It is in these circumstances that I was obliged to leave my country in order to save it from further danger and disaster.

"I wish to make it clear that I have made these assertions against the Chinese officials in Tibet in the full knowledge of their gravity, because I know them to be true. Perhaps, the Peking Government are not fully aware of the facts of the situation.

"But, if, they are not prepared to accept these statements, let them agree to an investigation on the point by an international commission. On our part I and my Government will readily agree to abide by the verdict of such an impartial body.

"It is necessary for me to add, that before I visited India in 1956, it had become increasingly clear to me that my policy of amity and tolerance had totally failed to create any impression on the representatives of the Chinese Government in Tibet.

"Indeed, they had frustrated every measure adopted by me to remove the bitter resentment felt by my people and to bring about a peaceful atmosphere in the country for the purpose of carrying out the necessary reforms. As I was unable to do anything for the benefit of my people I had practically made up my mind when I came to India not to return to Tibet until there was a manifest change in the attitude of the Chinese authorities.

"I, therefore, sought the advice of the Prime Minister of India, who has always shown me unfailing kindness and consideration. After his talk with the Chinese Prime Minister and on the strength of the assurances given by him on behalf of China, Shri Nehru advised me to change my decision.

"I followed his advice and returned to Tibet in the hope that conditions would change substantially for the better and I have no doubt that my hopes would have been realised, if, the Chinese authorities had on their part carried out the assurances which the Chinese Prime Minister had given to the Prime Minister of India.

"It was, however, painfully clear soon after my return that the representatives of the Chinese Government had no intention to adhere to their promises. The natural and inevitable result was that the situation steadily grew worse until it became impossible to control the spontaneous upsurge of my people against the tyranny and oppression of the Chinese authorities.

"At this point I wish to emphasise that I and my Government have never been opposed to the reforms which are necessary in the social, economic and political systems prevailing in Tibet.

"We have no desire to disguise the fact that ours is an ancient society and that we must introduce immediate changes in the interests of the people of Tibet. In fact, during the last nine years several reforms were proposed by me and my Government, but every time these measures were strenuously opposed by the Chinese in spite of popular demand for them; with the result that nothing was done for the betterment of the social and economic conditions of the people.

"In particular, it was my earnest desire that the system of land tenure should be radically changed without further delay, and the large landed estates acquired by the State on payment of compensation for distribution amongst the tillers of the soil. But the Chinese authorities deliberately put every obstacle in the way of carrying out this just and reasonable reform.

"I desire to lay stress on the fact that we, as firm believers in Buddhism, welcome change and progress consistently with the genius of our people and the rich tradition of our country.

"But the people of Tibet will stoutly resist any victimisation, sacrilege and plunder in the name of reforms—a policy which is now being enforced by the representatives of the Chinese Government in Lhasa.

"I have attempted to present a clear and unvarnished picture of the situation in Tibet. I have endeavoured to tell the entire civilised world the real truth about Tibet, the truth which must ultimately prevail, however strong the forces of evil may appear to be.

"Today I also wish to declare that we, Buddhists, firmly and steadfastly believe in peace and desire to live in peace with all the peoples and countries of the world. Although recent actions and policies of the Chinese authorities in Tibet have created strong feelings of bitterness and resentment against the Government of China, we Tibetans, lay and monk alike, do not cherish any feelings of enmity and hatred against the great Chinese people.

"We wish to live in peace and ask for peace and goodwill from all the countries of the world. I and my Government are, therefore, fully prepared to welcome a peaceful and amicable solution of the present tragic problem, provided that such a solution guarantees the

preservation of the rights and powers which Tibet has enjoyed and exercised without any interference prior to 1950.

"We must also insist on the creation of a favourable climate, by the immediate adoption of the essential measures as a condition precedent to negotiations for a peaceful settlement. We ask for peace and for a peaceful settlement, but we must also ask for the maintenance of the status and the rights of our State and people.

"To you gentlemen of the press, I and my people owe a great debt of gratitude for all that you have done to assist us in our struggle for survival and freedom. Your sympathy and support has given us courage and strengthened our determination. I confidently hope that you will continue to lend that weight of your influence to the cause of peace and freedom for which the people of Tibet are fighting today."*

The Political Parties

All the major political parties of India, with the exception of the Communist Party of India, condemned the Chinese action in Tibet in more or less sharp terms.

The Working Committee of the Indian National Congress, India's largest political party, passed a resolution on May 9, in which it said that any happening in Tibet that led to suffering of the people of Tibet was a matter for sorrow for the people of India. The committee fully endorsed the policy of the Government of India.[27]

The National Committee of the Praja Socialist Party, the second largest political party, passed a resolution on April 17, to express its grave concern over the happenings in Tibet which, it said, brought a warning to all "who cherish the right of a people to shape their own destiny".[28]

The Bharatiya Jan Sangh, the fourth political party to be nationally recognised by the Election Commission of India (the other three parties are the Congress, PSP and the Communist Party) indicated its protest against the Chinese action in Tibet by staging a "hands off Tibet" demonstration before the Chinese Embassy in New Delhi and the Chinese Consulate-General in Bombay on March 30.[29]

The Secretary of the All India Hindu Mahasabha (a political organisation of a smaller number of Hindus) called upon the Government of India to raise the question of Tibet in the United Nations—a call, which was repeated[30] by the all-party convention held in Jullundur on May 10—saying that silence on this occasion would mean the betrayal of the cause of distressed humanity.

Almost all the principal non-Communist Marxist political parties were equally critical of the Chinese behaviour in Tibet. The *Call*, monthly organ of the Revolutionary Socialist Party of India, wrote that if, as the Chinese had alleged, imperialist forces had gained ground in Tibet the responsibility belonged to the Chinese who had failed in adopting a wise course in seeking the integration of Tibet into China. "But even if imperialist agents have been active behind the Khampa rebellion in Tibet," the magazine went on to add, "we have to put on record that we have every sympathy for the national sentiments of the Tibetan people, and we find no valid reason, why the Chinese Communist Party should not allow Tibet to evolve as another sovereign 'People's Republic' as the 'People's Republic of Outer Mongolia'—as was done by the Soviet Union under Lenin's guidance."[31]

The Communist Party

The Communist Party of India was thus the only major organisation which kept itself apart from the stream of Indian public opinion about developments in Tibet. The Communist Party not only upheld the Chinese action in Tibet but went to the extent of even repeaing the Chinese charges against India.[32] This led to a volley of protests both within and outside the Parliament. Strong exception was taken to the fact that the Party should have repeated the charge of Kalimpong being the commanding centre for the Tibetan rebellion. In a scathing speech in the *Lok Sabha* on April 1, Acharya J. B. Kripalani, a former President of the Indian National Congress and a leading member of the Praja Socialist Party, said: "Supposing, tomorrow, taking the cue from our 'nationalist friends' (meaning the Communists —S.C.S.) who are lovers of this country, the Chinese Government be so mad as to think it was necessary to destroy this nest of intrigue in Indian territory and if they enter our territory, the logical conclusion would be that the Communist Party would welcome such a thing."[33]

The Home Minister and the Prime Minister also expressed similar sentiments. Referring to the allegation in the Communist press of collusion between Indian political officers and anti-Chinese spies, Shri Nehru said in evident exasperation: "The Communist Party of India goes about naming our principal officers. The party shows more than we suspected, a certain lack of balance in mind and total absence of feeling of decency and nationalism. What they are, I don't know. They cease to be Indians if they talk in this way."[34]

The Communist stand was generally very much criticised by the press[35] and the public. Some of the leading members of the party were also reported to have been critical of the wording of the party statement.[36] The latest pronouncements[37] of the party however did not disclose any change of views. A few newspapers however did not condemn the Communist Party's stand. Referring to the statemen issued by the Secretariat of the Communis Party on March 31, the liberal *Nationa Herald* of Lucknow wrote: "Obviously ther was not sufficient material to damn the commu nists as anti-national."[38]

The Government of India

The Government of India's stand was tha Tibet was part of China, but that did not pre clude India's interest in what happened in th region. "We are obviously interested in wha happens there and what political development take place there (Tibet)", the Indian Prim Minister told pressmen on April 5. "We can not ignore them or look away from them What we do about them is another matter But I would like to put it to you that apar from purely political considerations, there ar other considerations which move people power fully,"[39] he added. Clarifying further th Government's attitude, the Prime Ministe declared before Parliament on April 27, tha India had no political interest in Tibet. "Wha we were anxious about was to preserve th traditional connections between India and Tibe in regard to pilgrim traffic and trade. Ou action in this matter and whatever we hav done subsequently (to 1954) in regard to Tibe is proof enough of our policy and that Indi had no political or ulterior ambitions in Tibet he said.[40] Indian policy towards China wa governed by three factors: (1) The preserva tion of the security and integrity of Indi (2) the desire to have continued friendly rel tions with China and (3) Indian sympathy f the people of Tibet.[41] The Indian Governmen was of the opinion that the agreement betwee Tibet and China on the autonomous status

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Indian Express, New Delhi, June 2, 1959.

27. Full Text of the Revolution in *The Statesman*, Delhi, May 10, 1959.
28. *Statesman*, Delhi, April 18, 1959.
29. *Statesman*, Delhi, March 31, 1959.
30. *Ibid*, May 11, 1959.
31. *The Call* (Monthly organ of the Revolutionary Socialist Party of India), Delhi, Vol. XI, No. 2 (April, 1959), page 5.
32. *The Times of India*, Delhi, April (Full text of the Party's first major statement on Tibet). For further statements see also the article "The significance of Tibet" by B. T. Ranadive in the *New Age* (Monthly organ of the Communist Party of India), Delhi, Vol. VIII, No. 5, (May, 1959), pp. 49-59 The articles of B. T. Ranadive and Ajoy Ghosh in *New Age* (Weekly), Delhi, Vol. VII. Nos. 18 and 19 (May 3, and May 10, 1959).
33. *The Statesman*, Delhi, April 2, 1959.
34. Statement before Press Conference in New Delhi on April 5; *Statesman*, April 6, 1959.
35. See the editorial articles of the *Hindustan Times* (April 2), and the *Delhi Hindusthan Standard* (April 2).
36. *Free Press Journal*, Bombay, April 13. "Political Commentary" by Shri Mahesh Chandra, *The Statesman*, Delhi, April 8.
37. Articles by B. T. Ranadive and Ajoy Ghosh in the weekly organ *New Age*, May 3, and 10, and the statement issued on May 13.
38. Editorial article entitled "Kalimpon April 3, 1959. This newspaper's views on Tib generally agreed with those of the Communi Party.
39. *Statesman*, Delhi, April 6, 1959.
40. *Ibid*, April, 28, 1959.
41. The Indian Prime Minister's stateme before the Press Conference on April 5, a his subsequent statement in the *Lok Sabha* April 27, 1959.

Tibet, assurances given to India "have not been kept" by the Government of China.[42]

The Government was all along very restrained in its references to developments in Tibet and this restraint was generally reciprocated by the press and the public. Some of the Chinese statements were hardly calculated to encourage the observance of this restraint. Despite the repeated assertions by the Government of India that Kalimpong had not been, or was not being, used as the commanding centre of the Tibetan rebellion the Chinese continued repeating that charge; and notwithstanding the clearest statement by the Dalai Lama at Tejpur on April 18[43] and subsequently at Mussoorie that he had come to India of his own free accord, and the Indian Government's unequivocal statement[44] that the Dalai Lama was free to go back to Tibet at any time he liked, that Chinese Government emissaries were welcome to meet him, the Chinese Government, Press and Public persisted in openly maintaining that the Dalai Lama was under duress in India. Charges were also levelled against Indians, alleging that they had "expansionist aims" with regard to Tibet.[45] One Chinese newspaper went to the extreme of even saying that attackers in Tibet had been Indians.[46] These malignant accusations were too much to be stomached even by the most ardent Indian sympathisers for the Chinese cause in Tibet. For example, the *National Herald* of Lucknow which all along made the best possible interpretation of Chinese statements[47] wrote in a leader: "The Chinese Government has to convince the Tibetan people of the correctness of this policy and discard any idea that anyone in India is interested in following an expansionist policy. No one who has shown concern over the Tibetan situation has wanted an inch of Tibetan territory, and the Chinese people should understand it and stop accusing Indians of expansionist ambitions."[48]

The Government of India's stand was endorsed by all the political parties and newspapers. The Communists also found it difficult to directly criticize the stand taken by Shri Nehru and his Government. Everybody with the exception of a few individuals[49] agreed that Tibet was part of China but that the action of the Chinese Government in seeking to impose its policies against the wishes of the Tibetan people was wrong.[50] Some also expressed the view that a fully autonomous Tibet was the only safeguard of peace in regions adjoining India's north-eastern frontier and "the only satisfying symbol of China's good intentions."[51] Though the Indian attitude towards China was very critical over the developments in Tibet, there was general agreement that the issue should be treated as an isolated one and should in no way be allowed to be mixed up with the cold war between the Communist and Western blocs.[52] Any suggestion that the Tibetan developments could in any way mean any change in the orientation of the foreign policy of India was categorically repudiated by the Prime Minister.[53] Though India had granted political asylum to the Dalai Lama, the Government of India did not consider him and his ministers in India as a Government.[54]

Conclusion

The Tibetan developments certainly bore heavily upon India-China relations; yet, hopefully enough, both sides have maintained the need for preserving the mutual friendship between the Governments of China and India. The Government of India by sternly refusing to recognize any image government of Tibet in India and by refusing to agree to take the question to the United Nations, which was suggested by the Jan Sangh and some other parties including Shri Jayaprakash Narain, the Sarvodaya leader, who was elected to preside over the All-India Tibet Convention held at Calcutta during the last days of May to protest against the Chinese action, has shown that it still regards the Government in Peking to be the only legal Government of Tibet. The talks of Indian expansionism should stop at this point and it should not prove beyond the capabilities of the leaders of the two countries to agree on a mutually satisfactory approach to the future of Tibet which would also be acceptable to the people of Tibet.*

* Enlarged from an article that appeared in the *World Today*, London.

42. Shri Nehru's statement in the Convocation address before Gurukul Mahavidyalaya, Jawalapur, near Hardwar, on April 13, reported in *The Times of India*, Bombay, April, 15.

43. *Statesman*, Delhi, April 19, 1959, (Full text of the Statement); See also *Statesman*, April 23, 1959, for the Dalai Lama's Mussoorie statement.

44. Nehru's statement in the *Rajya Sabha* (Upper House of Indian Parliament), May 4, 1959, reported in *The Statesman*, Delhi, May 5, 1959.

45. Panchen Lama's statement before the National People's Congress on April 22, *Statesman*, April 23, 1959, Statesment of non-Communist Chinese Political Parties on April 29, *Statesman*, April 30, 1959.

46. Ta Kung Pao, Peking reported in the *Statesman*, April 30.

47. Editorial articles in the *National Herald*, Lucknow, on March 24, March 31, April 3, April 4, April 9, April 20, April 21, April 24, and April 27.

48. Editorial article "Fresh Phase", *Ibid.*, April 30, 1959.

49. Jayaprakash Narayan, for example, advocated independence for Tibet.

50. Editorial articles in the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, Calcutta, March, 26; *Delhi Hindusthan Standard*, Delhi, April 1, *National Herald*, March 24; Dr. H. N. Kunzru and B. Shiva Rao's statements in the *Rajya Sabha* on May 4, 1959, reported in the *Statesman*, May, 5.

51. Editorial article in the *Hindu*, Madras, April, 1, 1959.

52. Editorial "The Arrival and After", *Delhi Hindusthan Standard*, April 7, 1959.

53. Nehru's statement in the *Lok Sabha* on May 8, 1959, reported in the *Statesman*, May 9, 1959.

54. Statement of the External Affairs Ministry on June 30, *Statesman*, July, 1959 and the Indian Prime Minister's Statement before the monthly Press Conference on July 7. reported in the *Statesman*, July 8, 1959.

WASTAGE, CORRUPTION AND NEPOTISM IN INDIA

By SANTWANA KUMAR DAS, M.A.

Large-scale development schemes undertaken by India after attainment of independence have meant very heavy expenditure. The governmental decision to rapidly industrialize the country has, in its wake, brought in an amount of strain on the normal procedure of financing projects, etc. Financial and administrative powers had to be delegated often to new and inexperienced hands or to those who knew the past too closely to take advantage of loopholes of the laws. On the whole with an obvious relaxation of control, to cope with the exigency of the changed situation, expenditure in national undertaking or recruitment to important key positions have often been influenced by reasons other than national welfare. Honesty at many places is at a discount and the glamour of easy money has produced corruption on a more or less wide scale.

Wastage at high level, corruption and favouritism have, to an extent, degraded the standard of national morality. Attention may be drawn to a speech by Dr. C. D. Deshmukh. He spoke on July 11, in course of his V. S. Srinivasa Sastri endowment lecture at the Madras University. The former Finance Minister said that it was now recognized, albeit somewhat grudgingly, that the administrative machinery at levels from ministerial downwards, was "erratic and inadequate" both in the conduct of day-to-day affairs and in the implementation of planned development.

The speaker added: "Uneasy public heard of nepotism (still very common), highhandedness, gerrymandering, feathering of nests through progeny, and a dozen other sins of commission and omission and yet was helples for lack of precise data, facts and evidence. It was in order to deal with such a situation that a high level impartial standing judicial tribunal was

called for to investigate and report on complaints."

Dr. Deshmukh has pledged to come forward himself to render whatever help he could should such a body be set up. He said: "If such a commission is established, I shall be happy to make a beginning by lodging half a dozen informations myself."

The continued drift for over a decade has created a gap between the administrators and the people. Popular enthusiasm in national reconstruction work is markedly on the wane. Deficit financing, large-scale foreign loans and other steps have together created an inflationary trend in the country's economy. Prices of foodgrains and other essential consumer goods have soared very high. Tax burden on the poor is on the increase.

Planning to vitalise short-term productive agencies, utilization of every naya paisa for national welfare and complete plugging of wastage of national wealth would have accelerated progress of national development undertakings ushering in a welfare state of real worth and significance.

An analysis of the various kinds of wastage, instances of corruption and nepotism shows that the authors of these acts are to be found in almost every walk of national life. The ingenuity of the means and manners adopted often show the care and caution displayed at evading the law. Carelessness, planned dishonesty and complete lack of a national outlook are a few of the outstanding causes behind commitment of the 'crimes'.

Lavish expenditure by ministers on travel bills, 'pomp and show and expensive paraphernalia in government houses' (Speech by Acharya Kripalani in Lok Sabha on February 16, 1959), 'bribery, corruption and nepotism' (*ibid*) plus 'considerable waste in some of the projects in the public sector' (*ibid*) have, of late, accounted for drainage of a good percentage of national wealth. The Prime Minister said sometime back that the possibility of mistake in large-scale undertaking cannot be avoided. This statement of Mr. Nehru will be endorsed by all right-thinking persons of the country. The difference of opinion lies elsewhere. Many a devout Gandhites believe that the governments led by Mr. Nehru and his followers in the various states of the Indian Union have often taken no pains to distinguish between financial loss as a result of genuine mistake committed by an individual, who is earnest and honest, and a case of wastage of national fund which flows from dereliction of duty or avowed corruption.

Democracy is, in a vay, a disadvantage to cope with wastage of national fund emanating from large-scale corruption by influential and hardened social criminals. Either the persons in charge of national reconstruction jobs should be upright and earnest or there should be specific, standing legislation to meet the veiled challenge of of the anti-social elements. The pre-independence pledges to hang a black-marketeer at the nearest lamp-post and to 'prevent concentration of wealth and power in the hands of the individuals and groups' (*Congress Election' Manifesto* of 1945) the no more considered worth implementing with any amount of seriousness. If the government intended to keep firm to party pledges, the Congress President, Mr. U. N. Dhebar, would have had no occasion to lament over the fact that the rich were becoming richer and the poor poorer in the country.

Even in democracy an able administrator is capable of calling a halt to anti-social elements. 'Thus far and no further' was perhaps too proud an order that King Canute addressed to the waves of the sea; when dealing with men of low characters, the perverted ones, the enemies of the people, a threat, even a warning, may have a salutary effect. Lack of sacrifice at top and lack of honest second line of leadership have made national progress a costly experiment for India. The only way out, therefore, is to enact new laws or to set up high-powered bodies to deal with wastage and misuse of national funds at various levels with personnel rotating and normal procedure of appeal to higher courts of the land non-applicable. India's development pace is exta-ordinarily quick; the method to deal with losses during this speedy reconstruction work should also be such as to help maintain the tempo.

There are many astounding cases of corruption. Acharya Kripalani revealed from his personal experience the extent of corruption prevalent in the Indian railways. As the director of the Gandhi Ashram, Acharya Kripalani had to issue instructions to his workers, he admitted, to pay illegal gratification to the railway staff, in order to be able to procure wagon space for the transport of silk manufactured in the various centres of West Bengal to other parts of the country. (*Delhi Hindusthan Standard* dated February 17, 1959.)

The form and technique of corruption often vary. Judicial procedure and legal acumen often help change the colour and shape of a particular case of corruption. Interpretation, procedural and legal, at times, makes case of corruption wear a new look. Only that part of the case, the loss in money or otherwise that the nation has to suffer, remains unchanged.

Here is an example of a peculiar kind of wastage. Ashoka Hotel of New Delhi is a government undertaking. A foreign businessman putting up at the hotel remarked to a Delhi journalist that the kind of loss incurred there was unheard of anywhere else. He said: "Look at the huge waste of space. So many committee rooms empty. In New York in a hotel of this kind, you cannot get a committee room unless you book months ahead. And look at the huge library here which nobody uses." Another thing too amazed the foreigner. "Half a dozen pople at the reception desk alone. I have never seen more than two in any other hotel in the world." (*Times of India*, Delhi February 8, 1959). But this wastage is perhaps a part of our accustomed administrative pomp and show. A misconception seems to die hard in a section of our top administrators that through show and luxury alone we may earn in prestige, particularly where a link with foreigners is unavoidable. The common argument is that luxury alone attracts foreign tourists, particularly from the West, who are habituated to modern comforts. Earning of prestige through a show of luxury, ignoring the realities of the situation, the millions of half-starved, ill-clad individuals throughout the country; a commercial outlook of costly capitalistic variety are ideas contrary to fundamental conception of Gandhian philosophy. Even the heirs and the disciples of the saint have chosen to discard the core of ideas for which the modern Christ lived and died.

Top policy-makers of the nation have a responsibility which they have hardly discharged so far with a view to convince the people that national welfare was their one sole objective. During the national struggle many of them suffered much; privations and humiliations due to poverty were many a leaders' common lot for the best part of life. People must not be given to understand even by suggestion that the leaders are deriving compensation for the past sacrifices and privations suffered.

Corruption and nepotism are easier to check when they are practised at a lower level and in a comparatively narrow and limited circle. Such local cases have often been dealt with rather quickly arresting loss to grow or the problem become complicated. A watchful local administration can intervene with ease and directness before things go out of hand. According to a report, 'recently there have been complaints of maladministration and alleged misappropriation of power house stores worth over Rs. 73,000' by the Amritsar Municipal Electricity Authority. The Government has taken over the task of power-supply and, pending police investigation, some employees have been arrested and others put under suspension. (*Statesman*, New Delhi, February 8, 1959).

While strictly local cases of corruption may be checked with an amount of easiness a case of corruption at a state level presents a little more difficulty. Red-tape hurdles, political pressures and various kinds of resourcefulness of the guilty and his associates make locating the crime and the criminal quite a difficult matter. It is particularly so where there is behind the

screen activity to prevent useful materials to see the light of the day. Other interesting happenings also make escape easy. It has been found in innumerable cases that when a sizeable wastage of public fund has been detected the person responsible for the commitment of the offence has already retired or has gone abroad or transferred to make investigation difficult or something of the sort.

When accusations against the unnamed corrupt individuals are voiced in a state legislature or in the Parliament they hurt nobody, the perpetrators of crime escape unscathed and unashamed. While opposition does not always hurl invectives only for the pleasure of it, the common practice of minimising opposition views has, to no small measure, deprived the various units of the government the prestige which normally they should possess.

It is embarrassing to listen to a legislator shout in the state assembly epithets like 'Kairon Raj is nothing but corruption Raj' (Punjab M.L.A., Mr. B. D. Tandon's Vidhan Sabha speech of February 17, 1959). In the upper house of Punjab legislature a demand was voiced urging inquiry into alleged 'accumulation of wealth' by ministers and their relatives 'during the past four years.'

It must be said that the governments, both at state level and at the centre, have laboured hard on various occasions, to satisfy members of the public and those of the opposition that they are very keen to find out the guilty and to prevent recurrence of malpractices. Often too rigid adherence to democratic procedure defeats the purpose of such inquiry.

The Government of Punjab acting upon the recommendation of a high-powered commission, headed by Justice Dulat of the State High Court, has appointed an officer to prepare cases against corrupt officials who had defrauded the state in the construction of the Bhakra-Nangal canals. (*News Item*, February 17, 1959). Further progress of this decision is not known.

The Madhava Rau Committee of Rajasthan, in its report, had listed a number of irregularities in the state's financial transactions; these the committee termed as an 'astounding state of financial indiscipline in the state.' The medical and education departments committed 'large-scale irregularities' while making 'large-scale purchases.' As an instance the committee mentioned a case of purchase of bandages at a higher rate and from an unrecognized firm entailing a loss of Rs. 14,000. Some of the goods proved uniusable but the supplier was let off without penalty; the department paid rail freght of Rs. 315, this too was not recovered from the supplier.

To instance wastage on the administrative side more facts may be borrowed from the Madhava Rau Committee report. Rajasthan is no exception in this respect. A similar probe into conditions in any other state would perhaps reveal similar if not worse cases of wastage in like matters.

The colossal rise in the administrative cost in Rajasthan has been criticized and drastic economy recommended by the committee. The abolition of the Divisional Commissioners' posts, the committee pointed out, would reduce expenditure by Rs. 7 lakhs annually; reduction in the number of districts from 26 to 20 would also mean considerable economy in administrative cost; a 10 per cent reduction in the number of tehsils would mean a saving of Rs. 1.5 million every year. In the sphere of transport also, according to the committee, scope remains for affecting economy. The number of government vehicles increased by 40 per cent from 1953 to 1957 and expenditure registered a rise of 150 per cent.

The Okhla industrial estate in the Delhi territory is another example of 'lavish utilization of space and extravagance'. The Planning Commission team after examining the state of things at Okhla found that 'more money than was necessary has been spent on non-productive buildings such as offices, garages and other constructions not directly related to production of goods.'

An instance of how party interest prompts appointment of persons of questionable competency to state public service commission membership was described in the Parliament. An Assistant Police Sub-Inspector in one of the native states after independence managed to get into the state assembly. Subsequently he resigned to make room, it is said, for the entry of a favourite of a top administrator. The obliging ex-A.S.I. who is a non-matriculate was made a member of the state public service commission for sacrificing his assembly seat in favour of a ministerial nominee. (Speech in Parliament by Mr. Subiman Ghosh, M.P.).

Mr. Ghosh cited the instance of another state P.S.C. whose report's publication was delayed by two years. The reason behind was, it is said, the inclusion of a case of demotion of a high official in that report. There were a number of complaints against the officer. The government referred the case to the PSC; the commission recommended demotion of the officer concerned. The matter was again referred back to the PSC; the Commission stuck to the old decision. For 18 months after this second decision was intimated the government observed complete silence in regard to the incident. Thereafter it rescinded the first decision to refer the case to the PSC and the fortunate officer did not suffer, as a result thereof, either in position or prestige.

The investment of Life Insurance Corporation's fund in the shares of concerns owned by Mr. Haridas Mundhra struck headlines of Indian newspapers for many many days. Chagla inquiry, Vivian Bose Board, UPSC examination of conduct of the officials passed by, one after another, and at long last the government found that most of the major actors in the deal have committed no punishable wrong; only one LIC officer was found wanting in the performance of his duties.

There was loud complaint about certain doings of the Prime Minister's Special Assistant; louder were the assurances from the government side to do whatever necessary to find out the truth. An inquiry was conducted which based its function mainly on the statement of the 'alleged accused.' Ultimately it was found that the accusation that the individual 'struck gold' by misusing his official position was not correct. He had with him a sum of Rs. 4 lakhs obtained by the sale of property gifted by the American Red Cross, where he was an employee.

Where the government is not fully representative of the people, *i.e.*, not national many things might happen which would not satisfy the analytic mind. To minimise possibility of popular misunderstanding the attempt to shield culprits through zigzag procedural route or with the veil of departmental rules of un-understandable kind and character ought not to be depended upon. Some small body with quick-to-work rules and adequately empowered, directly under the President, may be set up to deal with cases of misuse of national fund. Mr. C. D. Deshmukh has advocated (New Delhi Press conference, May 26.) that to ensure successful implementation of our development plans there should be a more representative, a more talented and a more uncommitted government both at the centre and in the states. Mr. Deshmukh apprehended danger of 'inexperienced' government not using the nationalised institutions in an appropriate manner.

Corruption is gradually eating into the marrow of the nation's bone. If the present drift could not be arrested before it is too late, if influential culprits may escape after meaningless inquiries and references and wastage of national wealth to benefit only a few continue as at present, peoples's faith in the government would rapidly diminish and country's progress would be ultimately retarded.

AGRICULTURAL WAGES

By Prof. Dr. J. S. GARG, M.A. (Eco.), M.Sc. Ag. (Agr.), Ph.D.

It needs no emphasis that the major problem affecting labour is the problem of wages. The worker's earnings have the greatest importance to him, as that determines his standard of living and that of his family. This is particularly so in India where the wage level of workers is still far behind reasonable standard and where indirect benefits by way of social service and social security have not been extended either to cover the entire population or all the risk to which an individual is exposed.

In an ordinary sense, the wages are prices fixed for the use of the second factor of production—the labour. A wage may be defined, says Benham, "as a sum of money paid under contract by an employer to a worker for services rendered." They are primarily of two types, namely nominal wages and real wages. Nominal wages are paid or received in terms of money. They are unable to give a correct economic situation of a labourer. In order to understand the correct economic position of a worker, we will have to measure it in terms of his real wages, which is comprised of the sum-total of the psychic satisfaction of a worker. As Adam Smith has put it: "The real wages of labour may be said to consist in the quantity of the necessaries and conveniences that are given for it. . . . The labour is rich or poor, is well or ill rewarded, is in proportion to the real, not to nominal prices of his labour." In order to find out the real wages, which as well determine the standard of living of a worker, the factors like purchasing power of money, subsidiary earnings, chances of additional income, condition of work, regular or irregular nature of work and over-time payments are taken into consideration.

The methods of payment of wages are on the basis of work done or the period the worker has been employed. The former is called 'piece wages' and the latter 'time wages.' Time wage payment is the most frequent and important method of payments whereby a fixed sum is paid either per hour, per day, per week or per month. Under piece wage, the payment is made per unit or piece of work completed within certain duration. However, there is another method of wage payment used mostly for agricultural labourers, known as 'share system.' It is of old origin. Under this system, the produce is shared by the landowner and labourer. This is prevalent in the States of Punjab, U.P., Bihar, and few others in the country. Landless labourers, mostly prefer this system of payment, because it enables them to utilize their labour at a higher remunerative value. In certain localities wage payments are also made in kind instead of cash, particularly for harvesting operations. The customs of the locality determines the rates of such wages. In the Punjab, cotton pickers get 1|12th of the produce and in Kanpur, Gorakhpur and Mathura districts of U.P., the average rate of such wages for harvesting wheat are 1|12th of the harvest, 2½ seers of grain and 1|12th of the produce respectively. Similarly, for sugancane in Meerut district, the rate is 1|40th of the produce harvested. But now the payment in kind is being replaced by cash all over the country. In certain parts of the localities, the labourers, besides wages, get morning *Nashta*, smoking *hukka*, clothes, material for the construction of house and food. They form the part of the conveniences which add to the total sum of real wages. But these facilities are granted to "attached labourers" only.

Agricutural wages are subject to wide variation from region to region and place to place. Local customs, nature of work, standard of living and supply and demand of the labour determine the rate of wage in a locality. In general, they are far inadequate to enable agricultural labour to meet their necessities of life. According to the Sixth Wage Census Report, 1939, the daily wages of a weeder, a reaper and a ploughman were on an average -|3|4, -|3|5, and -|3|10 respectively, before World



Sri Jawaharlal Nehru is being conducted round the tailoring section of the Cottage Industries Centre in Kathmandu



The Prime Minister receiving Commander Ernesto Guevera, a national leader of Cuba, when the latter called on him in New Delhi



"Santal Dance" by Jamini Roy is the focus of attention of two envoys in the Kuala Lumpur Art Exhibition in Malaya



Members of the successful all-gunner expedition to the Himalayan peak of Bunder Punch I (20,956 feet) were introduced to the Defence Minister by Gen. K. S. Thimayya

War II. During and after the War there had been a considerable rise in the level of general wages, but the same could not keep pace with the increase of the cost of living of agricultural labourers. At present (1958-59) the agricultural wages round about Kanpur vary between Re. 1|- and Re. 1|4 for man, -|12|- to 1|- for woman and -|10|- to -|12|- for child. The agricultural wages rates are comparatively lower in the Eastern District, while they are higher in the Western District of U.P. The difference varies from 30 to 50 per cent over Kanpur rates. There is a vast difference between the wages of agricultural and industrial labour. The wages of agricultural labour are lower primarily because they are isolated, unorganised and subject to exploitation of the employers. They have no facility to form a union to strike a better bargain with their master.

It is needless to say that this group of labour demands a special and urgent attention in any scheme designed to improve the living standard of the masses. During the First Five-Year Plan, attempts were made to ensure a minimum standard of living to agricultural labour by fixing minimum wages under Minimum Wages Act, 1948; according to which on an organized farm of 50 acres and above in some of the Eastern and Southern Districts of U.P. an adult was to get Re. 1|- per day or Rs. 26|- per month without perquisites and that of a child (below 18 years), -|10| per day or Rs. 16|4|- per month without perquisites.

The other States, in which the minimum wages have been fixed for the entire area are the States of Punjab, Rajasthan, Delhi, Himachal Pradesh, Kutch and Tripura. Besides U.P., in Assam, Bihar and Bombay, minimum wages have been fixed for some of the localities, which represent low wage-pockets. For want of adequate data an *ad-hoc* method was adopted for fixing the wages. For a correct fixation, suitable data in terms of suitable consumers' price indices for rural areas will have to be prepared. Some suitable measures will have to be taken for their effective enforcement and implementation. Some of the important vital obstacles like the prevailing economic conditions of agricultural labour and pressure on land will have to be eliminated. The demand and supply of labour will have to be regulated. The labour organizations will have to be formed.

The Agricultural Labour Enquiry Committee (1950-51) had rightly observed that low level of living among this section of people is not so much due to low wages as to lack of sufficient employment opportunities. Therefore, the first and foremost solution of the problem is to increase employment opportunities in the country. Employment is admittedly an important problem not only in the interest of labour but in the general interest of the national economy. It will not be out of place to discuss here the unemployment situation of the country. It is presumed that by the end of Second Five-Year Plan (end of March, 1961) the un-employed labour force in the country would be of the order of 7.5 millions, despite the creation of 8.0 million jobs during the corresponding period. Thus the problem is really baffling.

Coming to the solution of the problem, the first and foremost *sine-qua-non* is the collection of reliable data of unemployment and employment potentials in the country. Then comes 'Man Power' planning, which means co-ordination of man power resources to general economic plan so as to create maximum employment potentials and to absorb maximum man power by scientific and rational exploitation of the available resources. The plan must be labour-incentive. The plan should be drawn as to lay more emphasis on small cottage and village industries. The above curative measures must be supplemented by preventive measures also. Of these, family planning is the foremost to curb the steady increase of population.

In conclusion, it may be said that the problem of lower wages of agricultural labour is acute and its magnitude and importance call for a concentrated and determined plan. The sooner it is chalked out the better.

ECONOMICS OF CO-OPERATIVE FARMING

By V. P. GANDHI, M.A.,
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"The great commerce of every civilized society is that carried on between the inhabitants of the town and those of the country (village) . . . The town, in which there neither is nor can be any reproduction of substances, may very properly be said to gain its whole wealth and subsistence from the country," wrote Adam Smith as early as 1776 in his book *Wealth of Nations*. This proposition of Adam Smith holds true even today after about two centuries because the industrial sector, undoubtedly, depends largely on the agricultural sector for the supply of raw-materials to feed its industries and food to feed the labour. Thus industrial sector cannot expand rapidly without the expansion of what Adam Smith called the "subsistence from the country" or what modern economists prefer to call "marketable surplus." Rapid industrialization, therefore, is just impossible without a radical reorganization of agricultural sector in such a manner as to produce a considerable amount of marketable surplus. A process of agricultural transformation must form a part and parcel of the plan for a high rate of industrialization or economic development.

Our planners realized this at an early stage and, therefore, rightly placed an emphasis on agricultural development in the First Five-Year Plan. But, then, they were really faced with two major agricultural problems, besides many others. On the one hand there existed big landlords with swelled bellies nourished out of the exploitation of the poor agricultural tenants and, on the other, there existed a mass of landless labourers. (So much so that the Marxist conjecture of the existence of two water-tight compartments, one owning the so-called means of production and the other owning nothing but the labour-power to be sold as a commodity in the market, proved quite true and there was every likehood of Marxian prediction of "Revolution" coming true). As a result, therefore, our planners were forced to adopt the measures for "Land Reforms" which seemed to be the only path of wisdom in the circumstances prevailing. The main tenets of land reforms which were affected quite successfully during the First Five-Year Plan period were: (i) the abolition of Zamindari and other intermediaries, and (ii) ceiling on land holdings.

Consequent to these land reforms, the implementation of which was also carried over to the Second Five Year-Plan period the Government was able to provide "land to the tiller" and, at the same time, effect its objectives of "Socialistic Pattern of Society" by creating a situation in which everybody had some land and nobody had no land. Hence a situation of "equality," in the broad sense of the term, was more or less achieved. But, as we know, equality and efficiency are two incompatible terms so that we can either have equality at the cost of efficiency or efficiency at the cost of equality.

Land Reforms, therefore, tended to affect agricultural production quite adversely in so far as they tended to reduce the size of land holdings still further and from 1954-55 onwards the agricultural production tended to fall. It is, of course, impossible to determine the contribution of land reforms to the fall in agricultural production, for these years were also associated with unfavourable climate and other natural factors. But it cannot be denied that land reforms, especially the ceilings on land holdings, did injure agricultural productivity. This fall in agricultural production, in effect, led to a rise in the food prices and the prices of raw-materials and other semi-finished article thereby shaking the very foundations of all wishful planning. Now, therefore, we were faced with a problematic situation and if such a situation was to be tackled it was necessary for the planners to reconcile the two objectives of equality and efficiency or, in other words, to maintain equality and at the same time to make the way for a sizeable amount of marketable surplus to nourish the growing urban sector.

This problem of equality versus efficiency with which we are faced today is nothing new or surprising because the Governments in other countries were also faced with the same problem at the critical moments in their process of economic development and they tried to solve this problem by adopting various typical methods.

A question that naturally arises is: Why does not India adopt those very methods and gain from the experience of other countries? But as shall be shown below, none of those methods suits to the Indian conditions and the only method that can suitably be adopted is that of "Co-operative Farming."

In Japan, for example, this problem of diverting a sizeable amount of marketable surplus from the rural sector to the urban sector was solved by the adoption of heavy annual "land tax" during the early stages of her economic development. In 1893-94, for instance, land tax provided as much as 45% of the total tax revenues to the Government in 1906-1907, this percentage was as high as 25%. This heavy land tax provided the Government with a large amount of revenues to initiate and speed up the process of industrialization and, as its counterpart, forced the peasants to part with a larger proportion of the produce.

But this method is just inapplicable in our own country because ours is a mass peasantry with a very low standard of living so much so that to draw a huge amount of revenues from land is not only impossible but undersirable also as it is likely to breed the leftist tendencies. The imposition of just a small amount of "Betterment Levy" has called for an agitation which must still be fresh in our minds.

Soviet Russia was also faced with this problem of "marketable surplus" for her economic development. During the early stages of her economic development (Period of War Communism, 1918-21), Soviet Government adopted a method of making the terms of trade between the rural sector and the urban sector unfavourable to the former so as to squeeze out the maximum from the rural sector. This policy continued even during the period of N.E.P. (1921-28) as was visible in the famous "Scissors' Crisis" when the relation of industrial and agricultural prices continued to be greatly to the disadvantage of the latter.

But, even on the face of it, such a scheme was not likely to be successful as this was putting the peasantry at a disadvantage thereby disrupting the alliance between the working-class and the peasantry—formulated in the famous Leninist doctrine of "Symtchka." Hence, it was considered necessary to formulate some other measure and that was of collectivization adopted during the First Five-Year Plan period (1928-33). Under this scheme, it was made compulsory for all the farmers to join the "Collective farms," *i.e.*, farms, the land of which was to become the property of the community. The farmers, therefore, became merely the wage and bonus-earners on the Common Land after losing their ownership of land. Undoubtedly, this process of collectivization did facilitate an increase in the amount of marketable surplus as on the collective farms it was possible to use capital intensive techniques and thereby raise productivity. A large part of this increased production was diverted to the industrial sector by barring the free market of agricultural produce and by State forcibly getting the "compulsory delivery quotas" from the collective farms and that too at a very low price. Thus the process of collectivization accompanied by the scheme of "compulsory delivery quotas" helped the marketable surplus of agricultural produce to increase considerably. As Prof. Dobb observes, "The main contribution that collective farms of agriculture made in these hard years of the first quinquennium to the progress of industrialisation was the substantial increase they afforded in the marketable surplus of agricultural produce." In

1938, for instance, the marketed surplus in food-grains alone was 2½ times that it had been in 1928.

But, as is quite evident, this scheme of collective farming is also quite unsuitable in India. To start with, in case of collective farms all land comes under the ownership of the "commune" and if a member wants to leave the collective farm, he cannot take his land back or, in other words, land does not remain the property of the peasant. The scheme of collective farming if adopted in India, will, therefore, forefeit the main objective of land reforms (*i.e.*, the "land to the tiller"). Besides, we also cannot adopt the scheme of "compulsory delivery quotas" in our own country which is wedded to democracy. Thus, in India, we shall have to adopt some such method which shall be democratic and which shall have all the economic advantages of collective farms. And the "only" solution lies in the adoption of "Co-operative Farming." Thus Sri Nehru has very aptly observed, "It is a patent fact that there is no alternative to co-operative farming," for co-operative farming alone allows the private ownership of land and as land is cultivated jointly as one unit it will definitely have all the economics of large-scale production. Consequently, co-operative farming seems to be the only solution to raise the level of marketable surplus and hence the rate of industrialisation.

I have dealt with the economics of co-operative farming in detail to prove that there is nothing wrong with its economics and that co-operative farming is so obvious and necessary that we cannot dispense with it especially at the present moment when the need for increasing the size of marketable surplus is so urgent. It is only co-operative farming which, by automatically extending the margin of cultivation, will make possible the introduction of technical improvements which can never be brought about on small farms because of inadequate resources of the farmer and the small size of individual holdings. Hence, it is the only method by which we can increase our agricultural production and hence the size of marketable surplus.

Some people, however, are of the opinion that co-operative farming will not lead to an increase in production unless accompanied by mechanized farming and it is quite useless to try the former since the latter is unsuitable in India. Thus they are of the opinion that technical improvements brought on the joint farms will affect a number of self-employed persons and will therefore aggravate the problem of rural unemployment and that such a scheme of agrarian reforms must be shelved for the time being till enough employment opportunities are created both in the rural sector and the urban sector.

But this argument is quite unacceptable. To start with, the argument assumes that technical improvements and mechanization are synonyms which is actually not so. In fact, by technical improvements, we really mean the use of small machines, better ploughs, better seeds fertilizers, green manures, bunding, sinking of wells, etc. Thus technical improvements taken in this sense are not likely to create any serious problem of unemployment. But even if they are likely to lead to some unemployment, there is no argument in shelving it till such times when industrialisation of the highest degree has been achieved to create enough employment opportunities for those who are likely to be unemployed as economic development is necessarily a continuing process and we cannot adopt policies in separate compartments. In fact, various policies like co-operative farming and rapid industrialization are linked up with each other in such a manner that they will have to be adopted side by side and in an overlapping manner.

Others in the opposition group criticise co-operative farming on the ground that it is just a step towards collective farming. Once a co-operative farm is established, they argue, if a person wants to leave the co-operative farm and withdraw his land, he will not be allowed to do so practically, for if he is allowed to do so, it will mean the upsetting of the whole organization of the co-operative farm and hence a chaos. Thus the only possibility that remains, *prima facie*, is that he will be allowed to go provided he accepts the compensation so that finally the land is purchased by the "co-operative" and a time will come when "co-operative" will become all in all and land will pass from individual peasants into the hands of the community. Thus as Mr. Masani once said, co-operative farms were "a misnomer that would inevitably lead to collectivization and strengthen the totalitarian trends at the cost of democracy."

This argument is, once again, unfounded as Chinese experience bears testimony to it. Mrs. Renu Chakravarty after her visit to China tells us that, in China, a peasant is allowed to leave a co-operative the moment he wishes to do so, but very few actually leave because the benefits they enjoy from co-operative farming are so much greater than individual farming that almost the entire country has been swept into co-operative every where. Thus there seems to be no reason why people should think of leaving such beneficial projects and even if a person thinks of it, it means that he is, in the words of Mr. Nehru, "a nuisance and a mischief-maker" who cannot be allowed to play with community's interest just for nothing.

Again, it is argued that small peasants who do not join the co-operative farm will be compelled to become the member of the co-operative out of sheer necessity, for otherwise there is every liklihood that they will be discriminated against in the matter of revenue, registration, irrigation, supply of seeds and fertilizers, etc. Further, the formation of co-operative farms will involve compulsion for the minority (one-third) if the majority (two-thirds) is desirous of forming a co-operative. Hence it is argued that co-operative farming will mean the loss of freedom.

This fear once again, is unfounded as the question of deprivation of freedom of the peasant in the process of co-operative farming is wholly wrong because, as our Government has repeatedly stated, the whole process will be undertaken in a democratic way and on a voluntary basis. Instead of being compelled, the peasants will be convinced by experiments. Thus the remark of Mr. V. L. Mehta seems to be very appropriate when he says, "It is not understood how co-operatives—service co-operative or joint co-operative can deprive the peasant of freedom unless (with all its benefits and advantages) it be the freedom to live and die in poverty and debt," and nobody will deny that these are what sociologists now-a-days call "formal" and "unwanted" freedoms.

It can, therefore, be safely concluded that it is no time questioning the validity of such an economically justified proposition as that of co-operative farming. What is needed now is to shear out all differences so as to make it a success. As our Prime Minister has said:

"There is no choice. I cannot understand any person not realizing this patent and obvious fact. . . . Now we have only to give attention to hammering out details as to how to implement it fully. We have now to discuss and finalise the practical aspects of co-operation."

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THE PROBLEM OF JUSTICE IN CO-OPERATIVE FARMING

By Dr. V. D. NAGAR, M.A., Ph.D.

Speaking under the auspices of the Delhi Study Circle Mr. K. M. Munshi asked, "Will different experiments in co-opertives be permitted as in Israel? And while exercising the choice to keep to family farming, will the farmers get equal facilities to increase production or will they be discriminated against in the matter of facilities of taccavi, credits, seeds, fertilizers and water?" On the other hand, the All-India Congress Committee's note assumes that the co-operatives will receive reasonable preference in the matter of provision for supplies, credit and other facilities. Quoting Dr. Otto Schiller Mr. Munshi further said, "It is hardly possible to show any example that peasants in an existing old village have voluntarily given up their individual use of land and have pooled their land for joint cultivation." This applies to our

country also, where co-operative farming is to be introduced by voluntary methods and not by coercion. The incentives or preferences, therefore, are of vital importance to the success of co-operative farming and co-operatives.

INCENTIVES

Preferential treatment of the co-operative farms on a pemanent basis can be both direct and indirect. Direct preferential treatment in matter of facilities of taccavi, credits, seeds, fertilizers and water can be shown towards the co-operatives in the following manner. Firstly, short-term loan, seeds, fertilizers, etc., may be provided at pronouncedly cheaper rates to the co-operative farmers. Secondly, co-operatives or co-operative farms should be granted long-term loan, seeds, etc., at a very cheap rate. Thirdly, membership of a village society should be a necessary condition for facilities from various Government agencies. Railway fares at concessional rates for journey to the places of pilgrimage and exemption from local direct tax can also be tried to encourage the farmers to join co-operatives and co-operative farms. The working group on co-operative policy has recommended that efforts should be made to bring into the co-operative fold villagers who are relatively better off and with surplus funds for investment. Free education and grants for books to sons and daughters of villagers, specially at Higher Secondary and University levels along with exemption from certain taxes will encourage the relatively rich farmers to join the co-opeatives. In addition to these, storage facilities (when and where to be provided) should be earmarked for co-operative farms only. Lastly, the Government should prefer the co-operatives for meeting the risks of crop-failures. Lenin realised that co-operatives in order to succeed had to provide safeguards against bad harvests and famine.

Indirectly, the preferential treatment towards co-operative farms should be shown by—

(i) servicing and repairing of tractors at the co-operative farm itself,

(ii) establishing machine-lending stations,

(iii) forming co-operatives of the existing tractors and machine-owners in the region,

(iv) granting subsidy on oils and lubricants,

(v) deputing trained agricultural graduates to advise the employment of scientific methods, and

(vi) providing transport facilities at a cheaper rate.

INCENTIVES IN FOREIGN COUNTRIES

Incentive, inducement, stimulation, preferential treatment special privilege or material interestedness has played an important role in building the co-operatives in foreign countries. In socialist countries incentive wages and incentive prices are paid to the labourers and farmers. Even in Russia, where collective farming has been achieved through violence and pressure, in spite of Lenin's advice that "the representatives of the Soviet Government must not resort to the slightest compulsion in the creation of co-operative associations," the Communists lay very great emphasis on the need for creating material interestedness for all workers. Lenin himself insisted on State loans and incentive bonuses for the co-operatives. In China, special privileges to co-operative associations along with caution, education and public pressure were deemed necessary to combat the emergence of capitalism in agriculture, ensure large-scale efficient operation and solve 'grain-problem.' In Yugoslavia and Japan also similar incentives were provided to the co-operatives in the beginning.

Economic incentives or inducements follow the pattern of economic development. The economic growth may be autonomous or induced and intrinsic or expansionist. Mr. Bert F. Hoselitz held that Great Britain and the countries of Western Europe represented the autonomous—intrinsic type of development; the United States, Canada and Australia the autonomous expansionist type; the Soviet Union the induced-expansionist type; and Japan and possibly under development countries induced-intrinsic type. 'Internal colonization' 'Westward Movement', industrialization, agricultural development, etc., have followed different patterns. But induced-development in relatively dense settlement of many underdeveloped countries through democratic and voluntary methods can only be made possible with the aid of incentives. In agriculture the need is more urgent, because agriculture contracts too slowly and agriculturists are used to having a "decade of prosperity succeeded by a decade

of poverty." There is lack of opportunities both inside and outside agriculture. Then the problem is made intractable because the increasing pressure of population keeps the individual unit of cultivation small. Unless the unit of cultivation is enlarged and non-agricultural activity grows at a specially rapid pace, further growth of population (at 2 per cent per annum in case of our country) will worsen the situation. "The problem of these countries," says Prof. D. R. Gadgil, "is simultaneously to increase food supplies while finding other work for the rural surplus."

Co-operative farming accompanied by employment facilities in schemes of agricultural expansion like livestock and dairy farming as wholetime occupations, developmental activities like digging of wells, reclamation, soil conservation, layout of field channels, etc., and forest industries is the only way to solve the problem. We have to rely, therefore, on the conscious organisation and incentives for ordering of the forces and capacities of a society with the aim of economic progress.

Incentives are necessary to eradicate exploitation of the small peasants by the village money-lenders or *sahukars*. The exploitation during the marketing of agricultural products is too well-known. State purchases of foodgrains from few co-operatives will be easier than purchases from individual peasants. Lenin remarked, "As long as we live in a country where small peasants farming predominates, there is a firmer economic basis for capitalism. . . . ." In China, too, the problem of emergence of capitalism in agriculture was sought to be solved by agrarian re-organisation through special privileges. To remove greater evil of exploitation and emergence of capitalism in agriculture, preferential treatment or discrimination (if at all, we call it) may be treated as lesser evil from the equity point of view. Besides this, co-operative farming by re-allocation of resources in agriculture and effective utilization of lands which now be idle wholly or partially because of inadequacy of owner's resources will secure optimal use of existing resources and reap maximum benefit. In the areas not served by irrigatiqnal canals, minor irrigation works can be taken only by co-operatives. These advantages merely point out the need of greater good for greater number of persons through providing inducements or material interestedness.

The German proverb that the first has death, the second has misery and the third has bread is applicable to present-day Indian conditions. Co-operative farming may demand sacrifice from relatively better-off farmers and big peasants who have surplus funds to invest and who could have cultivated their farms more intensively. But it is better to make sacrifices voluntarily today rather than invite compelling power of the state in future to introduce collective farming.

Co-operative farming will also release surplus labour force to other occupations outside agriculture. This will certainly cause inconvenience to farming population which by nature is immobile. Here we should make note of Americans who "could have spent their lives rather comfortably in the familiar surroundings of friends and acquaintacnces of long standing, left their towns and villages and went into the new and inhospitable western regions, where they often lived in isolation and always had to face a hard struggle with nature." Our generation is meant for sacrifices. Many of us will not live to experience the prosperity, but our children and grand-children will certainly be benefited from our endurance.

Incentives gain potency and become powerful instruments of action for economic growth. Mr. Charles Bettelheim has held that the Chinese peasant was working for more than 300 days a year after establishment of co-operatives against 50-220 days labour put before. The increase in individual output of work can be possible only when the farmers are trained psychologically to welcome, accept and work the scheme and made sure to benefit fully, either immediately or later on, by the increase in production due to their labour. Let the incentives assure the farmers that by joining co-operative farming, increase in production will neither give rise to higher land rents, nor to a price fall, because the state will be the sole purchaser at fixed prices, nor to higher taxes. The farmers will then regard co-operatives as their own and work for greater output for the country. The incentives will thus bless both who give and take.

THE PART PLAYED BY THE PUBLIC IN STRENGTHENING SOVIET LAW

By L. GRIGORYAN,
Candidate of Juridical Sciences

"The chief trend in the development of the socialist state," N. S. Khrushchov said in his report at the 21st Congress of the CPSU, "is maximum promotion of democracy, drawing the broadest sections of the population into the management of all national affairs . . ." This applies fully also to such an important matter as safeguarding law and order.

The People Decide

The Soviets, the biggest mass organisations made up of elected representatives of the working people, are the core of the Soviet machinery of State, and concentrated in their hands is the whole of the State power, including legislative. However, participation of the masses in legislation is not confined merely to the work of their elected representatives in the Soviets.

It is a long-standing tradition that the basic draft laws of the more important decisions of the Soviet State are first discussed by the people.

The laws on State pensions, the reorganisation of management of industry and construction, the reorganisation of the machine and tractor stations and reform of education were passed after millions of people had expressed their opinions on them and offered their proposals.

An equally thorough discussion preceded the passage last December by the Supreme Soviet of the USSR on the Principles of Criminal Law and the Principles of Criminal Procedure of the USSR and the Union Republics. The laws as passed differed substantially from the original drafts, for many of the amendments and other proposals by the population were incorporated in them.

A characteristic feature in the Soviet Union is that the people take an active part not only in the discussion of actions by the State; they also participate in debating the more important decisions of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union before they are adopted.

The theses of Khrushchov's report for the 21st Congress of the CPSU were discussed more than two months. More than 968,000 meetings were held for the purpose at factories, offices, institutions and working people's organisations, and over 70-million people took part in the discussion. The result of this country-wide forum was millions of comments and suggestions, some of which were embodied in the Congress decisions and many more will be taken into account by the planning bodies in their work.

Laws and other decisions worked out with the broad participation of the population embody the people's will and interests, and this explains why most Soviet people deeply respect their country's laws. To respect the laws means to obey them strictly, to follow their injunctions, and therein lies the guarantee of the abiding principle of law, which demands that all members of society shall undeviatingly observe the rules of public conduct fixed by the State.

The People Participate

The rise of public ownership, the elimination of exploitation of man by man, poverty and lack of culture of the millions, the abolition of unemployment and the sharp rise in the living standard of the people have led to the disappearance of the causes giving rise to crime; the sharp decline in crime in the Soviet Union is a consequence of it.

A graphic illustration of the triumph of Soviet democracy and important proof of the unity of convictions, aims and aspirations of the Soviet people is the fact that there are no political prisoners in the USSR today.

But cases of criminal, anti-social or immoral conduct still occur, and it is very important to detect crime or other violation of the law and to suppress it. It is, however, much more important to prevent the infringement of public order and standards embodied in laws, not to tolerate lawbreaking. For this reason the chief means used by the Soviet State to combat anti-social acts are persuasion and education. A wide network of cultural and educational establishments, a highly-developed system of public education, art, press, radio and television are all an important means for educating the people.

Persuasion, however, does not always achieve the purpose, and the Soviet Government also applies measures of coercion where necessary. And here too the State acts with the active participation of the public. The Soviet judicial system is made up of elected courts, and the system's main link is the People's Courts in towns and in the districts. They hear criminal and civil cases. The courts are made up of the People's Judge and two People's Assessors. The People's Judges are elected on the basis of universal, direct and equal suffrage by secret ballot by the citizens of respective districts, and the People's Assessors by meetings of public organizations. The People's Assessors enjoy equal rights with the judge, verdicts, judgements and decisions requiring a majority decision.

This system makes for control of the work of State bodies by the public, for seeing to it that the law is properly applied.

Law in the USSR implies not only strict observance of criminal laws and the rules of public order; it means also observance of the rights of the individual, the right to one's job, property and other rights secured by the Soviet Constitution.

An important guarantee of inviolability of the right of Soviet people is, among other things, that any labour conflict between workers and the management of their enterprise or office is always taken up with the participation of representatives of the trade union organisation. The heads of the enterprise or office may not dismiss a worker without the consent of the trade union thereto. Should that happen, the trade union will order the worker reinstated and that is binding on the management, and the only thing the latter can do is to take the matter to a People's Court. The trade union can demand the removal of the head of a plant or office for failure to carry out obligations, and where there has been a violation of the law, in particular of the rights of the workers, such a demand has to be carried out indispensably.

Aid of Public Influence Enlisted

So great is the force of the collective under the Soviet system and its influence over individuals that often it is more effective than coercion by the State.

This explains the wide use made of comrades' courts, formed at factories, offices, house management offices, collective farms, and so on.

It is a court of public opinion, and though the highest punishment it metes out is a public reprimand, such reprimand is more effective with some people than any penalty. It is not so very pleasant to face your work or office mates or your neighbours and hear their reproaches.

In recent years co-operation-with-the-militia groups have been formed in many towns in the USSR on the initiative of the young people. Young factory and office workers, secondary school and college students have seen to the maintenance of order in public places. Though unarmed they have successfully stopped acts of rowdyism and helped in arresting criminals and in combating hard drinking. Their noble work has yielded excellent results.

That is why the Central Committee of the CPSU and Council of Ministers of the USSR have in the decision on participation by the working people in maintaining public order adopted last March fully approved the young people's initiative and given public organisations the right to establish people's voluntary public order squads.

The squads assist State agencies in safeguarding public property and the life, health and property of individuals. The rise of the people's squads has led to a considerable reduction in the militia force. And when you see how enthusiastically the Soviet people have set out to combat anti-social acts you have no doubt whatever that they will fully succeed in the task.

ON SOME JAINA IMAGES FROM BENGAL

By Prof. SHIB SANKAR SARKAR, M.A.

It was in the 6th century B.C. that we notice in India the emergence of two religious movements led by the *Kshatriyas*. In the early stages of the *Vedic* society the *Brahmanas* showed their aptitude for leading the religious field. But gradually their integrity weakend, slackness arose and they laid emphasis more



Stone miniature temple from Sat-Deulia, Burdwan (*C. 10-11 century A.D.*)

and more on the technicalities of different rituals and not on the eagerness to unveil the truth. This made the weaknesses of the *Brahmanas* apparent and inspired the *Kshatriyas* to effect a religious revolution. The *Kshatriyas* were the ruling class. War, conquest, defence, administration, arbitration in social disputes, etc.,—these were their responsibilities. In spite of all these, they were placed in the second grade in the field of religion. In society there was no scope for the *Kshatriyas* to establish their supremacy by disregarding the claims of the *Brahmanas*. Hence, the new religious movements were headed by the *Kshatriyas*. As a result of these movements originated the two new religions—religions of the *Kshatriyas*—Buddhism and Jainism. Buddhism because of its antagonistic policy to Hinduism ultimately disappeared from the land. But Jainism with its assimilating character and not altogether intolerent towards Hindu religious speculations survived. Thus the religion of the Jains is still alive with its past glory and vigour.

Really speaking, our knowledge of the Jaina community and Jainism of ancient Bengal is very meagre inasmuch as the materials at our disposal are not quite considerable.

The Ashutosh Museum of the University of Calcutta has collected some images of the Jaina Tirthankaras from certain parts of Bengal and preserved those in its public gallery. An attempt is going to be made in a short compass to throw some light on four such finds made recently by the Ashutosh Museum.

The first of these is an image of Adinatha, the first of the 24 Tirthankaras. He is also known as *Rishabhadeva*. This has been collected by Sri Mrinal Kanti Paul, a Research Scholar of the Museum, from Mayta in the district of Midnapore on the Silavati river. The image made of black stone is seen standing in *Kayotsarga* posture between two attendants holding fly-whisks. On the head of the figure is the Jata-mukuta and at a level with it are shown garland-bearing *Vidyadhara* couples flying amidst the conventional representation of the clouds. There are standing figures of four Tirthankaras, two on either side of the main image. The pedestal shows his *Lanchhana* or symbol, a bull. At the top, the head of the main figure is covered with a *chhatra*. The sculpture has been assigned to C. 10th century A.D. by the Museum experts.

The remaining three are the collections of Sri Sailendranath Samanta, a former student of the University from Sat-Deulia, three miles away from the Masagram Railway Station of the Burdwan District. Two of them are the broken figures of Jaina Tirthankaras whose proper identification is not possible due to the absence of their *Lanchhanas*. Among them one is assumed to be of Parsvanatha, belonging to C. 8th to C. 9th century A.D. The assumption is made from the existence of a standing figure of Ajitanatha on the left and two more figures on the right, one of Adinatha and the other of Mahavira. The head of the main figure of the image is covered with a *chhatra*. Regarding the other one we are not definite as to whose image it is. The image contains side figures but they are not of Tirthankaras, a fact which prevents us from making its proper identification. This image probably belongs to C. 9th to C. 10th century A.D. Both the figures are made of sandstone found abundantly in Hazaribagh, Manbhum, Gaya and Chhotanagpur districts of Bihar.

The last one of these three collections is the most important being a peculiar type of stone miniature temple, the four sides of which are curved with standing figures of four Jaina Tirthankaras. They are the images of Chandraprava, Rishabhadeva, Mahavira, and Parsvanatha. All of them are placed in the *Kayotsarga* posture. This miniature temple was constructed, the experts suggest, in the period between C. 10th and C. 11th century A.D. Some words are inscribed on it in proto-Bengali which have not yet been deciphered. The miniature temple bears a great similarity with the Rekhadeul type of temple architecture to be noticed in Orissa.

The discoveries of the image of Adinatha and the stone miniature temple from Mayta and Sat-Deulia, respectively, have no doubt, created a sensation among the scholars and added new materials for the construction of the history of the Jaina Community in Bengal. Prof. Devaprasad Ghosh, the Curator of the Ashutosh Museum, remarks: "The Jaina sculptures found in Deulia and Mayta indicate that the Northern and Southern Radha regions of Greater Bengal were once a stronghold of Jainism." Systematic excavations are expected to bring newer materials to enrich our knowledge of Jainas in Bengal and place us on a more solid foundation regarding their hold and activities in Ancient Bengal.



THE PRADO MUSEUM

By Prof. SUSNIGDHA DEY

The famous Prado Museum is the principal attraction of Madrid. Of course, the tourists often show more interest in the bull-fights than in the masterpieces of the art gallery. The same thing happens in Paris, where the Eiffel Tower casts its long shadows on the Louvre. Prado is smaller than Louvre and its sculputural works pale into insignificance when compared to the Paris museum or the works of Michelangelo in Florence. But it is one of the most notable art galleries as far as painting is concerned. With the inclusion of some representative painters of the last two centuries, Prado could have become the world's most famous collection of paintings. It has a brilliant collection of the seventeenth century paintings.

The Spanish word "Prado" means meadow. The museum is situated next to a fashionable promenade and a monumental avenue adorned by the fountains of Apollo, Neptune and Cybele. It covers an area of five hundred and thirty-five feet long and seventy feet broad and its three storeys contain a hundred rooms, not counting the restoration and photographic workshops, store-rooms and other offices.

Its Architecture

The architecture of the Prado Museum merits a close study. It was planned in 1785. The architect was Juan de Villanueva, and it is a work of noble appearance in the Neo-classical style. It was a time when everyone was tired of the oddness, the whimsicality, and the exaggerated ornamental decoration of the later Baroque art, as "psychological volumes" had replaced the material exploitation and the vigorous movements of Michelangelo degenerated into mere fantasies of Churriguera. In Spain, the baroque had become an overgrown tumour. Juan de Villanueva and Ventura Rodriguez helped to restore the way to idealism—ideal proportions. ideal harmony, in short, ideal beauty. They built some churches and some museums in Madrid and thus opened a new chapter in the history of architecture of Spain.

It is said that the bad monarch Fernando VII made one good act—he completed the Prado, which was first meant to house the Museum of Natural History. Villanueva, the architect who was entrusted with the work, was inspired by "El Escorial," the majestic monastery of Phillip II about thirty miles away from Madrid and one of the eight wonders of the world. But the Neo-classic architect was less severe, less rigid and less fond of a grand scale than the Renaissance master, Herrera.

The Columns

Prado presents a pleasant perspective. The central entrance—the main door—has the classic doric columns, six in number, rising from the ground in a graceful severity to dominate the building. The Corinthian columns adorn the southern side and yet another type of columns is there in the northern approach. The effect is of sobriety and variety. On entering from the northern side, we come across a round hall with columns, in the centre of which is a bronze statue of the Emperor Charles V, triumphing over all opposition. The dress, which is of the same metal, can be taken off the muscular Harcules-like body. In the "Rotunda," there are some paintings relating to the Thirty Years' War (1618-48), which have some historical importance but artistically do not contain much intrinsic worth.

The tiled roof and the alternate use of stone and brick in the construction remind us of the influence of Arabic art. The skylights are genuine innovations to solve the problem of light and create the sense of space.

3000 Paintings

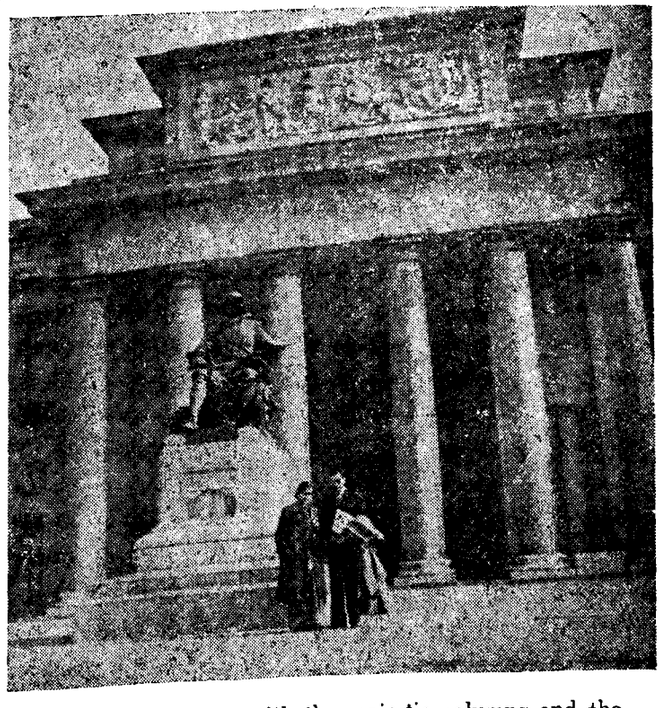
However, the visitors generally ignore the architectural value of the Museum, even though everyone meets with an aesthetic satisfaction. Before he begins to analyse this pleasure, he is completely lost among almost three thousand pictures. It is visited by well over a thousand visitors every day. The Spaniards are justly very proud of it and they are seen to crowd the halls along with the foreigners. Art is a popular subject in schools and colleges and the average Spaniard takes keen interest in the history and development of art, like the Italians. They can appreciate the different forms and styles because their religious belief has made them church-minded and the church not only patronised art but it is in itself an expression of art. It is a pity that in India we are not so much eager about the artistic tradition of our country and we hardly distinguish the structural values of the temples and shrines.

Foreign Masterpieces

There are many notable works by foreign masters in the Prado Museum. "The Three Graces" by Rubens, Tintoretto's "The Washing of the Feet" (Jesus washing St. Peter) and "Danae and the Shower of Gold" (the latter based on the mythological story of the seduction of Danae by the all-powerful Greek God, Zeus, in the form of a shower of gold) are not missed even by the casual visitor. Adjoining the "Rotunda," there are some very beautiful Flemish painting. "The Descent from the Cross" of Van Der Weyden marks an artistic improvement in the fifteenth century. The painter has taken the theme of piety. All the faces around the celestial body are pervaded with a spirit of innocence and holiness not marred by a sense of horror. The pleasing fresh colours, especially the blue and the red together with the folds of the clothes are remarkable. The golden colour has happily been discarded and the background church decoration successfully minimised. Above all, the theme and its treatment is of great effect. There is an atmosphere of sorrow which pervades the whole canvas and we can feel the mortal wound of the Saviour. A holy woman laments the death of Christ, the white figure that occupies the centre of the composition. Every person looks convincing and real for the individual expression of the face.

El Greco

El Greco was born on the island of Crete in 1541. He was formed in the studio of the Venetian painter Tintoretto and he also learnt from Tiziano and Veronese. His finest pictures were painted in Toledo, less than a hundred miles from Madrid, where he lived for the best part of



The main entrance with the majestic columns and the statue of Velasquez in the foreground

his life, and where the finest of his paintings can be seen today. He came to Toledo broken-hearted after the refusal of Phillip II to entrust him to paint for the monastery of El Escorial. Many of his works can be seen in the Prado. The portrait of "The Gentleman with his Hand on the Breast" has been painted with a characteristic elongated face. The eyes are impressive and the back of the palm—that of a nobleman—precise. The freshness of the colours in "The Crucifixion," as if painted the other day, was made possible by a special technique of preparing the colours. One aspect of Greco is his metaphysics. The arms of Jesus are very much like those of a human being but the face and the eyes are God's. The tenderness of the look is obvious because of the tears of the eyes. Moreover, the light is strange, divine and phosphorous. The Crucifixion of the Louvre is the work of the same artist and is a rare creation.

The Golden Age

The Spanish painting reached the zenith of its glory in the seventeenth century. Nature wins over whatever is false and theatrical. The composition becomes simple and the persons move about in the canvas as if in real life. The painters were remarkably original, they had studied the effect of light and the representation of space. The chiaroscuro heightened the religious ardour of Zurbaran and consequently, his saints appear vital and real.

Murillo

If Zurbaran painted about the saints and their lives, Murillo was a painter of childhood. Murillo never went out of Seville and Cadiz but his art was original in relation to the Spanish painting of his time. He was delicate and sentimental. The Madonnas have been painted with a softness of touch that makes them tender, innocent and sweet. They represent the chastity of a virgin and the love of a mother. One remembers the Madonna Del Cardellino of Raphael which is in the Uffizi, Florence. "The Children of the Conch-shell" is one of his most popular contribution. It is very pleasant with the little white lamb looking at the divine children.

Velazquez

Velazquez was a genius and like every genius, he had his own rules and the way of applying them in his paintings. He is very accurate and his three dimensional effect is marvellous. His "Monstrous Girl," "Mariana of Austria" or the "Count Baltasar" all stand in their frames as if alive. The art of portraiture was brought by him to its finest flowerings. "Las Meninas," the supreme achievement of Velazquez, is the most prized possession of the museum. Infanta Margarita is given a drink by one of the girls who accompany her, while Phillip IV and his queen watch from outside and they are reflected by a mirror. The painter himself is seen on one side of the canvas. Stevenson believed that the painting was unique and absolute in the history of art. The Frenchman Gautier came to see it at the time when it was kept in the Royal Palace. He enquired, "But, where is the painting?", because it appeared to him to be the continuation of the hall in which it was kept. It may seem to be exaggeration, but it is so natural that it appears to be an instantaneous photograph with the persons caught in surprise. There is a depth, a third dimension with the illusion of the persons maintaining their respective distances. Light and atmosphere are the protagonists of this painting in the same way as the human beings. It is said that when the painter finished the work, Phillip IV took the brush from the painter's hand and painted the Red Cross of Santiago on the breast of Velazquez. In the "Tapestry Weavers" and the "Surrender of Breda," we find the truth of colour and the exactness of perspective, the culmination of which has been noticed in the "Las Meninas."

Goya

Francisco de Goya y Lucientes came at a time when it was a dark period for art in Spain. He can be said to be a real hero in the way Carlyle meant it. He was the supreme interpreter of Spain, he rendered in painting all that he found as the national charateristics, great or small, ostentatious or miserable of the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries. He was commissioned to paint cartoons for tapestries but he rebelled against the restraint imposed by the cartoons. Later, he painted portraits and scenes of contemporary life with a brilliant and sometimes cynical realism. His sketches show his dynamic personality in an extraordinary way. There are some sketches of the bull-fights.

"The Family of Charles IV" is a sincere interpretation of the Spanish Royal Family in which the Queen appears as proud and ugly, as in reality she was. A terrible realism almost sarcastic is pronounced in the picture. The colours are juxtaposed in a violent manner, similar to that of impressionism. The consistent psychology of the Bourbons painted here is only comparable to the intelligent distribution of the figures and everything is subordinated to the value of the colours, to the silver gray and to the intense red of the trousers of the Infant, Don Francisco. It was more than that; it was the last note of tranquillity before the War of Spanish Independence tore the country and the mind of the painter. His next important painting was that of the tragic events of the 2nd. of May, which led to the merciless execution of some rebellious Spaniards by the soldiers of Napoleon. The rendering is dramatic. In the centre of the canvas one of the condemned is raising both his hands with a queer gesture of fright and heroism. Pictorially, it has elements of impressionism but the anguish has come through expressionism.

The Naked "Maja"

Apart from the popularity of the two Majas—the nude and the dressed—they do not register a progressive scale in the art of Goya. The "Beauty Clothed" is a person of tapestry reclining gracefully; the "Nude Beauty" is the symbol of the artist's total aversion to everything academic. It is alleged that the Duchess of Alva served as a model of the nude, but it is unlikely because at the time when it was painted, the Duchess was 40 years old whereas the nude figure is that of a very young woman. Although Goya made some of her portraits, yet the Duchess never fell in love with Goya. On the other hand, the widow of Alva ignored the advances made by him. Hence, the recent American film, "The Naked Maja" is a monstrosity.

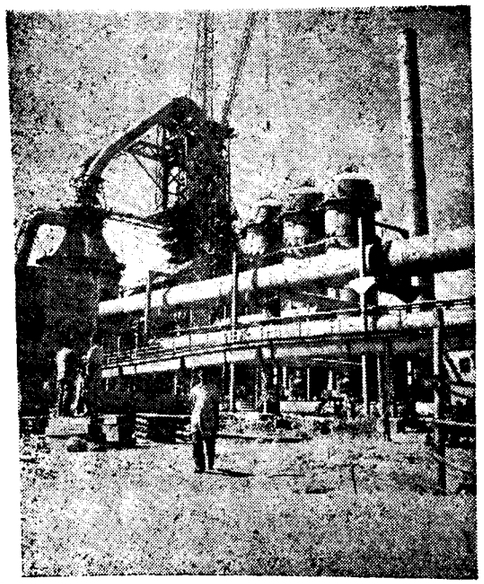
The Prado Museum does not offer very much after Goya. But what it has, is a real treasure of art.



GIGANTIC EFFORT IN BHILAI STEEL PROJECT

By AMMU KRISHNASWAMY

SEVENTEEN months ago' said Chief Engineer Dhani, 'we started to build at this spot; next month we shall fire our first blast furnace.' What this means in terms of efforts, planning, men and materials can be understood only when one sees for miles around cranes, pumps, rail-roads, chimney, funnels, spectral roofings edging the horizon and caterpillars, trucks, jeeps all moving in feverish haste oblivious of everything other than their own mission. You came by that road, yet when you return you find that trenches have been dug right through and you have to find some other road out. Yes, Bhilai is at its very height of activity and that is the pace. January 26, 1959, and the blast furnace:· Everyone is thinking of these two targets—and the rate at which the scenery is changing and shifting indicates that they are surely going to make it.



A general view of the Blast Furnace at Rourkela

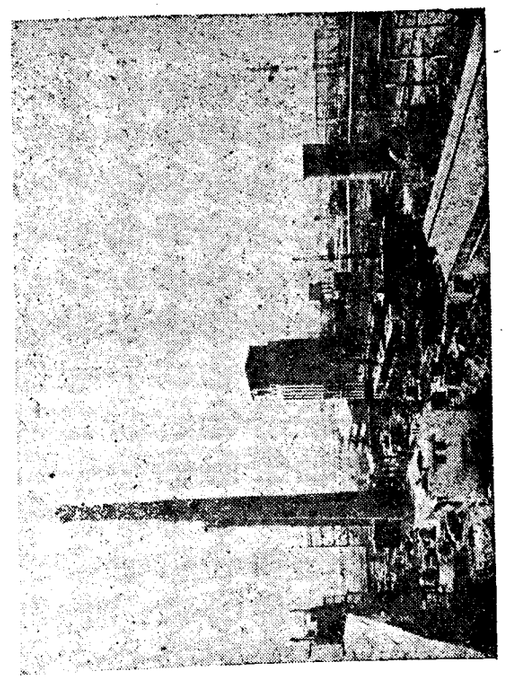
There are 60,000 people, labour, officers, engineers, masons and supervisors working round the clock. Bhilai is a joint Indo-Soviet venture. What are we getting from the Soviet Union? First of all the entire blue print of the scheme, drawings (about 65,000) of working parts, etc. Then there is the supply of the main plant and equipment, technical supervision of the construction, and erection of the plant; assistance in training Indian personnel in the USSR, which is also guaranteeing the performance of the plant and the machinery supplied.

In Rourkela and Durgapur which are being constructed with assistance from Germany and the United Kingdom, every bit of equipment down to the last nail is being brought from these two countries, and assembled here under the direct supervision of their own technicians. This certainly has its advantages. The technicians are familiar with their equipment and can with comparative ease set up the works. In Bhilai the civil engineering in the main plant has been given to Indian firms. Ancillary work is carried out by smaller contractors. The structural steel framework has also been entrusted to Indian firms. The erection will be made by Indian engineers with the assistance of their Soviet counterparts. At the moment there are 110 experts loaned to India from the Soviet Ministry of Iron and Steel. As against this figure, the number of Indian engineers gazetted and non-gazetted is 600.

I was in the office room of the engineer-in-charge of the rolling mills. The room was bare to the point of austerity, even the ceiling was just a couple of sheets of bamboo matting. It was a meeting of some of the top engineers, Indian and Russian. Suddenly a young man ushered himself in: 'Sir, we have completed the mud matting. On an auspicious day and time we would like you to start the next process. Please look up the panchang and let us know when you will come.' 'My dear young boy,' said Dhani, 'now is the time, this very minute. You start straight away the next process. And note it will be you and not I who will start it.' A hop, stop and jump, he was out of the room. 'I have the finest set of boys to work with. The average age of Bhilai's



Welders at work on a massive pipe which forms part of the huge plant which is being set up at Rourkela



A general view of the Coke Oven at Bhilai



Soviet and Indian engineers discussing the day's schedule of work

engineers is twenty-five. It is these young men who are constructing Bhilai. Every piece of work is a dedication in their opinion. That is why they want a kind of prayer or ceremony but we've no time for it.'

Yet Bhilai is not without its ceremonies. A small function was the starting of the coke oven. The auspicious five metals, gold, silver, copper, iron and lead were to be thrown into the coke oven before lighting it. At the last moment, 'Wait, let me see the rupee,' said the Soviet chief engineer, 'it is all right, I only wanted to make sure it did not have a foreign face. This is free India and only your own coin will bring you luck.'

Opposites meet in Bhilai. There are people with energy, drive and vision, and there are 'dumb driven cattle.' There are the educated and the country bumpkins. But as the evening falls and myriads of lights go up (eighteen months back there were hardly two or three) and the night shift starts its work, I remember young Das Gupta's words, 'We've learnt to do it. We can build the next steel plant ourselves.' Yes, that is the real achievement in Bhilai.

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THE HAWAIIAN ISLANDS

Where Many Races Blend

Hawaii has been described as a "showcase of democracy" where people from many countries have built a vigorous, progressive community now ready for full-fledged statehood.

A United States territory from 1900 to 1959, when it was admitted to the Union as the 50th state, Hawaii has been a land of economic opportunity for those seeking a better life. This "melting pot of the Pacific" is regarded by social scientists as a proving ground for the basic principles of democratic living.

Honolulu, capital of Hawaii, is a cosmolitan city where racial lines have fused thoroughly. It resembles many cities on the U.S. mainland except for its tropical setting of palm trees, vivid flowers and neighboring beaches. A spirit of international brotherhood prevails throughout the islands with little friction among inhabitants despite the wide diversity of their ethnic bacgrounds.

The territory spreads over 20 islands with seven of the eight major ones inhabited. Located in the mid-Pacific approximately 2,000 nautical miles (3,700 kilometers) southwest of San Francisco, Hawaii also includes countless atolls and reefs thrust from the sea floor aeons ago by volcanic action.

The island people had been friendly with Americans when they were a monarchy ruled by Hawaiian royalty. Many Protestant missionaries were welcomed after the first contingent arrived in 1820 and some served in responsible positions under the Hawaiian rulers. Their descendants were among the pioneers who started the plantation system for expansive cultivation of sugar and pineapple.

The Republic of Hawaii petitioned the United States to be annexed as a possession, a request which was granted in 1898, and two years later the islands achieved formal status as a territory of the United States.

The story of Hawaii's development as a laboratory in human relations dates back to the early 1850's when the plantations transformed the island economy. At that time, there was an estimated population of 84,000. All but 2,000 were Hawaiians descended from migratory Polynesians who had settled there many centuries before British Captain James Cook discovered the islands in 1778.

To staff the plantations the planters had to seek workers from many countries and first to answer the call were immigrants from China. Soon they were followed by wave after wave of laborers from East and West.

Dr. Andrew W. Lind, noted social scientist of the University of Hawaii, has estimated that during the ensuing century approximately 180,000 Japanese, more than 125,000 Filipinos, 46,000 Chinese, 17,500 Portuguese, 8,000 Koreans, 6,000 Puerto Ricans, 8,000 Spaniards, 1,300 Germans, 2,500 from other Pacific Islands and 2,000 Russians migrated to Hawaii as laborers.

The Chinese were the dominant source of labor supply during the last half of the 19th century, the largest groups arriving between 1876 and 1885 and between 1890 and 1897.

Then came the Portuguese who landed mainly between 1878 and 1887. They helped raise Hawaii's declining population because they brought more women than the Chinese to rear families, build homes and remain as permanent settlers. Portuguese immigration continued during the nineties and the first two decades of the 20th century with approximately one quarter of their total immigration recorded between 1906 and 1913.



A group of pupils in their open-air classroom at Epiphany Day School in Honolulu

After the signing of a convention between Japan and Hawaii in 1886, Japanese workers migrated to the islands in large numbers. By 1900 the Japanese population had reached a total of 61,000 and in 1920 at their peak, they constituted 42.7 per cent of the total Hawaiian population.

Several of the smaller ethnic groups came in the decade after annexation to the United States. Nearly 6,000 Puerto Ricans arrived, mainly in 1901, and approximately 8,000 Koreans came in 1904 and 1905. An equal number of Spaniards were recruited from 1907 to 1913. The Puerto Ricans remained to establish families within the territory and although initially the smallest of these three immigrant groups, they now have the largest population.

Last of the major ethnic groups to enter the territory were the Filipinos, nearly 120,000 of whom came in to work on the plantations between 1907 and 1931. A supplementary group of 6,000 male workers and approximately 1,400 women and children, that followed in 1946, relieved the plantation labor shortage created by World War II.

In the early years of immigration, differences in language, food habits, dress and religion were readily apparent among the newcomers. Groups were known by their own cultural or national origins as long as they continued to observe habits that distinguished them from the rest of the population.

These distinctions began to break down as the immigrant workers married Hawaiian women who were not prejudiced against foreigners. As intermarriage increased steadily, the pure Hawaiian population continued to dwindle and is relatively small today.

There was a tendency for laborers to leave manual work after a generation on the land. Many moved to Honolulu and other cities in the islands. While all recently arrived immigrant groups usually form separate communities in large metropolitan centers, Honolulu was different in that the races fused rapidly with each other. The barriers between the racial communities are less distinct than in most U.S. mainland communities and the meager lines that do exist tend to disappear faster in the Hawaiian capital.

As immigrants improved their econo-

mic status in the cities through hard work and thrift, their children urged them to adopt American standards of living. Many moved to better residential areas, either with other members of their own ethnic group or into a cosmopolitan section.

Children born in Hawaii automatically become American citizens and are educated in the non-segregated public schools and at the University of Hawaii.



A tropical agricultural expert at the University of Hawaii is seen (*right*) working at the University with a soil specialist

Concentrated in the island cities and towns are members of the rising middle class composed of many ethnic groups. For these people, as for the majority of all the immigrants, the islands have been a land of advancement. Hawaii's development as a trading center has brought economic wealth to the islands so that the expanded population has found ample means of livelihood within the territory.

During the last quarter of a century, increased mechanization on the plantations has resulted in major changes that require skilled personnel to handle machinery. This development has led children of immigrant laborers to regard plantation work more favorably. Hawaii now produces more than a million tons of raw sugar annually and nearly three-fourths of the world supply of pineapples.

Hawaii's claim to distinction as a laboratory of race relations has been based partly on the apparent ease with which peoples of sharply contrasted backgrounds have crossed racial lines in marriage. Accurate statistics for most of the period since 1912 give a clear account of the slow but steady process by which many races are discarding their separate identities to unify as one race.



Herbert K. Lee, President of the Territorial Senate, speaks at a ceremony celebrating U. S. Congressional acceptance of Hawaii as the 50th State

In a study by the late Romanzo Adams tabulating populations for the racial classification it was shown that 13 per cent of the marriages in 1912-13 were interracial. During the period of World War II marriages across the same racial classification constituted 38.5 per cent. Of 10,316 persons married in 1956, 35 per cent chose a wife or husband of a different race.

In Hawaii today, the majority of the 570,000 civilian citizens are of Asian descent with the Japanese, the largest single racial group, making up approximately 35 per cent of the population. Other sizable percentages are reported for the Chinese, Filipinos and part-Hawaiians. Caucasians of European and American descent compose between 20 and 25 per cent of the population.

Chinese as well as Japanese are taking an increasingly influential role in island politics and the territorial legislature although there is little evidence of bloc voting along racial lines in Hawaii. They have won respected positions in other phases of island life including the professions, the arts and in the business community. They have also become leaders on the county boards of supervisors and in the field of education.

Among these who have advanced to distinguished positions is Daniel H. Liu, chief of the Honolulu Police Department and one of Hawaii's most respected citizens. This official of Chinese extraction has achieved international recognition for his work in development of an outstanding law enforcement agency.

Herbert K. Lee, also of Chinese extraction, is president of the Territorial Senate, having succeeded another Chinese, William H. Heen, in 1958. Associate Justice Masaji Marumoto, of Japanese ancestry and long one of Honolulu's prominent attorneys, is a judge of the Territorial Supreme Court.

Dr. Lind, who has noted the great progress made in integration of races in Hawaii, has expressed the opinion that the ultimate test of the social and spiritual fusion of diverse peoples is their loss of any sense of significant differences.

Dr. Lind concludes: "When Chinese, Haoles (Caucasians), Hawaiians, Jepanese and Puerto Ricans can carry on together the activities of life that matter to all without an awareness that they are Chinese, Haoles, Hawaiians, Japanese or Puerto Ricans, one would say that the process of assimilation was complete."—*USIS*.

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THE MARCH OF PROGRESS IN EDUCATION

From Goldcoast to Ghana

By W. E. F. WARD,
Former Master of Achimota College, Gold Coast

The real foundations of education in the land which becomes Ghana on March 6, were laid by Christian Missionaries in the 19th century. The Basel Mission especially did excellent work in establishing primary boarding schools with a tradition of sound technical education as well as book learning.

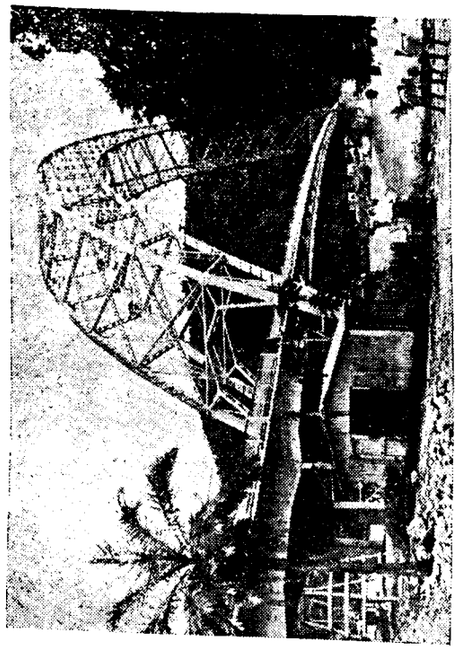
The first secondary school was founded by the Methodist Mission in 1876, and 65 children were receiving Secondary Education in 1902. The Gold Coast Government passed its first Education Ordinance in 1882, established its Department of Education in 1890, built its first Government Primary Schools in 1900, and in 1909 established the first technical school and the first training college for teachers.

To Raise Efficiency

At the beginning of this century there were about 15,000 children attending school, and by the end of the First World War the number had risen to about 35,000.

Education, like so much else in the Gold Coast, owes a great deal to Sir Gordon Guggisberg, Governor from 1919 to 1927. His Education Ordinance of 1925 was designed to raise the efficiency of the schools. All qualified teachers was registered, and no unregistered teacher was allowed to teach. The Board of Education was empowered to fix minimum salary rates for teachers, and it laid down schedules of class-room space, attendance, teachers' qualifications, curriculum and so forth which would qualify a school for Government assistance.

The Ordinance was very successful in bringing about a rapid increase in the numbers of schools attaining the prescribed standards of efficiency. Within four years, Government's recurrent expenditure on education jumped from 4 to 10 per cent of its total recurrent expenditure.



The first bridge ever to span the River Volta, at Adomi, links the Gold Coast with Togoland



The children of eleven nationalities attend the first International School of the Gold Coast



Election day in the Gold Coast, February, 1951

Period of Consolidation

There was no great corresponding increase in the enrolment. Between 1925 and 1935 the enrolment remained fairly steady at about 50,000. This enabled the quality of the Primary Schools to rise very much; the original Government Teacher Training College was supplemented by several denominational training colleges.

Guggisberg's other main achievement in education was the founding of Achimota College. By this time the Gold Coast had several secondary schools, but all of them were short of money and were consequently inadequately staffed and equipped. Guggisberg planned something more ambitious. Though a Government College, Achimota—founded in 1924—was independent of the Government's Education Department. The Principal selected his own staff, instead of having them selected for him by the Colonial Office. The college was co-educational and entirely residential and it had infant and primary departments as well as secondary.

By 1939 Achimota had 750 pupils and a staff of 60 graduates; it took its students as far as London Intermediate Arts and Science, and gave full London degree courses in civil and mechanical engineering.

The Inevitable Expansion

By the beginning of the Second World War there were about 3,000 pupils receiving post-primary education, including students in teacher training colleges. After 1935 there began the inevitable expansion in the demand for education; the school population rose from 50,000 in 1935 to 180,000 in 1945 and over 300,000 in 1951. In that year, Mr. Kojo Botsio, Minister for Education in Dr. Nkrumah's new Government, introduced a plan for making primary education free and compulsory. The plan is now being progressively carried out; it has involved the provision of many new teacher training colleges and a large scheme of emergency in-service training. School attendance rose from over 300,000 in 1951 to over 500,000 in 1955.

In 1948 the University College of the Gold Coast was opened, and three years later a sister institution, the Kumasi College of Technology was founded. Both institutions were established with the assistance of grants made by Britain under the Colonial Development and Welfare Acts, but the greatest part of the cost was provided from Gold Coast funds.

Academic Standards

The University College has been admitted into a special relationship with London University: its students sit for London degrees, but its syllabi are laid down and its examinations conducted by staff in London and in the Gold Coost acting together. This arrangement ensures that academic standards are maintained but that syllabi are adapted to local needs.

The problem of adapting syllabi to local needs affects the secondary schools also. It is a simple matter to use African plants and animals in biology, less simple to work out satisfactory syllabi in African languages, history, and arts, and to adapt the whole curriculum to the needs of an African nation.

Since external examinations have such an influence on the work in the secondary schools, a joint scheme has been set up to supervise the examinations. The Gold Coast is a member of the West African Schools Examination Council, on which African representatives sit with colleagues from London and Cambridge to adapt the School Certificate and General Certificate of Education examinations to local needs without lowering their academic standards.

In 1955, there were nearly 8,000 pupils in secondary schools, and there is a flourishing adult education movement run by the People's Education Association and the extra-mural department of the University College.

MANGO—THE KING OF FRUITS

In nature's bountiful basket, the mango—the king of fruits—unquestionably takes pride of place. Prized for its taste and exceedingly refreshing qualities, it also has high food value, and is particularly rich in vitamins A and C.

In India, the mango has been cultivated for about 4,000 years; and, by centuries of selection, cross pollination, genemutation and bud sports, the fruit, which was once wild and smelt tow and turpentine, has been nurtured into a thousand varieties and transformed into a sweet delicious fruit, "the wholesomest and best tasted of any fruit on earth."



Judges at a mango show testing different varieties of mangoes

The mango is the most important commercial fruit crop of India, occupying 14.5 lakh acres which is 60 per cent of the total area under fruits. Found all over the country, from Cape Comorin to the Himalayas and from the Punjab to Assam, its cultivation is most marked along the foot of the Himalayas and in the coastal regions. Uttar Pradesh with 5.38 lakh acres under mango trees is the biggest producer, followed by Bihar and West Bengal. Punjab boasts of a mango tree in Burail village, near Chandigarh, which has a girth of 32 feet and branches 5 to 12 feet in circumference and 70 to 80 feet long. The crown of the tree spreads over an area of 2,700 sq. yds. yielding an average of 450 maunds of fruit.

Popular Varieties

Among the several hundred varieties grown in the country are popular desert mangoes, such as Alphonse and Pairi of Bombay; Farrandin and Mankurud of Goa; Langra; Lucknow Safeda, Safeda number one, Dasheri, Khajri, Samar Bahesht, Chausa, Malda and Fazli of Uttar Pradesh, Himauddin and Alampur Banishah of South India; and Bombai Zardalu and Sepia of Bihar.

Delhi is a clearing centre for the mango trade, daily receiving on an average 100 trucks each with a cargo of 150 maunds. The metropolis itself consumes about 2,000 maunds of mangoes per day; at the peak of the season, daily sales go up to 3,000 maunds.

Many Uses

The mango is put to a variety of uses in India. When green it is used in curries, pickles, preserves and chutnies. When ripe it is a delicious table fruit. The mango kernel is a rich source of carbohydrate, fat and minerals. Its content of fat and calcium is higher than that of rice, wheat, maize or barley.

As the mango season lasts only a few months, ripe mango slices and pulp are preserved for use during the off-season. They can also be canned in a variety of ways. Mango squash is an excellent beverage and is also used for flavouring ice-cream.

The Second Five-Year Plan provides Rs. 105 lakhs for the development of the fruit preservation industry. Of this, Rs. 55 lakhs have been earmarked for financial assistance in the form of loans for the establishment of 5 large-scale and 200 small-scale manufacturing units. It is proposed to increase the average annual production of fruit products from 23,000 tons in 1955-56 to 50,000 tons in 1960-61.

India can boast of superfine varieties of mangoes and the vegetative propagation, started 400 years ago, has helped in the preservation of these varieties. Besides, horticulturists engaged in the improvement of this fruit have already done considerable work in evolving desirable varieties using the technique of breeding. The future of this important fruit is undoubtedly bright, but it is necessary that the number of varieties are restricted to a few dependable croppers which have the greatest market value and the largest demand instead of making our orchards a veritable plant museum of little economic importance.—*PIB*

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INDIAN WOMANHOOD



Kumari Kajal Palit daughter of Shri Sunil Chandra Palit I.A.S. (Retd.) is the only candidate who got First Class in M.A. in Sanskrit of the Utkal University in 1959. She is also the only candidate who got First Class in B.A. Sanskrit Honours in 1957 and got distinction in other subjects. She had stood 2nd in the I.A. examination of the Utkal University in 1955. She is also proficient in music and has passed four examinations in music of the Gandharba Maha Vidyalaya Mandal of Poona, and is now preparing for the final examination in order to get the title of Sangeet Visharad.



POPULATION OF ARABIA AT THE DEATH OF MUHAMMAD

A Rough Estimate

By JATINDRA MOHAN DATTA, M.Sc., B.L., F.R.S.S. (London)

The Roman Empire at its greatest extent under Trajan covered some 2,500,000 square miles. The Arab Empire under the Ommayid Caliphs of Damascus stretched from Spain to Sind in India, and to the Oxus and the borders of the Chinese Turkesthan. It was twice as large as the Roman Empire had ever been. All this was the work of the Arabs within a century of the death of Muhammad.

In this note we shall try to estimate the population of Arabia at the death of Muhammad. The data are scanty; and the various assumptions which we have made, which though qualitatively true or very near the truth, are incapable of verification. Our estimate, therefore, reduces itself to a rough guess, which we think is correct within 20 per cent of the truth.

Muhammad died on Monday the 8th June, 632 A.D. (11 A.H.). At the time of his death he was preparing for an expedition to Syria under Osama. It was a comparatively small expedition.

Abu Beker succeeded him as the first Caliph. "In the twelfth year of the Hegira, the following summons was sent by Abu Beker to the Chiefs of Arabia Petrea and Arabia Felix:

"In the name of the Most Merciful God! Abdallah Athek Ibn Abu Kahafa to all true believers, health and happiness, and the blessings of God. Praise be to God, and to Mahomet his prophet! This is to inform you that I intend to send an army of the faithful into Syria, to deliver that country from the infidels, and I remind you that to fight for the true faith is to obey God!"

"There needed no further inducement to bring to his standard every Arab that owned a horse or a camel, or could wield a lance. Every day brought some Sheikh to Medina at the head of the fighting men of his tribe, and before long the fields around the city were studded with encampments."—Irving: *Successors of Mahomet*, p. 10.

The army thus collected was divided into two main groups: a smaller one to invade Irak under Khaled. It was ten thousand strong (*Ibid*, p. 13). The main army to invade Syria after some preliminary fighting numbered 37,000 strong (p. 20). Before the siege of Damascus it numbered 40,000 including 1,500 horses under Khaled drawn from the Irak army.

The total is thus some 50,000 fighting men. Besides an army must have been left at Medina to secure communications, check possible hostile demonstrations from the recently-quelled tribesmen and enemies of Islam, supply reinforcements to Syria and Irak at short notice and to suppress internal commotions. But it was the policy of the early Caliphs not to maintain too many men at home; they relied upon the citizens. However we allow 1,000 men for such forces at home.

When threatened with an invasion from the Roman Emperor in 630 A.D., Muhammad assembled an army. "All his adherents and allies, the inhabitants of Mecca as well as the Bedwai tribes received from Muhammad an urgent call to join the army. But the Arabs of the desert, even loose and fickle in their loyalty, and even the citizens of Medina, showed little alacrity in obeying the command. Anticipated hardships of the journey, long-continued drought and over-powering heat, and perhaps memory of the Roman phalanx at Muta, made them loth to quit the ease and shelter of their homes. Multitudes pleaded inability and other frivolous excuses. The plea was generally accepted when tendered with colourable ground by the men of Medina; for Mohammad, conscious of the debt he owed to their city, always treated them with tenderness But coming from the Bedwai it was altogether disallowed.

"On the other hand, extraordinary eagerness pervaded the ranks of loyal and earnest Muslims. Tithes and free-will offerings poured in from every quarter, while the leading companions vied with one another in the costliness of their gifts. The contribution of Othman surpassed all others, and amounted to a thousand golden pieces. From these sources carriage and supplies were provided for the poorer soldiers; but they did not suffice for all who longed to share in the merit, haply also in the spoils of the campaign. A party for whom, after every effort, Mohammed could make no provision, retired in tears, and their names are embalmed in tradition, under the title of *The Weepers*."—Muir: *Life of Mohammad*, p. 440.

The number of men left behind, *i.e.*, those who could not be properly equipped, were however very small. According to Al-Beidwai they were seven men of the Ansars, who came to Mohammad and begged he would give them some patched boots and soled shoes, it being impossible for them to march so far on bare-foot in hot season; but he told them he could not supply them; whereupon they went away weeping. It may be observed that the numbers *seven, seventy* and *seven hundred* are frequently used by oriental writers to signify not so many precisely, but only an indefinite number, either greater or less.

"The army was probably the largest force ever before put in motion in Arabia. Its numbers are given, though probably with some exaggeration, at 30,000, of whom no less than 10,000 were cavalry."—Muir: *Life of Mohammad*, p. 441.

Almost the entire Arabian Peninsula submitted to Mohammad by the end of A.H. 9 and the beginning of A.H. 10. But there were revolts against him and Islam even before the Prophet's death. There were also pockets of Christians, as at Nejran and at Ayla, and some tribes of Christians, *e.g.*, the Beni Taghlib. There were also the Jews in isolated groups in different parts of Arabia.

In the latter days of Mohammad, and after his death, considerable numbers of the Arabs quitted his religion, and returned to Paganism, Judaism, or Christianity. Al-Beidwai reckons them up in the following order:

(1) Three companies of Banu Modlaj, seduced by Al Aswad al Ansi, who set up for a prophet in Yemen, and grew very powerful there.

(2) Beni Honeifa who followed the famous false prophet Moseilama.

(3) Beni Asad who acknowledged Foleiha Ibn Khowailed, another pretender to revelation for their prophet. All these fell off in Muhammad's life-time. The following, except the last, apostatized in the caliphate of Abu Beker.

(4) Certain of the tribe of Fezarah, headed by Oyeyma ibn Hosein.

(5) Some of the tribe of Ghatfan, whose leader was Korrah ibn Salma.

(6) Beni Soleim who followed Al Fajaah ibn Abd Yall.

(7) Beni Yarbu whose captain was Malec ibn Noweirah ibn Kais.

(8) Part of the tribe of Tamim, the proselytes of Sajaj, the daughter of Al Mondhar, who gave herself out as a prophetess.

(9) The tribe of Kendah led by Al Ashath ibn Kais.

(10) Banu Beer ibn al Wayel, in the province of Bahrein, headed by Al Hotam ibn Zeid.

And (11) Some of the tribe of Ghassan, who with their Prince Jabalah ibn al Ayham, renounced Islam in the time of Omar, and returned to their former profession of Christianity.

By the beginning of 11 A.H. the greater part of Arabia acknowledged Muhammad's authority. "The loose autonomy of the Arab tribes made it easy for Mohammed to assert his suzerainty without interfering in their internal affairs. In the more distant provinces, also, the prerogative was vague, and as yet put to no sufficient test. Still, there was, almost everywhere, the outward form of submission to all that had been demanded."—Muir: *Life of Mohammad*, p. 476.

"But a new cause of danger began suddenly to darken the horizon. Three claimants of the prophetic office arose, in different quarters of Arabia, to dispute with Mohammad the supreme authority."—*Ibid*. 476.

These three were: (1) Toleiha of Nejd; (2) Al-Aswad of Yemen; and (3) Moseilama

of Al-Yamama. They have been mentioned above in paragraph 9.

The least important of the three impostors was Toleiha, Chief of the Beni Asad, and a warrior of note and influence in Nejd. The Beni Asad, a powerful tribe, ranged over an extensive territory in the central desert. In 625 A.D. they tried to raid Medina.

The Prophet sought by aid of faithful converts in the tribe to crush the pretender. Subsequent to his death he broke out into open rebellion, and was defeated, after a severe engagement, by Khalid. On Omar's summoning the conquered tribe to join his standard, Toleira submitted, and afterwards with them fought bravely on the side of Islam.

Al-Aswad, the veiled prophet, of the Yemen was originally an idolator, then a convert to Islamism from which he apostatised to set up for a prophet, and establish a religion of his own. His schemes, for a time, were crowned with great success, which shows how unsettled the Arabs were in those days in matters of religion, and how ready to adopt any new faith. "Advancing on Nejran, which rose in his favour, he suddenly fell upon *Sana*, where, having killed *Shehr*, the son of Badhan, he put his army to flight, married his widow, and established himself in undisputed authority. The insurrection, fanned by this sudden success, spread like wildfire, and the greater part of the Peninsula lying between the provinces of Al-Bahrein, Al-Taif, and the coast, was soon subject to the Usurper.".—Muir, p. 479.

Al-Aswad was murdered. His career of power began, and was terminated within the space of four months. The people, easy of faith, resumed Islamism with as much facility as they had abandoned it. "The insurrection ceased; and peace would immediately have been restored had not the tidings that the prophet had passed away again thrown the province into confusion." After much compaigning peace was restored in the Caliphate of Abu Beker.

Mosleima, the other imposter, was an Arab of the tribe of Honeifa, and ruled over the city and province of Yamama, situated between the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf. In 9 A.H. he had come to Mecca at the head of his tribe, and had made profession of faith between the hands of Mahomet; but, on returning to his own country, had proclaimed that God had given him likewise with prophecy, and appointed him to aid Mahomet in converting the human race. To this effect he likewise wrote a Koran, which he gave forth as a volume of inspired truth.

Being a man of influence and address, he soon made hosts of converts among his credulous countrymen. Rendered confident by success, he wrote to Mahomet: "Let us make a partition of the world, and let half be thine and half be mine."

Mahomet died soon afterwards; and he was unpunished. In 11 A.H. he was punished during the Caliphate of Abu Beker by Khaled. In the meantime he had greatly inreased the number of his proselytes and adherents. Khaled attacked him with 4,500 men and at the battle of Akreba 1,200 Muslims were killed; but Mosleima was overthrown and killed, and ten thousand of his soldiers cut to pieces.

Besides the above three imposters, there were rebellions against Abu Beker elsewhere. "Many of the Arabian tribes had been converted by the sword, and it needed the combined terrors of a conqueror and a prophet to maintain them in allegiance to the faith. On the death of Mahomet, they spurned the authority of his successor, and refused to pay the *Zacat*, or religious contributions of tribute, tithes and alms. The signal of revolt flew from tribe to tribe until the Islam Empire suddenly shrunk to the cities of Mecca, Medina and Tayef."—Irving: *Successors of Mahomet*, p. 6.

The rebels under the leadership of Malec Ibn Nowirah advanced upon Medina itself. Khaled overcame them in a pitched battle, and killed 4,000 of them. "He overran their country, giving his soldiery permission to seize upon the flocks and herds of the vanquished, and make slaves of their children"—(*Ibid*, p. 6).

Malec was captured and killed.

As stated before, other tribes also rebelled; and were subdued. The territories occupied by these tribes spread all over the Central and Southern Arabia. How lightly the faith of Islam bound the Bedouin tribesmen of the seventh century may be gathered from the following short extract from Sir Richard Burton's *Pilgrimage to al-Madinah and Mecca*, Vol. II, p. 109:

"Mohammed and his followers conquered only the more civilised Badawain; and there is even to this day little or no religion amongst the wild people, except those on the coast or in the vicinity of cities. The faith of the Badawai come from Al-Islam, whose hold is weak. But his customs and institutions, the growth of his climate, his nature, and his wants, are still those of his ancestors, cherished ere Mecca had sent forth a Prophet, and likely to survive . . . . . Of this nature are the Hijazi's pagan oaths, his heathenish names (few being Moslem except 'Mohammed'), his ordeal of licking red-hot iron, his salkh, or scarification,—proof of manliness,—his blood revenge, and his eating carrion (*i.e.*, the body of an animal killed without the usual formula), and his lending his wives to strangers. All these I hold to be remnants of some old creed; nor should I despair of finding among the Badwin bordering upon the Great Desert some lingering system of idolatry."

Sir Richard's book was first published in 1855. Twelve centuries of Islam have affected the desert Bedouin very little. It was not zeal for religion, but love of spoils of war which was the main motive for joining the army of Abu Beker.

Tribesmen, who had rebelled so seriously and who fought with the forces of the Caliph so seriously, and as a consequence had been punished so severely—more than 14,000 of their fighting strength being killed and slaughtered, and their wives and children enslaved, are not likely to furnish any volunteer contingents to the army of the Caliph, more especially as Islam was sitting lightly upon them. Further their fighting strength was greatly exhausted by recent fighting and consequent slaughter.

On the other hand there was great zeal among the followers of Islam, enhanced by the love of booty. They have not as yet tasted of the rich booties of the Byzantine Empire and Persia. But they had sufficient foretaste of booties in the several warfare with tribesmen and others.

The present (1950) distribution of population in the several parts of Arabia, according to the United Nations Demographic Year Book 1952 is as follows:

	Population in 000's	Percentage of the total	Density per sq. kilometer
Bahrain*	110	0.9	183
Kuwait	170	1.4	8
Muscat & Oman	550	4.5	3
Qatar	17	0.15	1
Saudi Arabia	6,000	49.3	3
Trucial Oman	76	0.6	5
Yemen	4,500	37.0	23
Aden*	700	0.8	..
Aden (Protectorate)	650	5.3	2
Total	12,173	100.0	

The area of the Hejaj is generally estimated at 288,000 sq. kilometer; and the population one-fourth of Saudi Arabia. Its density per sq. kilometer works out to a little over 5. The density of the rest of Saudi Arabia, Nejd, is, therefore, 2.4 per sq. kilometer.

Saudi Arabia includes both the Hejaj and the Province of Nejd. The cities of Macca and Medina and the ports of Jedda and Yambu are included in the Hejaj. The proportionate distribution of population between the Hejaj and Nejd is generally taken as 1 : 3.

Burckhardt and other European travellers have noticed the same nomadic tribes to inhabit the same regions as at the time of Muhammad. In their habits and customs the Arabs are almost changeless.

We may therefore assume that at the death of Muhammad the proportion of population in the different parts of Arabia was much the same as at present, except that Yemen with its agricultural resources and agricultural civilisation, and Aden under British protection have progressed faster.

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* The population of Aden and Bahrain are only censured; the rest are mere estimates.

The main areas from which the volunteer army of Abu Beker were recruited seems to be Hejaj and parts of Yemen. The population of Hejaj is 12.4 per cent; and we assess the contribution of Yemen to be one-third the population, i.e., another 12.3 per cent.

Al-Aswad's rebellion was a mere flare up, and did not extend over the whole of Yemen. There were many loyal areas in Yemen. But the Yemenis, being agriculturists and engaged in coastal trade, are not likely to furnish the same proportion of contingents as the nomads. Hence we assess its contribution at one-third of the population.

The population outside Yemen and the Hejaj is about half the total population of Arabia. Many tribes in these regions rebelled. At the same time there was zeal for Islam; and love of loot. We assess therefore, that 10 per cent. of the population contributed to the army. Ten per cent of half =5 per cent of the total.

Thus the total works out to some 30 per cent of the total.

In our estimate of the above percentage, our assessment of the several factors, rather empirical, has entered in each step; as such our estimate is likely to be vitiated by personal equation.

Let us suppose that the zeal for joining Abu Beker's army varies inversely with the square of distance from the centres of Islam.

Mecca and Medina and Taif are all within the Hajaj. The zeal for joining the army in the Hejaj is taken as unity. Medina is some 250 miles distant from Mecca. Yemen is a little over 500 and less than 650 miles from Mecca. Nejd and the rest of Arabia is more than 600 miles from Mecca.

Yemen's population including Aden and its protectorate is some 40 per cent. The rest of Arabia outside Hejaj and Yemen is some 48 per cent.

The zeal for joining the army is thus estimated to be

$$\frac{12.5}{1^2} + \frac{40}{2^2} + \frac{48}{(2.5)^2} = 12.5 + 10 + 7.7 = 30.2 \text{ per cent.}$$

Here also our choice of unit, the distance between Mecca and Medina, is partly arbitrary. And our assumption that zeal is inversely proportional to the square of distance from the centres of Islamic influence, however logical in a biological or social sense, may not be true at all where our subjective mind enters into the calculation as a main factor.

It is better however than our previous assessment of the several factors in estimating the percentage of effective population from which the army of Abu Beker was drawn.

In another way we come to a similar estimate of about 30 per cent; 32 per cent to be precise.

The distance between Mecca and Medina is some 250 miles. Medina is some 100 miles from the Red Sea. With Medina, the head-quarters of the Caliphate, as centre, let us describe circles with radiuses of 250,500 and 750 miles. They would be more or less semi-circles with the Red Sea as their diameter.

(1) The area of the first region would be $\frac{3}{4}.11.(250)^2$ sq. miles=some 147,000 sq. miles.

(2) The area of the second region or strip would be some 250,000 sq. miles.

(3) The area of the third region would be somewhat less than the calculated area as a part of the circumference extends beyond the peninsular area. We deduct 10 per cent for such area beyond the peninsula.

The area of the third region is some 442,000 sq. miles.

(4) The area of the fourth region, which extends beyond the 750 circle, is obtained by deducting the sum of the above three regions from Arabia's total of 10,80,000 sq. miles. It is some 2,41,000 sq. miles.

The population of these four regions are estimated from the areas and respective densities of the areas included in these zones. They approximately are:

1st region	..	17 lakhs
2nd „	..	28 „
3rd „	..	40 „
4th „	..	36 „
		121 „

Assuming that the force of Abu Beker's appeal, the zeal and opportunity of joining the army varies inversely as the square of the distance from Medina, the percentage works out thus:

$$\left(17 + \frac{28}{(1.5)^2} + \frac{40}{(2.5)^2} + \frac{36}{(3.5)^2}\right) 122 = 32.0$$

Ordinarily one-sixth of the population is considered to be of the fighting age. Sundbarg has shown that in all communities, the proportion of those who are between the ages of 15 and 50 is exactly one-half of the total population. Leaving aside the females, the number of males between the ages of 15 and 50 is thus one-fourth of the total population. Mere boys, and old and weak men, those who are maimed and diseased are not considered to be fit for fighting. Hence one-sixth of the total population, or one-third of the total males are considered to be the fighting strength of the tribe or the nation.

The army assembled for the invasion of Syria and Irak consisted of volunteers. The proportion of volunteers could not have exceeded one-half of the fighting strength in spite of their zeal for Islam. For we find constant draughts of men supplied for those killed in the warfare in Syria and Irak for the next 10 or 12 years. "The sieges and battles of six-compaigns (in Syria) had consumed many thousands of the Moslems." "The year of their triumph was marked by a mortality of men and cattle; and twenty-five thousand Saracess were snatched away from the possession of Syria."—*Historians' History of the World.* Vol. VIII, p. 158.

The number of Moslems were reinforced from 12,000 to 30,000 at the battle of Kadesiya 636 A.D. (*Cf. Ibid.*, p. 153). At the same time it could not have been very much les than one-third; for almost every tribe, ever sheikh were represented in the invasion. An poverty among the nomadic Arabs was grea which prompted them in joining the army.

As we cannot choose between the two; an as the proportion lies between the two extreme we shall not be far wrong if we take half th mean of ½ and 1/3, *i.e.*, 5/12 as the proportio of the fighting men who volunteered for servic in Syria.

Pareto Law of Distribution of In comes has been found to hold good for a countries and all ages where proper data ar available. It may, therefore, be expected t hold good in the case of the Arabs of th seventh century.

His law is $Y=NX^{-A}$ where X is the in come, Y=the number of persons having incom X and above; and N and A are two constant

It has been found that in earlier societi and primitive communities, the distribution incomes is more equitable and equal. The di parity in incomes is much less than in mode industrialised civilisations. This is the exper ence all over the world. The value of A generally about 1.67 in all countries whe the distribution of wealth or income is mo general. We take A for the Arabs of th seventh century to be 1.67.

All adult males especially those of fightin age are likely to earn sufficiently to mainta himself. But he may not be able to mainta wife. Mulhall in his *Dictionary of Statisti* says that the economic value of a woman generally taken as *two-thirds* that of a ma But the consumption of an adult male and female are equal.

A man must, therefore, earn 1/13 tim the unit of production, before he can think marrying.

1 man produces 1 unit, consumes 1 unit
1 woman „ 2/3 unit, „ 1 „

A little calculation will show that every 1,000 adult males who can earn suffi ently to maintain himself, the number of ma who can besides himself maintain a wife (ta ing her contribution into account) *i.e.*, w earns 1⅓ units is 619.

The number of men who cannot hope marry is thus 1000−619=381 per 1000. Su men have no hearths and homes; and they

all other things being equal most likely to join an army, where there is every possibility of booty including women.

The proportion of such men is 38.1 per cent. To this percentage we must add the number of tribal chiefs and sheikhs who joined the army for glory and other considerations.

And this percentage is not much different from 5|12 or 41.7 per cent.

We may, therefore, say that 40 per cent. of those who are of the fighting age volunteered for the army of invasion.

The population of Arabia is thus estimated:

If $\frac{40}{100} \times$ 4th of Population furnished 51,000 volunteers,

then the population which furnished such volunteers is 7,65,000.

The total population of Arabia is then

$$\frac{100}{30} \times 7,65,000 = 25,50,000.$$

There is likely to be an error in our estimate of 30 per cent. of the population only contributing to the volunteer army. If we are in error of 10 per cent. the estimated denomination may vary from 27 to 33 per cent; and the population consequently from 23,18,000 to 28,33,000.

The density of population in Arabia is small, being 12 persons per square mile. Ordinarily urban or metropolitan population grows at a rate faster than that of the country. But where the people are mainly nomadic, and the Government is principally tribal sheikhdoms under the authority of a bigger sheikhdom or kingdom, and life is governed by tradition and customs; and where the population is scattered and thin, growth of towns is likely to be proportional to the growth of population.

Mecca has been the centre of religion even in pagan Arabia. Since the establishment of Islam it has been the one focus of its religious life. The population of Mecca at the time of Muhammad has been thus estimated:

"By the seventh century A.D. the foremost of these towns Mecca and Medina had attained a certain prosperity and a population of about fifteen or twenty thousand each, Mecca being slightly the larger of the two". —Atiyah: *The Arabs*, p. 21.

It is between 15 to 20 thousand. We estimate it at 15,000+2/3rds of (20—15) thousand or 18.3 thousand.

Mecca's present population is about 85,000. Assuming its growth to be simply proportional to the growth of population in Arabia, as is the case in the Punjab between 1881 and 1931 the population of Arabia at the time of Muhammad would be—

$$\frac{18.3}{85} \times 12,17,00,000 = 26,20,000.$$

By March 630 A.D. when Muhammad started from Medina for the Farewell Pilgrimage to Mecca all Arabia had submitted to him. He was followed by some 114,000 pilgrims; and he took 100 camels for sacrifice at Mina. He addressed all those who had come for Pilgrimage to Mecca at Mount Arafat in the celebrated 'Parting Exhortations.'

The number assembled on this occasion is popularly believed to be 600,000.

"The Arabs have a superstition that the numbers at Arafat cannot be counted, and that if fewer than 600,000 mortals stand upon the hill to hear the sermon, the angels descend and complete the number. It may be observed that when the good old Bertrand de la Broquiere, esquire-carver to Philip of Burgundy, declares that the yearly caravan from Damascus to Al-Madinah must always be composed of 700,000 persons and that this number being incomplete, Allah sends some of his angels to make it up, he probably confounds the caravan with the Arafat multitude."—Sir Richard Burton: *Pilgrimage to Al-Madinah and Macah*, Vol. II, p. 188).

Everything Muhammad did on that occasion is followed with meticulous care to this day. The crowd that assembled on that day is fondly believed to assemble with the same strength at Mount Arafat to hear the parting sermon. Any defect in human numbers is being made up by the angels—this is the origin of the superstition. How much truth there is in the belief that the number assebled was 600,000 it is impossible to assess.

The Arab population, there are good reasons to suppose, belonged to the Progressive category of Sundbargh. Their age-distribution was:

0-15	400
15-50	500
50 and over	100

All those who could, all able-bodied males came to the Farewell Pilgrimage. But some must have been left at home to look after the womenfolk and children, and to tend cattle and for protection. We shall, therefore, be not very wrong if we suppose that at least three-fourths of the adult males came to Arafat on this occasion.

The population of Arabia will then be about

$$6,00,000 \times \frac{2,000}{(500 + 100)} \times \frac{4}{3} = 26,66,000.$$

Without speculating whether the Arab population was of Progressive, Stationary or Regressive type, as the number of those aged 15-50 is always half the population, if we suppose that all adults between 15-50 came to the Pilgrimage, and those over 50 were left at home, the population would be 2,400,000.

Considering all the evidence and all the factors which enter into our calculations, we are of opinion that the population of Arabia at the time of Muhammad exceeded 26 lakhs. But it cannot have exceeded 3 million limit.

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THE LINGUISTIC PROBLEM AND THE RUSSIAN EXAMPLE

By S. S. CHAKRABARTY, M.A.

Of all the countries of the world it is perhaps the Soviet Union which resembles India most, excepting probably China. Her vast territories, diverse geographical conditions, varieties of races, religions, cultures and languages all remind one of India and her diversities.

The Soviet Union is now a powerful and rich country, one of the "big" states of the world. But she was not always so. During the time of the Tzars she was even weaker and more backward than India under the British. She was a veritable "prison of nations" as some people used to call her. The mutual rivalry and conflict among the various nationalities inhabiting Tzarist Russia and the chauvinistic and tyrannical national policy of the Tzars were in no small measure responsible for her chronic backwardness.

The wise policy of Lenin and the generous attitude of the Russian-speaking people towards the non-Russian peoples of the Soviet Union after the October Revolution have solved the ageold national problem of Russia in a manner from which everyone can derive useful lessons. The example of Soviet Union has a special interest for India because of the many similarities between the two countries. The great thinkers like Sidney and Beatrice Webb described the situation well when they said: "One of the difficult problems presented to political science by the geographical unity of the Russian plain has always been that of the extreme diversity of the population found upon it, in race, religion, language, degrees of civilization and culture, habits of life, historical tradition and what not."

They further state that "Lenin and his colleagues . . . . had not failed to notice . . . . how strong and persistent was the popular discontent caused by the Tzarist insistence on the 'russification' of all the

national minorities within the empire. "That is why, when he came to power, Lenin insisted that the Bolsheviks should declare themselves in favour . . . . of the concession of 'cultural autonomy' to national minorities *included within states.*" Lest the last part of this statement be not clear to Indian readers who are generally so unwilling to grant any kind of linguistic autonomy even to substantial minorities residing in different provinces, let me quote from an article by Mrs. Kamala Ratnam, an Indian educationist who recently spent three years in the Soviet Union. Describing the condition in the Russian-speaking RSFSR she says: "The biggest (of the states) is the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic, a multi-national group *where teaching in 42 languages is carried on in schools.*" In case readers think that probably this magnanimity is shown only in the Russian-speaking state, Mrs. Ratnam adds: "Children of each nationality in every Republic receive instruction through their mothertongue." Compare this with conditions in India where a University in Bihar has recently asked students speaking Bengali, Urdu or Oriya to discontinue writing their answers in their respective tongues and write in the regional language instead!

From the first day of the revolution the Russian-speaking people evinced a brotherly concern for the welfare and cultural advancement of the non-Russian peoples of their country. They might have chosen not to do anything like that. They were the largest group of people in the Soviet Union, representing about 50 per cent of the population (more than any similar group in India where no language is spoken by more than 42 per cent, and that too at a very liberal computation). They were culturally more advanced than the rest of the nationalities put together. Their language was one of the greatest in the world, whereas many of the nationalities did not have even written scripts. They had been historically the masters over all the other nations in pre-revolutionary Russia. At the time of the Revolution too they were the most powerful, because it was mainly the Russian-speaking people who, gun in hand, organized and carried through the Revolution. The guns which destroyed the power of the Tzars might have been easily pointed at the heads of the freedom-seeking—but numerically smaller and backward—nationalities. Moreover, since they were the chief architects of the Revolution, they might have at least demanded the adoption of their language by the comparatively helpless and quiescent non-Russian peoples as the national language.

But they did nothing of the sort. On the contrary, they showed a spirit of self-sacrifice and self-abnegation almost without parallel in the annals of mankind. The Russian-speaking people went all out to help their non-Russian brothers develop their culture and language, even when both of these were practically non-existent in the case of some nationalities like the Uzbek, Tartar, Kazakh, Turkman and Azerbaizani, etc. They accorded state recognition to almost all the languages spoken in the Soviet Union and, in course of time made 15 of them their official languages! When it is remembered that most of these languages were more backward than some of the dialects of India like Rajasthani or Chhattisgarhi, the wisdom and generosity of the Russian people really surpass all praise.

The great service and sacrifice of the Russian-speaking people for inter-racial harmony in the Soviet Union was recognised by Stalin, who was not a Russian but a Georgian himself, when he offered a toast to the Russian nation: "I would like to propose that we drink to the health of the Soviet people, and primarily of the Russian people. I drink primarily to the health of the Russian people because it *is the most outstanding of all the nations that constitute the Soviet Union.* I drink to the health of the Russian people, not only because it is the leading people but also because it is gifted with a clear mind, a staunch character and patience."

While the Russian nation was extremely solicitous itself for the welfare of the different nationalities, the leaders of the Soviet Union were very watchful to firmly nip in the bud the least manifestation of any kind of nationalistic chauvinism. Lenin was not tired of saying, prior to the Revolution, that "the economic prosperity and rapid development of Great-Russia, however, requires that the country be liberated from the violence the Great-Russians perpetrate against other nations." Unlike many politicians of other countries, he did not change after he became the ruler of the Russian peoples. In a letter published on January 4, 1920 he firmly declared: "We Great-Russian Communists *must repress with the utmost severity the* slightest manifestation in our midst of Great-Russian nationalism, for such manifestations . . . . cause the gravest harm by dividing us." In view of the fact that the Great-Russians were not even a hundredth part guilty of such chauvinistic faults as many of the bigger Indian nationalities indulge in with impunity and unholy glee, this alert vigilance of the Russian leaders is all the more praiseworthy.

One of the gestures of the Russian people towards inter-racial amity is very significant. The Webbs state: "They (the Russians) abandoned the word 'Russia.' They formed a Union of Socialist Soviet Republics in which all races stood on one and the same equal footing. And *just because it is not a national state, belonging to a superior race,* the Soviet Union has set itself diligently, not merely to treat the 'lesser breeds without the law' with equality, but, recognising that their backwardness was due to centuries of poverty, repression and enslavement, has made it a leading feature of its policy *to spend out of common funds considerably more per head on its backward races than on the superior ones,* in education and social improvements." The magnitude of the large-heartedness which makes this possible is left to the reader to fathom.

How does this wise policy work out in practice? We are all too familiar with the strange phenomenon of tall promises being broken or forgotten as easily as they had been made. Perhaps something like that happens in the USSR too! Let us hear what Rev. Hewlett Johnson who has travelled extensively in the USSR has to say in this regard. "No one can wander through the Soviet Union," says he, "as I have done, and visit republic after republic, and see the mingling on terms of absolute equality of the peoples of different nationalities, without a deep consciousness that a new thing has entered into the world of human relationship." At another place he says that "larger nationalities like the Ukraine, the White Russian, the Georgian, or the Armenian peoples, who possess cultural and historical traditions of a high order and have proved already their competence to do it, run their own educational system from the Primary School to the University. Other national groups, such as Uzbecks and Tajiks and Turcomans, move steadily in the same direction. *As they grow in number and importance national education supersedes Russian education in all its stages. That it receives encouragement to do so is witness to the sincerity of Soviet respect for nationality.*"

What dividend has this statesmanlike and brotherly policy paid? Has so much decentralization and racial autonomy led to disunity and breaking up of the USSR, as many Indians fear would happen to India if she accepted a similar (not necessarily the same) policy? Writing before the Second World War, the Webbs declare: "Yet (that is, in spite of all this cultural autonomy), the state as a whole maintains its unity unimpaired, and has even, like other Federal States, increased its centralisation *of authority.* It is only in the USSR that this centralisation involves no lessening of the cultural autonomy *of the minorities,* and even occurs concomitantly with the strengthening of the various regional cultures." However, the proof of the pudding is in the eating. And true to this wise adage the terrible Second World War proved that the Russians had been able to establish such a viable state that its unity could not be shaken even by the mighty hordes of Hitler! In the defence of their homeland Tajiks and Uzbeks shed their blood side by side with Russians and Georgians and fought the enemy with such bitterness that their memory became a nightmare to the

invaders! Let us take a concrete example. Though Tajikstan is a full-fledged Republic of the USSR, it has a population of only 15 lakhs—much less than some of the towns of India! Yet, as a Soviet source says, "In the last war the Tajiks fearlessly defended their Soviet homeland. More than 10,000 Tajiks have been awarded Orders and Medals, and upon the 34 most intrepid of the Republic's warriors the title of Hero of the Soviet Union has been conferred."

Apart from this great and covetable dividend, the Russians have reaped another fine harvest out of their wise national policy. In recognition of the great self-sacrifice and brotherly feeling of the Russians, the non-Russian peoples have voluntarily adopted Russian as the language of mutual intercourse between the various nationalities. They have willingly made Russian a compulsory subject of study for their children. The gesture of gratitude has not stopped here. As Dr. Desheriev puts it: "In the first years of the Soviet system most of the new alphabets created in Central Asia and the Caucasus used the Arabic alphabet. . . . . Later the alphabets were latinized. . . . . Still later, there arose the desire to change to an alphabet that would be based on the Russian." Is there any doubt that a statesmanlike and unselfish national policy pays dividends beyond the wildest dreams of narrow-minded chauvinists?

This study of the language and racial policies of the USSR leads us to some clear-cut conclusions which deserves careful consideration. They are as follows:

In wise and democratic states no nationality inhabiting a particular region claims for itself any special privileges as against other national minorities residing in that region.

Great concern has been shown towards the preservation and development of the language of a racial minority resident in the territory of another nationality.

No wise nation has tried to force its language upon another section of its people, even when it is in an overwhelming majority.

The decision about the adoption of a particular national language has been left to the choice of those nationalities which do not speak that language, without any interference from those who speak it.

It is hoped that those who are entrusted with the solution of the linguistic problem of our country will give their serious thought to the above points.

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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 acknowleged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

EDITOR, *The Modern Review*

ENGLISH

BIPIN CHANDRA PAL AND INDIA'S STRUGGLE FOR SWARAJ: *By Haridas Mukherjee and Uma Mukherjee. Firma K. L. Mukhopadhyaay. Calcutta. 1958. Pp. 140. Price Rs. 6.00.*

This is another important monograph from the pen of the two young authors, happily joined in historical scholarship as in wedlock, who have done so much to recover for us the forgotten chapters of the glorious nationalist movement in Bengal in the early part of this century. It has been the aim of the authors to present for the first time "a comprehensive account of the unique and varied part" played by the hero who is acclaimed as "one of the greatest architects of India's freedom movement in its early days." (Preface). It is needless to say that this aim has met with a considerable measure of success. The authors have made use of a mass of original evidence including the very rare files of the Journals *New India* and *Bande Mataram* and the records of the Intelligence Branch of the Government of West Bengal. In the course of their survey they have brought out well the outstanding achievements of Sri Pal's career as a nationalist leader. He developed the boycott of British goods following the partition of Bengal into "an all-comprehensive programme of non-co-operation with the alien despotism" (p. 30) combining in its sweep "Swadeshi national education and Swaraj" (p. 35). Through his famous Journal *Bande Mataram* and his unsurpassed oratorial powers he helped vigorously the growth of the new political party ("the Extremists") with their goal of Swaraj or self-government and technique of passive resistance (1906-08). His lecturing tours (especially one made during the first five months of 1907 and the other undertaken in Madras in May 1908), had a tremendous effect in rousing the spirit of nationalism throughout the country. During the six months of his imprisonment (1907-8) he discovered in the national movement "the manifestation of the Divine Will" and its significance not only for India's own sake but for the world (pp. 99-100). The last years of his life after his moderatist climb-down (1908-1911) and his consequent complete eclipse from the public stage are properly dealt with without rancour.

It remains to mention that the authors have expressed themselves in their usual trenchant style and that the book is rightly introduced with a Foreword from Sri Hemendra Prasad Ghose, the *doyen* of Indian journalism.

U. N. GHOSHAL

LETTERS TO SARDAR VALLABHBHAI PATEL: *By M. K. Gandhi, translated by Valji Govindji Desai from the original in Gujarati. Pp. 250. Price. Rs. 2-8-0.*

HOMAGE TO THE DEPARTED: *By M. K. Gandhi, compiled and edited by S. B. Kher. Pp. Demi 8vo. 208. Price Rs. 2-50 nP.*

Both published by Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad.

An off-the-record appraisal of men and matters of absorbing interest. People lay bare their heart when speaking or writing to intimate ones. And the Sardar was so close to Gandhi (letters, XIII, XXXIV, and XCV). The letters show how Gandhi wore himself out like a piece of sandal wood for the benefit of his fellowmen. Often he is seen at work as early as 1.30, 2 or 2.30 A.M. And he runs like a boy afraid of admonition to excuse himself by saying that he takes excellent care of his health, just adding that unless he begins his day so early he would get lost. His days in Noakhali, Behar and Delhi during the mad period of our recent history have an epic grandeur. And of that epic grandeur we get

glimpses in these letters. He says he was in 'total darkness' in Noakhali and then adds with zest, 'I am very happy (letter CCLXIV). Letter CCLVIII—a slip—contains what may be called his five commandments to his colleagues in freedom fight called to power in 1946. The book has an appendix—statement of the Cabinet Mission and the Viceroy.

The other book falls into two parts—homage by Gandhi to others and by others to him. Gandhi judges people by their worth, not by their name. His homage to Maganlal Gandhi or to the silent worker Jain almost unknown to fame is as magnificient as that paid to Gokhale or Chittaranjan Das.

A little more research would have made the book richer. One misses badly the homage General McArthur paid to Gandhi, paid to non-violence.

The author has given in an appendix Gandhi's thoughts on death, martyrdom and immortality.

BIRENDRANATH GUHA

INDIAN ETIQUETTE: *By B. Aikath. The Book Company (Private) Ltd. Re. 1/-.*

This little book gives a picture of the orthodox Hindu's rules of social behaviour.

K. N. C.

OUR NEXT SHORE NEIGHBOURS: *By Kaka Kalelkar. Published by Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad. Price Rs. 2/8/-.*

The moderately priced, slender volume under review is from the pen of Kaka Kalelkar, popularly known as Kaka Saheb, a life-long associate and follower of the Father of the Nation. Kaka Saheb paid a visit to East Africa in the middle of 1950 and spent a little less than three months in that country. He was constantly on the move during the whole period and the views and impressions recorded in the volume were bound to be superficial. Yet there are at places glimpses of a penetrating insight and of a capacity to go to the core of problems. To illustrate, the author's specific for a lasting Indo-African friendship is that the Indians in East Africa must treat the Africans as equals not for material advantage alone, but "for our moral salvation also" (p. 154). His remark elsewhere gives food for serious thought—"I felt that a wrong and misplaced orthodoxy was destroying the humanity in our people by creating barriers between them and the people of the country where they had settled" (p. 153). Kaka Saheb is, above all, a lover of man. His heart bleeds for Africa's suffering humanity—"It is surprising that the Africans have any faith left in humanity. No other race has suffered as much from peoples of other continents as has the Africans" (p. 140).

The author deplores the lack of unity amongst the Indians in East Africa. A "special injection against the disease of communalism" and the disinfection and fumigation of the newspapers from India are the remedies prescribed. Humorous as the remark is, it ought to be an eye-opener to those who wish the Motherland well.

We would like to point out in conclusion that Gurumukhi is not a language as the author thinks it to be. It is a script, an adaptation from the old Mahajani and Landa Scripts of the Punjab, attributed to Angad, the second *Guru* of the Sikhs (1538-1552 A.D.). The author's statement—"I saw that Gujaratis everywhere seem to understand Gandhiji's point of view more easily than others, and try their best to act up to it" (p. 214) is not borne out by our experience and was not expected from him.

SUDHANSU BIMAL MOOKHERJI

ALL MEN ARE BROTHERS (*Life and Thoughts of Mahatma Gandhi as told in his own words*): *Unesco—Orient Longmans Private Ltd., Calcutta-13, 1959. Pp. xvi + 196. Rs. 8.25.*

The present book grew out of a proposal put forward by the delegate from Uruguay during the Ninth Session of Unesco General Conference in New Delhi in 1956, suggesting the publication of a book containing selections from Gandhi's thoughts preceded by a study of his personality. The book is divided into twelve chapters. The first chapter is autobiographical and the other eleven chapters seek to convey Gandhiji's views on the leading problems of national and international life. The source is indicated everywhere and there is also a selected bibliography. The selections which have been made by Shri Krishna Kripalani of the Sahitya Akademi are eminently appropriate. This otherwise blemishless publication is marred by too many printing mistakes.

SUBASH CHANDRA SARKER

ACHARYA SANKARA: *By Sri Hemanta Kumar Sen. Published by Yogoda Math, Dakshineswara, Calcutta-35. Pp. 151 + xxx. Price Rs. 2.50.*

The author, while in Government service in New Delhi, wrote this book twenty years ago and had it partly published in the *East Bengal Times* of Dacca and *Roy's Weekly* of New Delhi. It is mainly based on the big Bengali work of Rajendra Nath Ghose on Sankara and Ramanuja, though several innovations have been made by the author here and there. Brahmachari Bhaktiprakash in a learned introduction to this book rightly remarks that it is a bare outline or a mere synopsis of the resplendent life of Acharya Sankara. Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, Vice-President of India, writes as follows about this book: "You have consulted the Sanskrit originals and given the information in a readable form. For those unacquainted with Sanskrit, this book will be quite useful."

Besides a portrait of Sankaracharya and a descriptive table of contents, the book contains a detailed and connected biography of this great philosopher from birth to death along with four interesting appendices. It has to be borne in mind that the Buddhist India was converted into Vedic India by this Lion of Vedanta. The third appendix on the reincarnation of Sankaracharya appears to be meaningless and imaginary. It is nothing but an extract from a letter of Sri K. M. Munshi published in the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* in July, 1954, on Saint Srichand the medieval founder of Udasi Sect of Sadhus. In that letter Sri Munshi wrote that Sankaracharya took his second incarnation as Srichand in 1419 for the renanissance of Hinduism. Here the word 'incarnation' has been used in a figurative sense. Hence, it cannot be taken for granted as actual incarnation. The first appendix on Sankara's Yogic initiation is equally spurious and conjectural. Rejecting these useless additions, the author should have enriched the book with an exhaustive introduction to the Advaita Vedanta on the basis of Sankara's famous commentaries.

SWAMI JAGADISWARANANDA

PROBLEMS AND PROCESSES OF ECONOMIC PLANNING IN UNDER-DEVELOPED ECONOMIES: *By H. C. Gupta, M.A. Published by Kitab Mahal, Allahabad. Pages 227. Price Rs. 5.00.*

The author has discussed the problems of under-developed countries with special reference to India and India's two Five-Year Plans in nine chapters, *viz.*, Meaning and Growth of the Idea of Planning, Capitalistic System Not Suitable to Under-developed Countries, Special Characteristics of Planning in Under-developed Countries Special Theory Needed, Planning in India—Historical Background, First Five-Year Plan and the Second Five-Year Plan, Achievements, Conflicts, Inconsistencies and Confusion in Indian Planning, Approach to Planning, Agricultural Reorganisation—Land Reforms, Co-operatives, Mobilisation of Rural Man-power, etc.

The approach to the subjects is critical and the author's analysis is scientific and clear. His criticism of the Five-Year Plans and the actions of the Government are straightforward and should be examined by the authorities concerned. India's teeming millions have aggravated the solution of all her economic problems including supply of food. Problems of under-employment, unemployment, small and cottage industries and big capitalistic industries and our approach to these solutions by efforts of the public and private sectors are creating new problems not easy to solve. Besides application of capital from within the country and also from outside raise a number of questions and difficulties at once social, political and economic which the learned author has dealt very ably.

A book of this nature will be of help to the students of economics of Indian universities and a general reader interested in economies of the country will find this book a useful study.

A. B. DUTTA

HINDI

BUNIYADI SHIKSHA: *By Gandhiji. 1956. Pp. 163. Price Re. 1-8.*

SACHCHI SHIKSHA: *By Gandhiji. 1956. Pp. 318. Price Rs. 2.*

VARNA-VYAVASTHA: *By Gandhiji. 1956. Pp. 159. Price Re. 1-8.*

GANDHIJI KI SANKSHIPT ATMA-KATHA: *Abridged by Mathuradas Trikamji. 1956. Pp. 260. Price As. 12.*

CALCUTTA KA CHAMATKAR: *By Manubahan Gandhi. 1956. Pp. 132. Price Re. 1.*

GANDHIJI KE PAVAN PRASANGA—I: *By Lallubhai Makanji. 1956. Pp. 43. Price As. 6.*

All available from Navajivan Prakashan Mandir, Ahmedabad.

Reprints of Gandhiji's works in Gujarati and English and in the translations thereof in the different Indian languages are on the increase since 1948. This is, indeed, a very welcome sign, inasmuch as it shows the interest of the people in his dynamic and diversified thought. *Baniyadi Shiksha* contains his ideas on the fundamentals and form of Basic Education or the Wardha Education scheme, with their twin emphasis on the scheme being self-supporting and the bulwark of the Sarvodaya Society. In *Sachchi Shiksha* or true education

lies the key to Swaraj. Believing this as Gandhiji did, the book dwells on the true ideals of education and the various problems of the education. *Varna-Vyavastha* expounds his interpretation of the caste-system, evolved in the light of the many-sided functions of society and of the aptitude of the temperaments of the principal types to discharge them. He also comments on the innumerable undesirable practices, which have crept into society as a result of the system, in question, having been reduced to a kind of a cockpit for class-war. *Gandhiji Ki Sankshipt Atmakatha* is Gandhiji's autobiography suitably abridged with appropriate chapter captions for the young. *Calcutta Ka Chamatkar* is a moving account of the miracle Gandhiji worked as "one-man-boundary force" for peace in the context of the Calcutta carnage of 1947. *Gandhiji Ke Pavan Prasanga* is a collection of thirteen anecdotes of Gandhiji's life, revealing his burning passion for humanity, cleanliness and truth. G. M.

GUJARATI

(1) VEDANT MARGA DARSHINI (2nd Edition): *Pp. 330. Price Re. 1-8.*

(2) SANATAN DHARMA: *By the late Prof. Manilal N. Dwivedi. Pp. 208. Price Re. 1.*

(3) NITYA PATHA: *By Vamandas P. Patel, B.A., LL.B. Pp. 159. Price As. 12.*

(4) VICHAR MALA: *By Swami Swayam Jyoti Tirth. Pp. 80. Price As. 8.*

(5) MAHA VAKYO OF TULSI RAMAYANA (2nd Edition): *By Gopalji Odhavji Thakkar. Pp. 108. Price As. 8.*

All published by the Society for the Encouragement of Cheap Literature. Printed at its own printing press, Ahmedabad.

All these five books are related to ethical, moral and religious subjects. No. (1) is a guide to the knowledge of Vedant, with a glossary of technical words. *Sanatan Dharma* contains 500 (Panch Shati) maxims of advice culled from about fifty works like the *Gita* and the Upanishads. It was called by the late professor "Imitation of Shankar," on the basis of "Imitation of Christ," and is a very valuable guide. *Nitya Patha*, Daily Recital or prayers contains *shlokas* and their translation in praise of God, and Divine Beings. *Vichar Mala* describes among other things the *mithyatwa* (non-reality) of this world. The selection of the great sayings of Tulsidas in the Ramayana is highly commendable.

K.M.J.

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Indian Periodicals

The Romance of Towers

Dudley Glass writes in *The Aryan Path*:

Through history man has enriched the world's architecture with lofty towers. Sometimes the motive has been utilitarian—defence or observation—at other times religious or that of beauty. From the rugged grey masses of the north to those slender shafts of colour against the southern blue, they ornament the horizon. The moonlight of the Orient reveals them in an Arabian-Night's splendour; a New World of the West scrapes the skies with their modernistic majesty.

Sometimes poets and tellers of tales erect towers for our imagination that almost have the quality of reality. We can visualize dawn lighting the "Sultan's turret" of Omar Krayyam's *Rubaiyat*. Princesses from the pages of Grimm dwell in the baroque towers of fairy-tale castles. In a mysterious wood Maeterlinck fashions a shadowy tower from which Melisande, wooed by Pelleas, trails her long tresses. Tennyson sings "many-tower'd Camelot."

The Tower of Babel in the Bible, reaching presumptuously towards Heaven, was possibly inspired by the pride of Babylonia's temple-tower of Etemenanki. This was one of the many stepped pyramids of the ancient Chaldean and Assyrian world; also to be found in Egypt and as far afield as the Occidental lands of the Aztecs and the Incas. Sun-worshippers these, and there were also tribes whose priests saluted the moon and stars from high places. Likewise the early Persians bowed to fire from raised platforms on small towers.

The Orient has always been beautified by towers. Carved, sculptured gateways to India's temples are a form of these and many a lake-palace has its pinnacles. Agra's roseate citadel, of the marble courts and pavilions and bath of a thousand mirrors, raises an exquisite Jasmine Tower. Set in a wall of this balconied boudoir there was one more magical mirror. A reflecting jewel, it enabled Shah Jahan, deposed from his throne and almost white dome and minarets of the Taj Mahal, towered tomb for his "Exalted One."

Like mirage visions in desert lands minarets crown mosques to sound a call to prayer. Just as impermanent-looking are those tapering, many-storied towers of the Far East, Chinese pagodas making fantastic silhouettes. Yet ancient China had simpler towers of stalwart masonry for defence on the rambling Great Wall.

Military strategy was the reason for most of the first towers. The Romans built them with battlements to guard city ramparts. Tradition ascribes the Tower of London by the Thames to Julius Caesar, but its historical foundation was laid by William the Conqueror. His Norman keep, the White Tower, built for defence and to overawe the Londoners, rises among many others with stern associations. Now peace reigns on Tower Green and there is colour in the glowing costume of the Beefeaters, the "Ceremony of the Keys" and, the glittering opulence of Crown Jewels on display.

The Tower of London has been introduced to millions who will never see it through the medium of Gilbert and Sullivan light opera, just as the voice of another tower is regularly broadcast to the world. For in the Clock Tower adorning the House of Parliament at Westminster hangs "Big Ben," called after Sir Benjamin Hall, first Commissioner of Works at the time of its installation. A light shines each night in the Clock Tower, just as a flag flies from its comrade the Victoria Tower, when "the House" is sitting.

The English countryside is studded with towers; there are twenty on Windsor Castle alone, small ones carried by the walls, culminating in the central "round" one, or nearly so, that gives this noble pile by the silvery Thames its personality. Then there are the cathedral cities blessed with their solemn towers, and centres of learning wearing them like dons' caps on the colleges. Of all Oxford's landmarks Magdalen College is the most famous.

Middle Ages dominating that erudite street termed "the High."

At the dawn of each May Day choristers in surplices ascend the tower to salute the rising sun with a Latin hymn. This tribute to a benefactor dates from the first Queen Elizabeth's reign and still it mingles with merry jangling bells to waft over the meadows by the River Cherwell.

Scottish and Welsh castles have their towers telling of brave deeds, in the south of romantic Ireland one murmurs with legendary associations. Blarney Castle, close to Cork, is all the more picturesque for the large red stone high up on a crumbling tower wall. The name of the place recalls a remark made by that same Queen Elizabeth when Dermot McCarthy, the Lord of the Castle, sent her amiable messages to postpone his surrender. "That is all Blarney and means nothing!" she exclaimed. Nowadays folk who feel in need of this Irish accomplishment make for the edge of the turret where they manage to lean over backwards to perform a time-honoured act.

There is a stone there,
That whoever kisses,
Oh! he never misses
To grow eloquent.
'Tis he may clamber
To a lady's chamber,
Or become a member
Of Parliament.

Leaving soft green hills for nature's white towers in Norway, marvel at the man-made crest at Holmenkollen, outside Oslo. This unique skitower allows experts to speed down its snow-coated slope in the strenuous competition of an annual ski-jump. Also, concealed in that impressive sweep, is a museum to tell the history of ski-ing in the country which invented the sport.

Denmark, although not endowed with mountains, is well served with towers. They dignify manor-houses in parks and mingle attractively with Copenhagen's domes and twisted spires and green copper roofs. Hans Anderson told no better tale than the one concerning the *Rundetaarn* (Round Tower). Built as an observatory by order of Christian IX, it has no stairs inside but a spiral ramp winding to the top. This is also the case in Amboise, of the French Chateau Country, where the Emperor Charles V was enabled to make perilous but successful ascent in a coach-and-four. In the case of the Copenhagen variety, Peter the Great of Russia did it on horseback, leaving the use of the coach to his Empress.

The low country of Holland is alive with wooden towers whirling their windmill sails. They contrast with the static ones of stone reflected in city canals. Amsterdam has its eleventh-century Mint Tower, originally a fortress although now it is embellished with a clock-dial and a set of chimes. By the harbour stands the curiously-named "Weepers' Tower," from which Dutch sailors departed on world voyages, to the sorrow of the women they left behind. Yet this same tower speeded Henry Hudson in the *Halfmoon* when he sailed the Atlantic to discover Manhattan Island and the river now bearing his name.

Very different from this squat sentinel by the Zuyder Zee are the shining towers rising out of New York Harbour to form an incomparable skyline. The Statute of Liberty is one in itself, of reasonable height to allow a welcoming torch to be seen, but many of them are of dizzy height. The wold's tallest tower, measuring over a hundred storeys, is called the Empire State Building.

An American poet of the past, Longfellow, preferring towers of the Old World, summed up a pride of Belgium in a well-known stanza:

In the Market Place of Bruges
Stands the Belfry old and brown;
Thrice consumed and thrice rebuilded,
Still it watches o'er the town.

A stalwart tower that could face misfortune, it was not only in the service of the Church but also that of the State. On one occasion the Belfry summoned citizens to arms; at other times laws were promulgated from its balcony and proclamations by the Counts of Flanders delivered to townspeople in the Grand Place below. In present-day Bruges passers-by listen to the bell tones of Flemish airs played on the renowned carillon above the tower-watchman's room.

Masons with an inspired mission built the cathedral towers of France. Their graceful Gothic architecture is forzen music, although one at Rouen names itself a "Butter Tower." The reference is to the circumstances of its erection; funds were offered in return for permission to eat butter during Lent. Twin-towers of Notre-Darme guard their hisoric river-island in the heart of Paris; in the more modern section of the city a Gothic fragment stands alone, called the Tour St. Jacques. A statue under the vaulting commemorates Blaise Pascal, who stood on the summit to make experiments in atmospreric pressure.

Similarly a bust of Alexandre Gustave Eiffel hides itself under a striding colossus by the Seine. Conceived by an engineer famous for his bridges and viaducts, the Eiffel Tower is more than an extravagant gesture from the 1889 Exhibition etched for ever against the Paris sky. When he unfurled the tricolour at its opening—and the Premier of France apologized for his own opposition—Eiffel knew that his three-platformed, glass-pavilioned tower had also a scientific future, now apparent in its use for meteorological, radio and television purposes.

Castles in Spain are decked with airy towers; so are the fanciful, sugarcake affairs that Germany perches on crags by the Rhine or on woodend mountain slopes of Bavaria. A "quaint old town of art and song" like Nuremberg has carried them on its walls since mediaeval times. If the castle hill presents a grim prison-tower with five sinister corners, there is a happier one on the Frauenkirche overlooking the square. At midday its clock-face opens doors to release a moving row of mechanical mannikins, nothing less than Charles IV and the Seven Electors!

Play-acting clock towers are frequently to be found in Middle Europe as in Switzerland. Addicted to toy effects, they give an entertaining panorama of history or legend. On the other hand the Alps cradle them with lips tightly locked, like the Water Tower keeping guard over Lake Lucerne. Its stones could tell us a secret: that the beacon "light" of the four cantons shone from it in the days of William Tell, a matter for pride; while a pink chateau among blossom by Lake Geneva tries to forget that its thick-walled tower once kept the Prisoner of Chillon from the radiance of day.

Some of the world's most beautiful towers are in Italy; their purpose in life is to chime bells and their name in itself is music. The domed cathedral of St. Mark's is a wonder of Venice, but so is the "campanile" standing by its side on the piazza. This has a past reaching back to Doge Pietro Tribune who laid the foundation stone in 912. Having borne the weight of a thousand years the original bell-tower collapsed; so the present one is a glorious resurrection. A golden angel still surmounts it, to look beyond the Grand Canal to the Adriatic as a guide to mariners.

Another Italian "campanile" catches the imagination, not only for its grace but for the attribute giving it such a remarkable name. The Leaning Tower of Pisa, pink and white between its side colonnades, has a perfection of detail, but it chooses to slant fourteen feet out of the perpendicular. Some would have it that this was a prank of the designers; more than likely the foundation sank and the inclination began at an early date. At all events Galileo availed himself of the oblique phenomenon, dropping objects and calculating their velocity in his study of gravity.

In the valley of the Arno a fair city dreams of a past golden with painters, sculptors and poets. No wonder that the bell-tower by the Duomo is of especial loveliness and has earned the highest praise Ruskin can give: "The model and the mirror of perfect architecture."

The master began it in 1334, on the ducal instructions that he must surpass in beauty of structure anything previously attempted. He did not live to see his design completed beyond the first storey, but fortunately Pisano and Talenti continued the upper part of the Gothic square with appropriate grace. Not only are Giotto's contours superb; so are his rich details. Ornaments abound in sculpture and bas-relief; allegorical figures include the Seven Cardinal Virtues and such contrasting types as Eve and Orpheus, Aristotle and Euclid. Marble glows under the Italian sun in variegated hues of pink, dark green and white. Yet the Campanile, with open-work pattern, is never overloaded but floats as spiritually as the chiming message it spreads to the surrounding hills.

Seen from them as a tall lily-shaped the garden that is Florence, heard echoing in the soft airs of Tuscany, it symboli

the beauty and at the same time the usefulness of that flower of architecture, the tower.

Why Nehru Did Not Reply to Yudin?

New Philosophy writes editorially:

A polemic is usually a consciously undertaken affair—the pros and cons of an issue by two opposite camps being hurled at each other through party papers. Early this year the world witnessed an unpremeditated polemic. It came off this way, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Prime Minister of India, contributed the thesis "The Basic Approach" to the *A. I. C. C. Economic Review*. This was published in the August 1958 number. *Inter alia*, the thesis offered comments on problems of science, materialism, spiritualism, non-violence, and Marxism. Some statements touched Marxists to the quick and Academician Yudin of Russia took up cudgels on their behalf by publishing a rejoinder in *World Marxist Review* during 1958. Nehru was requested at one of his press conferences to comment on Yudin, but Nehru ignored the questioner.

One can only conjecture that Nehru did not take any cognizance of the reporter's question essentially because the Russian scientist himself, on his part, has not given a square reply to Nehru. Yudin himself has failed to do any justice whatever to the problems raised by Nehru.

We shall make an attempt to locate the omissions—deliberate or otherwise—on the part of Yudin. The nature of these omissions may throw light on the problem why Yudin has chosen to remain silent with regard to them.

1. In "The Basic Approach" (Para 11), Nehru had indicated that both non-communists as well as communists are no shades, there is only black and white." Yudin in his reply conveniently assumes that his side is "white," and equally conveniently, has not dealt with the allegation of the communists being extremists.

2. Nehru (**op. cit.** para 13) has attacked smallest of violence. In his reply, Yudin wants to know why then India maintains force; but refuses to answer the points raised in the latter half of the same paragraph which indicated how small violence in Hitlerite Germany totally annihilated all leftists. It should never be forgotten that Nehru is open and frank. He has never claimed that everything India does is ideal. Most important of all, Nehru is here concerned with the theoretical discussion of an ideal problem. Yudin has no reply.

3. In para 14, Nehru demands of the world spiritual outlook, as other methods have failed.

4. In para 16, Nehru says: "I suppose that any line of thought, sufficiently pursued, leads us in some measure to metaphysics. Even science today is almost on the verge of all manner of imponderables." Yudin has not even touched this important argument—let apart discuss it, or offer acceptable answers.

5. Nehru deliberates on and offers suitable examples of how capitalism is adjusting to suit modern times, though slowly. This part of the thesis meets no straight reply.

6. Nehru once again raises in paras 22 and 30, the most important problems of Idealistic thought. Nehru says: "We must not forget the ethical and spiritual aspects of life which are ultimately the basis of culture and civilization and which have given some meaning to life."

Yudin might possibly argue that the issue raised by the so-called good side of capitalism and several aspects of spiritualism have been rebutted by materialist philosophers again and again since long. These indeed were not the only questions that are answered by Marx, but in a sense Marx has given adequate answers for all possible attacks for the coming thousands reply no criticism at all. However, while others openly hostile to Marxist attitude can be allowed to go by, Nehru's criticism which does not show any partiality either to capitalist or to communistic extremist stand, was outside this category and was of a type that needed an answer. But once Yudin takes this stand—of the necessity of answering Nehru—he just cannot escape having to answer Nehru on every possible point nor refer merely to classical answers by Marx. Nehru has categorically stated that even up-to-date science when it attempts to reply to questions at beyond an ordinary level borders on metaphysical plane. This is a significant point, demanding an answer, if he has any, from Yudin—particularly it is so because of the dilemmas reached by advances in atomic physics. Yudin is probably conscious of his incapacity to reply—in which case his demand for answers to questions becomes baseless.

In reality, the difficulty Yudin finds himself having to face is a grave and genuine one. For an attempt at logical and sufficiently profound answer will lead him straight into the arms of metaphysics.

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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

A Suitable Epitaph for John Foster Dulles

William Henry Chamberlin writes in *New Leader*, June, 1959:

The death of John Foster Dulles elicited a general expression of feeling, voiced simultaneously by President Eisenhower and Sir Winston Churchill, that a great man had passed —and in an age when greatness in the free world is not in surplus supply. Another significant tribute to the dead statesman came from one of the few unmistakably great men of this post-war era, Chancellor Konrad Adenauer, who hailed Dulles as a friend. There was indeed much in common, as regards character and personality, between Dulles and Adenauer, both intent on being right rather than popular.

What was the essential element of greatness in Dulles, recognized in the last months of his life even by some of his most persistent detractors? Not his wide-ranging knowledge of foreign affairs and his immense capacity for work; these he shared with others. Not even the rugged devotion to duty which kept him working without stint when he was plagued with acute physical pain, when his medical advisers were pleading in vain for him to relax and rest. This he shared with the many soldiers who laid down their lives for their country.

The essential element in Dulles' greatness, the legacy he hands down to those who must carry on his work, is his combination of a clear perception of the threat of Communist imperialism, in Asia as in Europe, with the constancy and resolution to act logically on this perception, regardless of how strongly the winds of criticism might blow. The people of West Berlin and the peoples living on the fringe of Communist despotism in Asia, the peoples of Japan, Formosa, South Korea and South Vietnam, are more secure in their freedom today because of the vein of iron in Dulles' character that made him say "no," emphatically and repeatedly, to more or less thinly disguised proposals to appease the Soviets.

Not that there is an iota of truth in the stock caricature of Dulles as a "warmonger," a wrecker of any reasonable proposal for a settlement. When there were opportunities for peace with honor, Dulles was quick to grasp them. The Korean armistice and the agreement for a general evacuation of Austria were cases in point. What Dulles, with his strong sense of moral responsibility and his keen mind, persistently and consistently refused to do was to barter substance for shadow, to take worthless Soviet paper promises in exchange for concessions that would adversely affect the strategic position of the West.

A good example of the backbone that Dulles infused into United States foreign policy was his handling of the crisis precipitated without provocation by the Chinese Reds late in August 1958. They opened a heavy bombardment of the Quemoy group of offshore islands held by the Chinese Nationalists. And the U.S. seemed then to be swept by a wave of hysterical appeasement.

Amid all the clamor, with people on both sides of the Atlantic who should have known better shrieking that we would all be incinerated in a nuclear holocaust if we did not give in to Chinese aggression, Dulles remained firm and kept his head. A formidable concentration of American air and naval strength was mobilized. The Chinese Nationalist air force, equipped with Sidewinder American missiles, won a series of striking victories in the air. And the upshot of the whole matter is that today, almost a year after the beginning of the crisis, Quemoy and Matsu are still where they belong, in the hands of the Nationalists, and a Red maneuver that impressed the timorous has been shown up as a pitiful bluff.

Dulles died a painful, lingering death, made easier by his deep religious faith and his stoical courage. Yet his last months must have been brightened by the tributes that poured in on him, from distinguished old friends and associates and from many unknown fellow-citizens, whose respect he had won.

But he was perhaps most honored by the enemies he made. In spite of the hypocritical posthumous tributes from Moscow, Dulles was the constant target of vilification, the Public Enemy Number One for every Communist and fellow-traveler.

Somehow Dulles, in spirit and character, recalls those indomitable old Roundheads, or Puritans, who fought and broke King Charles I's effort to rule without Parliament and, in laying the basis of England's freedom, unconsciously helped to insure our own. One of the most notable of the Puritan leaders, John Hampden, was killed in one of the many skirmishes of the British Civil War. An unknown poet paid him a memorial tribute that would be a suitable epitaph for John Foster Dulles:

His purer thoughts were free
From all corruptions; he not valued friends,
A fair estate or self-propounded ends,
Any preferment, or ought else above
A quiet conscience, and his nation's love.



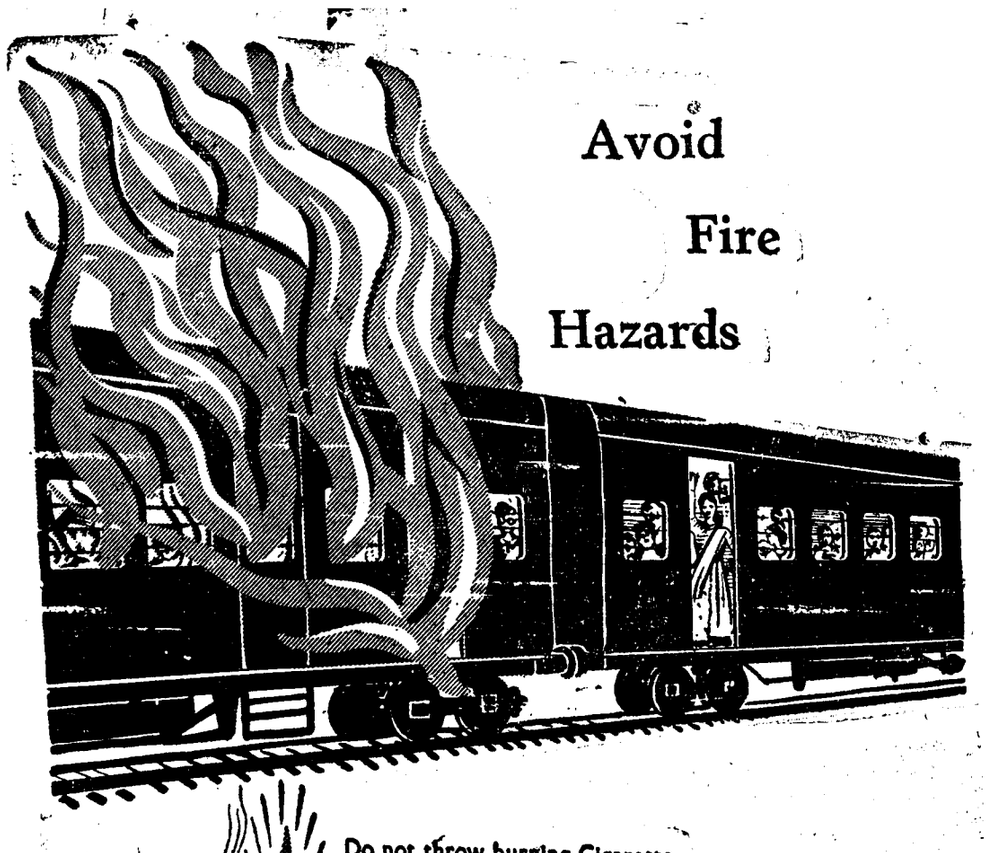
Electronic Brain

The following news has been published in the *Bulletin of the Embassy of the Federal Republic of Germany*.

Built by Siemens, the electronic brain is called "Digitalrechner—2002". By using transistors (crystal amplifiers) instead of vacuum tubes (impulse amplifiers) the size and weight of the electronic brain could be reduced considerably; although its weight is only about half of that of the ordinary type roboter its efficiency is equal to that of the old type models. "Digitalrechner 2002" cost DM 1.2 million (approximately Rs. 15½ lakhs) and was built for the Aachen Technical Institute which expects to strengthen its position with the aid of this new electronic brain as a leading German and European centre of training and research. One of the advantages of this Siemens machine compared to one of the ordinary type is that some of the "thought processes" and working operations of this electronic brain can be watched and checked by means of a "visualizer" which operates in a manner similar to a television set.

The "grey matter" of the programme-controlled electronic brain "Digitalrechner 2002" consists of the computing unit, the programme control unit, the data storage unit, a control panel and the in-put and out-put units. Answers are obtained in a few seconds. Any interested person might hand in his date of birth which is punched on a tape. Immediately afterwards he will receive a note which informs him, as demanded, on which day of the week he was born, on which day his birthday will fall this year and the main world events at the time of his birth.

A visitor who put a question was certainly surprised when he was informed that he was 52 years, six months and four days old, that his birthday would be on a Thursday in 1959 and that he would have a savings account of DM 7509,—at the age of 70 provided he put away DM 25, each month and received 4 per cent interest per annum. All this is produced on a note and signed "most sincerely yours, Digitalrechner 2002".



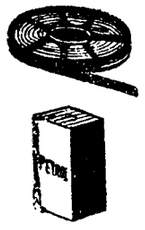
Avoid Fire Hazards



Do not throw burning Cigarette ends and match sticks inside the Carriages.



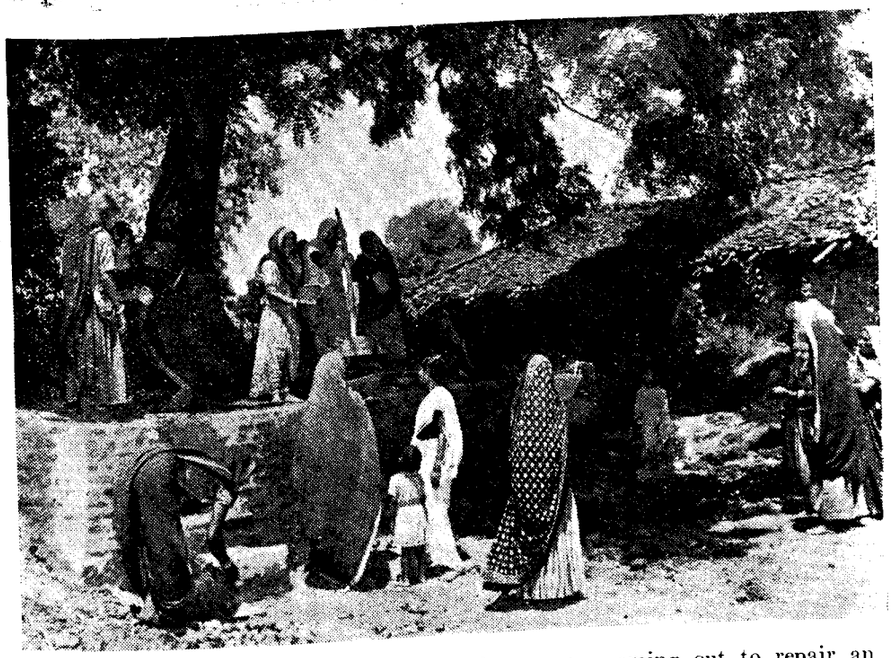
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Do not carry Explosive, Dangerous and Inflammable articles etc. as luggage.

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A group of Shramdan workers, mainly women, coming out to repair an old well in their village



It is time for planting paddy



A GHAT IN HOLY BANARAS
By Shibsankar Kundu

Prabasi Press, Calcutta

THE MODERN REVIEW

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NOTES

Security, External and Internal

At the time of writing the text of Mr. Chou En-lai's letter to Pandit Nehru, which was received on the evening of September 9, was released to the Press. This letter was in reply to the letter written by Pandit Nehru on March 22 of this year. The reasons given for this extraordinary delay, in reply to a letter of urgency from a friendly country, are unconvincing to say the least. The language is courteous, but that, we would emphasise, means less than nothing. It might well be to lull our apprehensions until preparations for another step in aggression is ready.

The letter has been written by a skilled diplomat, well-versed in all the intricacies of World diplomacy, and as such will exercise the brains of the innocents at our External Affairs office, to say nothing about the country at large which would be further puzzled by the smoke-screen raised by those who have supported every move of the Chinese against India's security for what consideration, they only know. The *Statesman* comes to the following conclusion regarding that letter:

> It contains one solid piece of assurance. This is regarding Sikkim, and he says: "Like the boundary between China and Bhutan this question does not fall within the scope of our present discussion." And he makes it clear "once again that China is willing to live together in friendship with Sikkim and Bhutan, without committing aggression against each other, and has always respected the proper relations between them and India."

On most other questions his attitude can be defined as follows: "The Chinese Government has all along adhered to a clear-cut policy on the Sino-Indian border question: on the one hand, it affirms the fact that the entire Sino-Indian boundary has not been delimited, while on the other, it also faces reality, and taking especially into consideration the friendly relations between China and India, actively seeks a settlement fair and reasonable to both sides, and never tries unilaterally to change the long existing state of border between the two countries pending the settlement of the boundary question."

Having said this, Mr. Chou En-lai goes on to accuse India of trespassing into Chinese territory, of overstepping "the so-called McMahon Line," of having invaded Longju and other places in N.E.F.A. and of having launched armed attacks on Chinese frontier guards at Migyitun, "leaving no alternative for the Chinese frontier guards but to fire back in self-defence."

It also accuses India of having launched "a second anti-Chinese campaign within six months."

Mr. Chou's request is that India should immediately withdraw what he describes as the "trespassing Indian troops and administrative personnel" and thus ease "the temporary tension on the Sino-Indian border." This will set at ease "our friends who are concerned over Sino-Indian friendly relations."

By and large, Mr. Chou En-lai's seems to be a mixed letter and, while it yields

no ground, it contains a desire for settlement and restoration of friendly relations.

Pandit Nehru's reactions, as disclosed in the Rajya Sabha on September 10, on this letter, was contained in the Note in reply, placed before the Lok Sabha and the Rajya Sabha on that date. The *Statesman* gives the following summary:

New Delhi, Sept. 10.—Besides reiterating that the McMahon Line definitely forms the frontier between the two countries in its latest Note to China forwarded on Tuesday, India has strongly protested against the continued use of the defective Chinese maps.

"It is most extraordinary that the Government of China should not have found time during the last 10 years to withdraw these faulty maps" the Note says.

The full text of the Note and certain other documents exchanged between India and China since the publication of the White Paper were today placed before the Lok Sabha by Mr. Nehru. Besides the Notes, he said, he would display the relevant maps indicating the Chinese encroachments—cartographic and military—in Parliament's library.

While rejecting the charge of aggression contained in the Chinese Notes, India has expressed her willingness to discuss the exact alignment of the McMahon Line at places where it departs from the geographical features marking the international boundary. Such discussions, however, could not proceed on the basis of the Chinese maps, the Note says.

India's offer to discuss the alignment of the McMahon Line near Khinzemane, Longju and Tamadem is accompanied by the condition that pending negotiations the *status quo* be maintained. The Chinese forces, it is stated, should not cross the Thangla ridge or use force against the Indian post at Tamadem.

As far as Longju is concerned, during discussions India would not send her personnel back to the area provided the Chinese would also withdraw their forces from there.

The four Chinese Notes presented to Parliament follow a familiar pattern. India is accused of having committed "unlawful intrusion" into Chinese territory and of having made "unwarranted provocative attacks." One Note alleges six instances of violation of Chinese air space by Indian planes. The Indian Note denies the charge.

The question still remains as to what evaluation should be arrived at, of the latest Chinese letter. Is it a really friendly gestere? Has it the elements of *Pancha Sheel*, on which Pandit Nehru puts so much stress? We have failed to find any trace of either. Added to that is the long-drawn period of planned aggression, of which it seems the Tibetan incident is only a part. We believe that in the face of the breaches of faith, as evinced by the complete reversal of statements by Mr. Chou En-lai, and continued incursions into Indian territory, the letter cannot be taken as anything but an attempt to gain time.

It is about time Pandit Nehru understood that in the present-day world only those can go about preaching *ahimsa* and *Pancha Sheel*, who have renounced the world. He cannot carry on as he has been doing without vitally endangering the Liberty and Four Freedoms of the four hundred millions that are in his charge. *Pancha Sheel* can be effectively preached only by that nation that can call to arms and fully equip for freedom's battle, five hundred stream-lined and fully equipped divisions with full aerial and armour support and nuclear weapons if necessary. And we certainly do possess that potential.

The main question now is internal security. As a direct observer of some of the occurrences, we have reasons to believe that planned subversion and disruption came into play. We should like that a full enquiry, on security grounds, be made under strictly secret conditions. Whatever the findings of the enquiry, we are strongly of the opinion that internal security must be viewed now, on an objective level, by the combined organisations of the Home Ministry and the Defence Ministry, on an all-India basis. Things have deteriorated to that extent that all industry and communications might be paralysed in the case of a national emergency by unscrupulous and anti-national forces within the country.

International Law

As every society must have a set of rules to guide the conduct of its members and affairs, a comity of nations should also in all reasonableness have a well-defined code of conduct governing international relations. It is thus since very early times, when states began to have relations with one another, that the need for framing certain rules for this purpose was felt and a number of principles was set down and reorganised as valid. Inasmuch as the undeveloped state of communications at that early period made contact between States somewhat difficult and infrequent a number of relatively simple rules pertaining to the treatment of ambassadors, traders, and messengers was considered sufficient for the purpose until the recurring wars between the nation States of Europe in the seventeenth century made it imperative for them to have a comprehensive code of international relations covering wider aspects.

The wartime nations of Europe were the most prosperous and also the most powerful at that time doing business with the Americas and the countries of the East. Not accidently therefore the initiative for laying down a code and the task of enforcing it devolved upon them and since then it was their ideas and views that prevailed upon the field of international law until the beginning of this century when the U.S.A. and then the U.S.S.R. also began to take an active part in formulating and administering international law.

International law suffers not only from the common defects of all laws in not being able to differentiate between the uneven state of development of nations as national laws cannot do so in the case of individuals which makes law the instrument of domination of one section of society over another, it also suffers from the additional handicaps created by the absence of persons who can adjudicate in international disputes with even the limited independence and authority with which the judges administer national laws. These shortcomings have rendered it largely an instrument of the political domination of the Western Powers.

The countries of continental Europe, coming later on in the field of world politics, felt the pressure and their efforts to tilt the balance in their favour came up against the strongest possible opposition of the maritime powers. Much of the hollowness of the legal pretensions of the West was exposed during the First World War. For example, through a series of remarkable manoeuvres it was not found at all difficult to deprive the Soviet Union of much of the privileges due to it as the successor to the Czarist regime (what it forsook of its own accord is another thing altogether). But the Soviet Union had both power and territory with which she has been able to ignore, so to say, the practical impact of much of the tenets of international law. The countries of Asia and Africa who entered the international comity of nations still later on, were however devoid of the advantages of power, territory and physical seclusion. Their very recognition as nation states had to be achieved in a battle against many of the principles of international law such as the doctrines of colonial possessions and "domestic jurisdiction."

The unevenness of the state of development between Western and Eastern nations has greatly sharpened the dialectical edge of many of the principles of the Law of Nations underlining the need for an early restatement of the principles as well as of the manner of their application in which the impact of the technological developments of this century has also to be fully taken into account. We hope the newly-formed Indian Society of International Law will direct its efforts in achieving this end.

Goa

Goa remains a signal mark of the utter ineffectiveness of Indian diplomacy to achieve even vital national ends. The continuance of Portuguese domination in Goa has undoubtedly been encouraged by the leading Western Powers including the U.S.A. and the U.K. but it is clearly evid-

ent that the aimlessness of our foreign policy has also been an important contributory factor. The unreal plane on which Indian foreign policy moves is exposed before the public view only at times of grave crisis threatening vital national interests when this country seems to be left with no international friends at all. A glance back at world developments of the past twelve years hardly justifies the conclusion that Portugal could hold on to Goa on the face of stubborn Indian opposition. As a matter of fact the Government of India has more than once allowed itself to be brow-beaten by other powers who had no business to be concerned with the future of Goa. The Government's position has been morally vulnerable by its continued refusal to treat the Goans residing in India as Indian citizens. The reply of the Prime Minister in the Rajya Sabha on September 3, that the question of dual citizenship had prevented the Government from treating the Goans as Indian citizens is hardly convincing in view of the fact of such recognition of citizenship by other countries in the case of their nationals residing in other countries. Malaya is not a Chinese territory; yet the People's Republic of China treats all Chinese residents in Malaya as its own citizens unless they volunteer to renounce their Chinese citizenship. India holds Goa to be an integral part of her territory—the technical omission in the Constitution notwithstanding (otherwise there would remain no logic for the demand for its integration with India)—yet refuses to treat Goans as Indian citizens. There could be no greater evidence of confusion reigning supreme.

Indian Democracy at Crossroads

The resignation of General K. S. Thimayya, Chief of the Army staff, on August 31 and its subsequent withdrawal pose a number of vital questions on the satisfactory answers to which will depend the future of democracy in India. The critics of the Government who were obsessed with personalities clearly failed to gauge the principal issue at stake which is what is the role of the army in a democracy? Prime Minister Nehru has done well in re-iterating the principle that under the Constitution of India, the civil authority is and must remain the supreme authority and the armed forces must abide by the directions of the civil authority; but he has not been able to act up to this principle to the desired extent.

The reasons for the resignation of the army chief have not been disclosed; it is, indeed, a pertinent question if mere temperamental differences with the Defence Ministry could have induced the General to take such a drastic step as to resign. If, however, one is not to disbelieve the Prime Minister, the General had never before indicated that his differences were intolerably sharp. The question, especially in view of the fact that the General has since withdrawn his resignation, is what then had prompted him to serve the letter of ultimatum without consultations with the Prime Minister even? Or did he really want to show a particular feat when another General was visiting this country as the head of a neighbouring State?. A satisfactory answer to the suddenness of the decision is very important not only for the people but also for the army. The further thing to know is how the news of the resignation was given out to the press and by whom? Why again the report of the withdrawal of the resignation was not given at the same time? Was there any design behind that? The press, it should be noted, only did its duty by publishing this gravely important news. No responsible newspaper could conceivably sit silent over a news of such momentous importance.

It is necessary in view of the ill-conceived criticism by the Praja-Socialist and Swatantra Party leaders to emphasise the fact that Shri V. K. Krishna Menon cannot legitimately be held solely or even primarily responsible for any failure when the decision was that of the Prime Minister as well. Moreover, so long as he is in the Cabinet it is a hundred per cent duty of the army chief to obey him and pay him the proper respect. The Prime Minister has emphatically stated that no political influence was responsible for army promotions in all cases of which but one. The recommendations of the Selection Board had been accepted

by the Government. Even in the case of the sole exception, the variation was made to conform to the regulations and ultimately meant no change as the person concerned has been assured of his existing seniority on promotion. It is, however, needless to argue along this level as the Government always must have the authority to make the final decision whatever the recommendations. Even during the height of the Second World War, the British Prime Minister did not hesitate to fire the Chief of Imperial General staff because of differences of opinion. The historic dismissal of General McArthur by President Truman is too recent an event to require elaboration. Even in such a dictatorial country as the Soviet Union, the armed forces have always been subject to the strictest control of the civilian authorities. If India departs from this well-tested policy under any guise, the future will be dark. It certainly does not mean that the civil authorities should be tolerated even if they are corrupt and incompetent; because the Constitution lays down a defined procedure for changing the Government and the armymen, as citizens, also can vote for an alternative government. In any case the suffering of the armymen is by no means to be conceived as greater than that of the famished villagers and the unemployed townsmen.

Audit Report

The report of audit on the Central Government Appropriation Accounts for the year 1957-58 makes dismal reading, not only because of the instances of irregularity and loss to which it refers—and the number of which is unfortunately not very comforting but also, because of the manner in which the irregularities occurred or the losses were incurred. In so far as it may be impracticable to be technically correct always and, inasmuch as even the best brain is liable to err in judgement, some of the irregularities mentioned by audit may perhaps have been unavoidable in so large an affair as the Government of India is. The knowledge of the way how the irregularities occur or losses are incurred assumes a greater importance from the public point of view than the mere knowledge of the fact of the occurrence of an irregularity. It is on this score that the disclosures in the audit report add to the dismay of even the most casual reader. Indeed, some of the instances listed by audit with departmental explanations lead one to doubt if there is a Government functioning in India with adequate rules and regulations for the conduct of financial administration, requiring of its officers the active application of their minds to the matters that come up before them for decision. How, for example, is one to explain the departure of the second engineer of a foreign ship without paying the fine of two lakhs of rupees which the Collector of Customs had imposed upon him? How again is one to look upon the expenditure of renting out a flat for an officer about a year before his arrival? Or the fact of payment for work which had not been done at all?

The ordinary citizen, who has to go round the Government Departments for months on to get a small refund or to settle a minor claim, may legitimately wonder if all the rules and regulations and all the vigilance and strictness are designed to be concentrated upon transactions affecting small sums and are not intended to be applied in bigger transactions involving national efficiency and having a significant impact upon economy. The manner of functioning of the Government departments and the autonomous bodies like the Sindri Fertilizers and Chemicals Limited and the Indian Airlines Corporation—as exemplified in the audit report—does not give any assurance that even commonsense checks also are being applied before decisions are taken. The Indian Airlines Corporaion maintained 700 employees in excess of requirement even though it was perennially running at a loss—in a substantial number of cases even the direct cost not being covered by the receipts.

The report also stresses the need for improvement in the standard of budgetary practice and the maintenance of accounts and other records. The impact of the comprehensive instructions issued by the Government of India in August, 1958, enhancing the financial powers of the administrative Ministers and remodelling the Administrative process relating to budget and supplementary estimates was not clear at the time the report was prepared and is expected to be commented upon

during the audit of the accounts for 1959-60. The attitude of the Government is reflected in the number of objections that have remained unattended to by the authorities and may offer a clue to the persistence of many avoidable evils. More than 120,590 audit objections involving Rs. 69,27,09,319 were outstanding for the period up to 31 March, 1958 in the books of the Audit offices. The corresponding picture from the books of the Pay and Accounts Offices disclosed 7,476 cases involving Rs. 22,26,383. Some of these dated back as early as to 1946-47. Any further comment is superfluous.

Evaluation of Community Development

The sixth evaluation report of the Programme Evaluation Organisation on the Community Development Programme deals with the planning process at the block and the village level, pilot projects for cottage industries, large and small co-operative societies and social education. As regards the planning process, the report gives an account of the structure and composition of the planning organisations at State, district, block and village levels. The recommendations of the Mehta Committee have largely been accepted by most of the States and they have taken steps to vitalise the Block Committees and give greater authority to panchayats to plan and execute local programmes. The report points out that group action is lacking and it exists more in idea than in achievements. The non-official members of the Block Committees do not show much enthusiasm and they attend less frequently than official members of such bodies and the non-official members rather play a passive role in their work. The responsibility for planning and working out the programmes as a result fall mainly on the official members.

The report states that the common villager is yet to develop an interest in the planning effort. This is just common knowledge that the planning efforts in this country have not yet registered the co-operation of the bulk of the people. Nearly 80 per cent of the members of the block bodies approve the respective budgets in a formal manner without critical examination. Of the yearly sanctioned amounts, nearly 35 per cent remained unspent during the period 1956-57 to 1958-59. Even the distribution of actual expenditure does not conform to the sanctioned budgets. Only in some areas a beginning has been made to build up sections of the block plan on estimates prepared at the village level. Only recently efforts are being made in some areas to develop village institutions, especially the Panchayats as the agency for planning. So far only a few tentative attempts have been made to build village plans on those for individual families. The report stresses that the planning is still for the family rather than by the family It is however a good beginning.

About the cottage industries, the report states that the decay of our rural arts and crafts is a serious national problem and the pilot projects for rural industries are expected to contribute to its solution by training artisans, helping them with loans in cash and kind and organising them into co-operative societies. About 10,600 artisans received their training at the 15 projects. These trainees were able to learn improved designs and use of improved tools. But the training programme has not yet made much progress. A large percentage of the trainees are attracted by the prospects of stipends. Nearly 55 per cent of the trainees received stipends and only 37 per cent of the total number went into the crafts they were trained in. This indicates that the wastage of money and material is fairly large. In other words, all those who receive training in particular crafts do not pursue them as professions. It results not only in wastage, but also in unemployment of the trained personnel. The matter is that the trainees are undecided as to their future course of profession and they receive training merely as a stop-gap.

The basic problem of the rural industries is the limited market in the countryside. On account of poverty among the village people there is little or no effective demand and in consequence the rural industries face a very limited market. The increasing competition from large-scale industries has also cornered the rural industries. But there is no assurance that with an increase of income in farming, the scope for rural industries will expand. Studies now reveal that the more prosperous farmers prefer to use the products of factory industries. In the final analysis, the report states, the future of rural industries depends on their capacity to compete with factory industries and also on their opportunity to supplement the large-scale industries. But unfortunately none of the pilot projects were designed to investigate the possibility of the rural industries in supplementing the factory industries. The pilot projects were started "to act as laboratories for controlled observations to find possible solutions to problems that have come up in the field of cottage and small-scale industries." But the pilot projects have hardly fulfilled this purpose. Among the various reasons which are responsible for the failure of the pilot projects in this respect, the most important is that the projects were not based upon adequate investigations into problems that the rural industries in different areas have to face. Who are those that planned the project, did they have any idea as to what they were planning? The results indicate their ignorance.

Study of Co-Operatives

The Evaluation Team made a study of the prospects and possibilities of small and large co-operative societies. The finding of the Team is that the large society is on an average five to seven times as large as the small society as regards membership, area covered and share-capital. While the large societies receive Government contribution towards their share-capital, the small societies receive no such aid. In terms of coverage, the large societies have not reached the smaller cultivators more than the small societies. The small cultivators constitute a smaller proportion of the membership of the large societies than of the small ones. Neither the large nor the small socieies have yet covered even a fourth of the households in their respective areas and the large societies have hardly done better than the small societies.

The average small society has a membership of 64 persons, being roughly equivalent to 22 persons per 100 households in its jurisdiction, a share capital of Rs. 30 per member, a deposit of Re. 1 per member and a loan business of Rs. 9,000 a year. In this connection the evaluation report states: The small society has not had a full trial. The grant of credit is not yet linked with mrketing and the change from the credit-worthy persons, of whom there may be only a few in a village—to credit-worthy purposes—which cover all productive activity, has not yet taken place to any appreciable degree. The Government which has not yet helped the small societies to employ paid trained secretaries, may find the subsidy costing less than the loss from the liquidation of hundreds of societies every year. There would still remain the problem of unproductive loans. It should be one of the functions of the social education programme to educate people out of costly social customs, and if loans for credit-worthy purposes are properly utilised, the resulting increase of income should accommodate the irreducible minimum of expenditure on non-credit-worthy purposes.

The committee suggests that the obvious remedy is to make the small society bigger and this can be done without extending its geographic coverage. The low values of all the dimensions of the small societies call for some steps to increase their workability. It may be recalled that larger societies were encouraged on the recommendations of the All-India Rural Credit Survey Committee. But the larger societies were later regarded as the negation of co-operation and Sir Malcolm Darling in his report discouraged the growth of large co-operative societies. In 1958 Simla conference there was a growing awareness on the part of the Government to switch back to smaller societies. Pandit Nehru observed that a blunder was committed by encouraging the growth of large societies. If working fund of the

small society is raised with the help of Government subsidy and if its organisational structure is improved, then small societies will constitute viable units.

The two main objectives of the community development programme are: to increase agricultural production and to achieve an expansion of cottage and medium scale industries. But in both of these two objectives, the community development has almost become a failure. The responsibility for this failure lies with the State Governments as well as with the district administrations. It is the duty of the district administrations to execute programmes of agricultural development in the best efficient way to secure maximum return on investment and also to exploit to the fullest extent the improved techniques of production. In this connection the Vice-Chairman of the Planning Commission made the following admission: "My review has shown that, in both directions, our efforts have not been adequate when viewed in relation to the expenditures incurred and that these need to be intensified considerably. There should be increased administrative efficiency at all levels and careful review of achievement with prompt action to rectify defects."

At the Mysore session held in July this year on community development, Sri S. K Dey, Minister for Community Development and Co-operation stated that the community development movement was right on the threshold of the revolutionary people's phase. The Programme Evaluation Organisation has, however, severely criticised the way of working the community development. India's target of food production has now been raised to 110 million tons and the achievement of the target at this level will depend basically on the village organisations, particularly the community development blocks which constitute the pivot in the rural economy of the country. Theoretically this is an ideal conception, but its achievement and realisation is most unsatisfactory. That the production of food-grains in this country has been retarded may be traced to a great extent to the failure of the community development projects.

During the Second Five-Year Plan 3,900 seed farms were scheduled to be opened for the production of nucleus seed during the first three years of the Plan. But of this programme only 60 per cent have been achieved. Of course, other factors like the lack of irrigation facilities and inadequate aids to the cultivation are also greatly responsible for the retardation of agricultural production.

Originally there was the plan to divert at least 10 per cent of the population from agriculture to industry by 1976 and this was to be achieved by the development of rural industries mainly through the community development programmes. To achieve this object 24 pilot projects of large-scale industrial programmes were started through the community development blocks. Each project covered nearly 300 villages. But these pilot projects have not met with desired success. Another drawback in the administration of co-operative societies is that all societies are treated as credit societies, although in some circles they are registered as multi-purpose societies.

West Bengal State Electrification

The third Annual Administration Report of the West Bengal State Electricity Board covers the period from April 1957 to March 1958, As regards planning and progress of electrification schemes in the State of West Bengal, the general policy of the Board in chalking out its programme of work continues to be to harmonise as much as practicable its commercial interests with the objective of promotion of public welfare. Owing to the serious dislocation of supply position of machineries and equipments from abroad resulting from Suez Canal blockade, only 30 per cent of the planned targets of that year could be completed leaving a balance of 70 per cent for execution during the year under review. With this carry over of the preceding year's unfinished work, progress in the execution of various schemes was maintained with the funds available under the Plan supplemented by funds advanced by the State Government for Community Development Projects, Relief and Rehabilitation Schemes and Normal Expansion purposes.

The following programme of work was taken up for execution during the year under review. These include rural electrification schemes, Kharagpur-Midnapur electrification scheme, extension of Mayurakshi hydro-electric scheme to Labpur and Kharidya, Howrah-Hoogly rural electrification scheme and suburban electrification scheme. The work according to the above programme was taken up as was permissible with the limited fund of Rs. 56.29 lakhs available during the year against the anticipated allotment of Rs. 76.17 lakhs under the Second Five-Year Plan. In addition to the schemes enumerated above, the Board undertook execution of other schemes during the year under review with the help of loans amounting to Rs. 9.49 lakhs made available by the State Government from the Community Development Programme budget and also with funds supplied by the Relief and Rehabilitation Department. Progress was maintained in the execution of schemes sponsored by the Relief and Rehabilitation Department for electrification of a number of mills, factories and rural areas with a view to opening up possibilities of rehabilitating the displaced and unemployed persons in the areas.

It is said that the use of power indicates the standard of progress of a country. In India the use of power is comparatively much below that of the Western countries. At the end of 1957, the total installed capacity of generators in West Bengal was 493,389 Kw. Of this 3,208 Kw. was hydro-electric and 4,748 was diesel generated. Of the total installed capacity, 489,301 Kw. was under the private sector and 4,088 Kw. was under public sector. Of the 27 electric generating undertakings in West Bengal in 1957, 8 were owned by private companies and 18 companies received bulk supply. Up to March 31, 1958, 262 towns and villages were electrified by the Board. Of these, 98 towns and villages had a population below 1,000; 50 had a population between 1,000 to 2,000; 59 had a population between 2,000 and 5,000; 24 had a population between 5,000 to 10,000; 23 had a population between 10,000 to 20,000; 7 had a population between 20,000 to 50,000 and one town was electrified having a population of 50,000 to 100,000. In 1957, the total units of electricity generated in West Bengal were 1,724 million Kw. The total units generated by the Board were only 4 million Kw. The Damodar Valley Corporation supplied 79 million Kw. to railways and big industries in West Bengal.

In West Bengal in 1957, the total units generated and purchased amounted to 2,084 million Kw. The total units sold were 1,839 million Kw. Of this, irrigation used 539,338 Kw., traction 49 million Kw., public lighting 17 million Kw. In domestic uses, light and fan consumed 223 m.Kw; heat and small power consumed 52 m.Kw; in industries low and medium voltage consumed 106 m.Kw. and high voltage used up 1,209 m.Kw. In West Bengal steam power generates the largest volume of electric power and this is 1,709 m.Kw. and that is entirely by private undertakings. The Board only generates hydro-electric and diesel electric power.

The Jaldhaka hydro-electric scheme is the only major scheme of the Board under the Second Five-Year Plan. The original project report submitted to the Planning Commission was based on the preliminary survey and investigations and was accordingly given preliminary approval for inclusion under the Second Five-Year Plan. Comprehensive investigations were carried out during the year under review. These included contour survey of barrage area extending 1,000 ft., upstream and downstream at 5 ft., contour interval showing contour line up to 2,500 ft. Acquisition of land in the project area is in progress. As the river Jaldhaka forms Indo-Bhutan boundary and approximately 70 per cent of its catchment area above the intake point lies within the territory of Bhutan, an agreement has been reached with the Bhutan Government through the Ministry of External Affairs on payment of royal-

ties. The project report after submission to the Planning Commission will be scrutinized by the Central Water and Power Commission for processing through the Advisory Committee on Irrigation and Power Projects after which clearance from the Planning Commission will be received.

Policy For Transport Development

There is a general feeling in the country that there should be a long-term policy for the development of the transport system. The importance of the rail-road co-ordination also deserves a careful consideration by the authorities. The problem of co-ordination demands early solution, but the progress in this diretcion has remained unsatisfactory. At the end of 1957, India's surfaced roads totalled 127,000 miles and unsurfaced roads 201,000 miles. The railway mileage stood at 34,889 during 1957-58. The road transport, therefore, deserves much more attention and development in view of the fact that the railways only serve a very limited percentage of the total transport system in the country. The occasional disequilibrium that occurs in the country in the distribution and movement of food-grains and other essential commodities may be attributable to the lack of proper road transport system. The railways are over-worked and under the present conditions have limited capacity to serve the interests of the country. Free movement of goods within the country is essential to maintain the economic equilibrium. The railways suffer from bottlenecks and the zonal divisions have further worsened the situation.

The Transport Development Council recently met in New Delhi and endorsed the suggestion for setting up a high level committee for laying down a long-term policy for the development of all forms of transport. As regards the rail-road co-ordination the Council discussed the measures that need be taken pending the examination of the question by the proposed committee. The Council felt that there would be legal difficulty in associating railway representatives with the State Transport authorities, as was suggested in the past. The Council instead accepted the suggestion of the Union Ministry of Transport and Communications that whenever application for road transport permits for routes exceeding 300 miles would be considered, the State Transport authorities might consult the inter-State Transport Commission.

The Council also discussed Masani Committee's recommendations that the formation of the viable units for the operation of road transport should be encouraged so as to ensure better service to public. The Masani Committee suggested that while there should be no ban on single truck operators for inter-regional operation of goods services, there should be a unit of at least five vehicles for State-wide operations and ten vehicles for inter-State operations of goods transport. The Council considered this suggestion and its view was that while in principle viable units should be encouraged, subject to special conditions in individual States, there was a danger of creating vested interests and it would be better to confine such units in future to co-operatives or joint-stock companies and individuals should not be encouraged to form large units. That is just a decision in the right direction. Monopoly ownership should not be allowed to creep into road transport. Moreover, the authorities should be vigilant enough to keep watch on the conditions of private transport system as to its viability, maintenance of vehicles in good condition, fare, etc.

The Council felt that one of the purposes for creating viable units was to ensure better and safer service to the public. With that end in view the Council agreed that a scheme should be prepared under which it would be compulsory for the operator to make use of certain services to be provided by Government for repairs, for ensuring safety of operation and for amenities to users, and the cost of such services will be recovered from the operators. This would result in better supervision and also more facilities to the public.

The question of taxation of motor vehicles was also discussed by the Council. In this connection the Council felt that States which had not so far fallen in line with the policy of consolidation of tax, fixation of ceiling on taxes, avoidance of double taxation, etc., should examine the question again and the whole matter will be reviewed at the next meeting of the Council. As regards the question of rendering financial assistance to the road transport industry, including the provision of hire-purchase facilities, the Council came to the conclusion that the measures already taken were not adequate. It felt that efforts should be made to develop easier credit facilities. It was also decided by the Council that a scheme should be worked out under which scheduled banks would advance loans to transport operators on the security of hypothecated vehicles and other collateral security. Encouragement should be offered to individual operators to form hire-purchase companies on a co-operative basis, such companies being guaranteed easy-loan facilities.

The Council approved the pilot scheme for forming co-operative societies of educated unemployed persons for running goods transport services. Under the scheme as approved by the Council, all members of the society would be working members, each contributing an equal share and each receiving the same salary. For the present the pilot scheme will be introduced in Bombay, Madras, Kerala, West Bengal and Delhi with one unit each. The Government of India will give financial assistance including loans on easy terms and the Government will also provide training facilities and other assistance.

The Union Minister of Transport and Communications said that at this stage it was not possible for the Planning Commission to allocate resources for different sectors of the Plan. But proposals for road development could be worked out on the basis of the 20-year plan drawn up by the Chief Engineers. This plan envisaged an expenditure of Rs. 250 crores a year. The Nagpur Plan targets which were to be attained in 20 years have already been achieved in 16 years. But in view of the rapid economic growth of the country, the targets as laid down under the Nagpur Plan have totally become inadequate. The Nagpur Plan should be revised so as to provide much more roads in keeping with accelerated growth of Indian economic conditions. By 1960-61, there will be a shortage in transport for carrying goods of about 50 million tons a year.

Oil Prices

The disclosure made in the statement of the Union Minister for Mines and Oil, Sri K. D. Malaviya, that the foreign oil companies had ignored repeated requests made by the Government of India to bring down the prices of mineral oils must come as a great surprise especially to those who had wanted to read in the decision of the Burma Shell Refinery Company to forego the duty protection on diesel and other "black oils" with effect from last July a basic change in the method of operation of the foreign oil companies in India. The tone of the Minister's statement in the Lok Sabha on August 20, shows how disappointed the Government has been over the response of the companies concerned. The case for a reduction in the prices of mineral oils rests on the fact that though a good proportion of the total oil supplies of India is imported from the areas bordering the Persian gulf the sale prices are not worked out upon the cost of production and refining but are fixed on a higher level on the basis of some theoretical consideration. The reduction in the sale prices of petrol would thus hardly affect the efficient functioning of the Companies or their legitimate profits though it might conceivably hurt those whose business investments had been made upon the expectation of the gains of plunder and not of industry. The Government of India's policy of neutralising all reductions in prices through the imposition of excise duties of a proportionate order, as it has done in the case of the duty protection given up by the Burma Shell Refinery Company has resulted in a general apathy to this question of far-reaching implications to the national

economy. It is really inexplicable why the Government should be unable to share the gains with the consumer.

Democracy in Nepal

Nepal's experiment with democracy has started with a great handicap which has been due to the non-recognition of the elective principle to the fullest extent. The adoption of the principle or royal nomination for half of the membership of the Upper House of the Nepalese Parliament has resulted in putting the two Houses of Parliament at loggerheads and threatens to make the Government ineffective. The innovation of a royal prerogative for nomination of members of Parliament (it is inconceivable that if the exercise of the King's powers in this regard had been subject to the advice of the Council of Ministers the Ministry would have to face two defeats in the Upper House within such a short period of the inauguration of the Constitution) is rather inexplicable on the face of the King's public profession of constitutionalism. In so far as the King could not have been unaware of the political and social views of the persons he has selected for membership of the Upper House, he must be ready to share the responsibility for the grave threat of impasse presented by the attitude taken by them in the Upper House. Much of Nepal's present misery has been due to the ineffectiveness of successive governments that had been formed since the democratic resolution headed by the late King Tribhuvana. It is really unfortunate that the King Mahendra, who has shown much keenness for democracy, should have been instrumental, even remotely, in placing constitutional Government in Nepal at an initial disadvantage.

Indo-Afgan Trade

A new trade agreement was concluded in August between India and Afganistan in New Delhi which is to take effect from July 21, 1959 when the term of the previous agreement, signed for one year in 1957 and subsequently extended for another year, expried. The new agreement envisages increased trade between the two countries and provides for the extension of facilities to their dealers to import larger quantities of good and new items. Normal imports would be governed by traditional methods of payments but special import would be governed by the mechanism of a self-balancing rupee account. The sale proceeds of hides and skins imported from Afganistan would be credited to the account to be opened by the Da Afganistan Bank with the State Bank of India. Afganistan would be able to draw upon this account to finance her expenditure in India. India would freely license import of hides and skins and special facilities would be extended to the registered importers to import dried and fresh fruits such as foetida summin seed, inedible animal and vegetable crude material and medicinal herbs from Afganistan. On the other hand the Afgan Government would afford facilities for the import into India of cotton and woollen textiles, tea, coffee, dried fish, vegetable products, agricultural products, chemical products, soap, engineering goods, electrical goods, household and building requirements, hardware, rubber manufactures, leather manufactures and products of handicrafts and cottage industries. India would also offer facilities for the export of Afgan goods through India to other countries. India has a recurring adverse balance in the Indo-Afgan trade—Rs. 1.39 crores in 1954, Rs. 2.08 crores in 1955, Rs. 2.05 crores in 1956 and Rs. 3.12 crores in 1957. It is to be hoped that Indian traders would avail themselves of the opportunity of larger trade offered by the new agreement to increase their trade with Afganistan and to wipe out the deficit in the account.

Panchayats

The Government of Rajasthan proposes to constitute 232 Panchayat Samities and 26 Zilla Parishads on the 2nd October as a measure of administrative decentralization which is essential for making democratic functioning real. The Government has introduced a Bill in the State Legislature with this end in view. The measure is a novel one. Though some of the States have drawn up plans for the introduction of such a scheme in isolated blocks and districts it is only in Rajasthan that the Government has moved to introduce the system throughout the State. There will thus be much interest in the current proceedings of the Rajasthan Assembly and how the system works out in practice there. The beginning has however been far from a happy one. The detection of discrepancies in the decisions of the Select committee and in the copy of the Bill as introduced in the Rajasthan Legislative Assembly led to a hot controversy over the admissibility of the Bill which was got over only after the Speaker's intervention with his ruling that the discrepancies were not of a nature to handicap discussion. The discussions which followed indicated the weakness of the scheme formulated by the State Government. An independent member, Shri Mohar Singh, for example, pointed out that the Government proposed to give only 25 naye paise per head of population of a block to panchayat samities which worked out a total of Rs. 32 lakhs for the whole State whereas the villages made an annual contribution of six crores of rupees as land revenue. While money is not everything it can hardly be denied that money has a crucial role to play in efficient functioning and if the panchayat samities are to be kept at a perennial state of beggary it is as well that there was no scheme for administrative decentralization.

Problem of Language

The controversy over the adoption of an official language for the Centre has clouded judgment over another, far more important, thing—namely, the determination of the medium of higher education in the various universities. Not that there is any significant divergence of opinion on the matter among people with a sane outlook on public affairs. With the exception of a few ultra-enthusiastic supporters of Hindi, whose unfortunate preponderance in the official language Commission was mainly responsible for bringing that statutory body to disrepute as the "Hindi Commission," nobody has so far suggested that any one Indian language should supplant English as the medium of instruction in the Universities and other institutes of higher education throughout the country. The University Education Commission—better known as the Radhakrishnan Commission, and the English Committee of the University Grants Commission, commonly known as the Kunzru Committee, both are agreed that English should give way to the regional languages as the medium of instruction at all levels—a position, which found a welcome and authoritative re-iteration in the Prime Minister's speech in the Lok Sabha on August 7 during the discussion on Mr. Frank Anthony's motion to include English in the eighth schedule of the Constitution as a national language. Yet mainly because of the tussle at the Centre between the extremists who would like everything to be in Hindi or in English the practical implementation of the principle has failed to receive the attention due to it and has thus so far gone by default.

There was an undeniable force in a Member's charge in the Rajya Sabha on August 5 that the Government had failed to make any serious effort to give effect to the recommendation of the Radhakrishnan Commission to make the regional language the medium of instruction in higher educational institutions. Experience with the changeover of the medium from English to the regional languages at the secondary level, which was effected only about a little over two decades ago, has shown that there is no other way to cultivate of the Indian language concecrned "as a medium of expression for learned purposes" and to prepare "a sufficient body of learned literature in that language in all subjects of study" than immediately to make it the medium of instruction at the university level. To hope to achieve perfection and the highest standard even during the initial periods of transition from English is to expect the impossible to happen and is the other way of stemming the progress of Indian languages.

To make the regional language a medium of instruction is an altogether different thing which is to be considered apart from the question of the future of English in India, either as a language of administration or as a compulsory second language. As matters obtain at present, English is going to be retained as an important and compulsory second language. On the other hand firm believers as we are in the adoption of Hindi as the official language, we cannot be oblivious of the inconvenience and the genuine misapprehension of the greater majority of Indians which are not caculated to be assuaged by some of the things said, or the attitude displayed by a number of people on behalf of Hindi. Seth Govind Das's insistence on putting Mr. Anthony's resolution, to which we already indicated our objection, to vote even when the mover himself offered to withdraw it betrays an attitude which only increases this uneasiness about the ultimate pattern of things. It is not accidental that the Prime Minister's clarification has received an overwhelming appreciation both in the House and outside, the principles enunciated by him should thus determine the pace.

Prospectives for Education

The deliberations of the two-day conference of the Education Ministers of the States which concluded in New Delhi on August 9, have indicated no new line of thinking on the educational front. The conference has been content to reiterate the well-known fact of the extension of the target date of providing universal, free and compulsory education for children between the ages of six and eleven years from 1960 to 1966. To implement this programme, it has been suggested that all the State Governments should accept the target at the Cabinet level and immediately proceed upon adopting preliminary measures so that there is no difficulty in starting work from the beginning of the Third Plan. The superficial character of the discussions is too pronounced to escape notice. It was never difficult to know that the targets of introducing universal free primary education by 1960, as envisaged in the Constitution, was not going to be achieved within that time. Did the State Governments think that it would not be possible to achieve the target even by 1966? It is, therefore, rather inexplicable why the State Ministers should have assembled in a conference, as they have done, only to declare a pious wish without working out the practical requirements of finance and administrative tasks.

The conference has stressed upon the need to convert at least half of the schools into higher secondary schools by the end of the Third Plan and that permission should not ordinarily be given to open high (class X) schools. According to the Union Education Minister, 1033 high schools had already been upgraded into higher secondary schools and 77 schools converted into multi-purpose schools against targets of 1187 higher secondary schools and 937 multi-purpose schools for the period of the Second Plan. While the physical targets of the Plan is not impossible of achievement it hardly disposes of the fundamental problem which is the improvement and maintainance of standards. This leads to the examination of the philosophy of education held by the policy-makers. On the one hand they want higher education to be restricted, on the other hand efforts for improvements of standards have to come up against the hurdle of a lack of an adequate number of properly educated teachers. It is however re-assuring to know that the Government of India has decided to give one hundred per cent assistance for the remaining period of the Second Plan to State Governments for opening teachers' training institutions and for increasing their enrolment. The conference has shown commendable caution in suggesting that the compulsory introduction of the scheme of national service proposed by the Union Education Ministry should await results gained in pilot projects and should not be rushed through without proper experience.

The question of education is intimately bound up with English. On this, the right line has been set by the Prime Minister. While rightly opposing Mr. Frank Anthony's motion for the inclusion of English in the eighth schedule of the Costitution of India, Shri Nehru has equally wisely stated that English would remain as an important second language, but not as a medium of instruction. It is for our educational authorities to act upon this policy and to adopt the speediest measures to make the mother-tongue the medium of instruction at all stages of education.

I.A.C. Strike

The lightning strike of the radio officers and pilots of the Indian Airlines Corporation on the night of August 14-15, which was withdrawn later on the assurance of the Union Minister for Transport and Communication, merits especial consideration because of a number of peculiar features. It was one of the rare occasions when a national public utility service was paralyzed practically without any notice. The people who were responsible for organizing the strike aparently considered it to be of paramount importance to bring the fact of their grievances to the attention not only of the Corporation authorities but also of the Government and the people of India in the most immediate fashion. So much so that they were ready to justify the loss incurred by the Corporation and the travelling public. Frankly, the published version of the cause of the strike does not warrant the grave steps taken. In Bombay, the men left their post on the plea that discourtesy had been shown to the President of the Indian Commercial Pilots' Association by the Chief Pilot and the General Manager of the Corporation, in Calcutta, the airmen were on strike apparently for the non-implementation of the agreement regarding granting of leave on public holidays; and in Madras the men stopped work after having served two flights.

The fact that despite these divergent reasons the strike took place at such a short notice and with such great completeness would suggest a deep-rooted resentment of the general body of IAC workers towards the management. This presumption gains strength from the promise made by the Union Minister for Transport and Communication to hold a high-level enquiry into the charges made by the Association. It would clearly be unwise to restrict the scope of the enquiry to the present charges and counter-charges. The warning of this strike should be fully utilised to clear the atmosphere in the IAC. To ensure the efficiency and the integrity of public service it is essential that responsibility is fixed for failure and mis-management and due punishment is meted out to the guilty irrespective of their position in the administrative hierarchy. Experience shows that much avoidable trouble arises out of the mechanical application of private enterprise norms—which are themselves unsatisfactory and are in a process of transfomation in the industrially progressive countries, but retain their relatively early forms in this country—in the field of public enterprise. While an undertaking based on sole-proprietorship could function without having a special machinery for the reconciliation between the management and the employees, a joint stock company could not. Thus labour legislation first came to be enacted bringing in the Government as the third party. Similarly the functioning of publicly-owned undertakings where everybody is an employee can hardly achieve efficiency, functioning along the lines of a joint-stock company which has a set of definite owners—which leads to the need for working out a new code of conduct for those who are engaged in the public sector.

Lastly there is the most important question, that of discipline in the public utility services. This question is paramount in importance, though too often forgotten in the emotional consideration of a strike. Was the strike justified?

Legal Aid

The Union Law Minister, Sri A. K. Sen, disclosed in the course of his speech winding up the debate on the report of the Law Commission in the Lok Sabha on September 1 that the Government of India was busy drawing up a model scheme for giving legal assistance to the poor which would soon be circulated to the States for their opinion. He referred to the agreement reached in the last conference of Law Ministers on the question of providing legal aid to the poor and expressed the hope that the aforementioned scheme would be found acceptable by all the State Governments. The Minister's emphasis on the need for providing legal aid to the poor will be widely welcomed as an indication of the Government's awareness, belated though it is, of one of its

fundamental duties under the Constitution which is to ensure justice and equality to all the citizens. The legal system as it now operates puts a heavy premium upon the financial capabilities of a person seeking justice and it is well-nigh impossible even for an urban middle-class man to secure justice for his grievances, not to speak of the ordinary villager and the poor man. Any scheme of legal aid, however limited in character, is therefore to be heartily welcomed but it is necessary at the same time to point out the fact that no system of legal aid can be expected to be significantly effective within the existing framework of law and justice. The essential prerequisite for a cheaper and speedier justice is a thorough reform of the system which however the Government is not willing to consider at the moment. But until that is done, recourse to law and the judiciary will largely remain a privilege of the rich.

Incivil Civic Guardians

The extent of the loss of values ever among those who are supposed to be leaders of society was evidenced in the need to call in the police to restore order at a meeting of the Sholapur District Local Board on September 1. The trouble arose out of the association of a former member of the Samyukta Maharastra Samiti group with the Congress Group to which the samiti group objected. Verbal altercation started over the propriety of the dissident member's action and was soon followed by physical pushing when the police had to be called in. For obvious reasons no business could be transacted at that meeting which was scheduled to elect four Local Board Members to the District Village Panchayat Board. It is through such unimaginative approach that the functioning of democracy is being made more and more expensive and ineffective in this country. The leaders of all the parties must clearly recognize the fact that unless they are able to hold up before the public the example of a disciplined conduct and efficient functioning it will only provide an additional weapon in the armoury of those who are clamouring that democracy is unworkable in India.

The Injured Comrades

The confusion in the thought-process of the leaders of the Communist Party of India was sharply exposed in the retort of the Chief Minister of West Bengal, Dr. B. C. Roy, to the Leader of the Opposition and the Communist Party in the State, Shri Jyoti Basu. Shri Basu had charged that the movement launched by the Price Increase and Famine Resistance Committee in West Bengal had been a peaceful one and the Government's measures to check it were oppressive. Dr. Roy has contested the claim that the movement is peaceful and has quoted from the speech of another Communist leader of West Bengal, Shri Bhupesh Gupta, who had asked the Rajya Sabha whether the incitement by the Opposition parties in Kerala to lay a siege to the Secretariat there was not reprehensible. Contrasting the statement of P.I.F.R. Committee, in which it was stated *inter alia* that "a central rally on the slogan of 'All to Calcutta' from various districts will be held in Calcutta and a march towards Writers' Buildings (Secretariat) in thousands and defiance of law *en masse* will take place", to Shri Bhupesh Gupta's remarks, the Chief Minister has asked how the two views of the two Communist leaders can be reconciled. Evidently they are not mutually reconcilable. The Communist leader may perhaps seek a way of escape by officially denying his Party's formal responsibility for the statement of the Committee but that will not deceive anybody because the inspiration as well as the practical leadership of the movement is openly Communist. The Communist would not have to face this dilemma had they been publicly faithful to their ideology or to their democratic pretensions. Apparently they were so afraid of losing power in Kerala and were so disappointed at having to admit defeat that in their eagerness to prove their good conduct and their fidelity to democratic forms and procedures that they were even ready to abjure their faith. Shri Bhupesh Gupta and many other Parliamentary Communist leaders did so. However, as the Party did not really believe in the indispensability of the Parliamentary method, others, not directly connected with Kerala, continued to act on their ideological understanding as did the Party leaders in West Bengal. Hence, this contradiction. By the same recokning however the Congress position is also equally vulnerable. Having led a movement for the overthrow of a Government it cannot convincingly decry a similar movement against its own Government.

Labour in U.S.

The United States is experiencing another major industrial strike, that of the United Steel Workers' Union. These men have had an 85 per cent rise in their wages since January, 1950. This rise, even when corrected for changes in purchasing power due to rise in commodity prices, comes to 44 per cent absolute. But they want more, and the producers of steel, that is the management, has said it cannot give any further raise without increasing the price of steel.

In general, Labour is at the cross-roads in most democracies. In the U.S.A., it has been further complicated by racketeers dominating some of the most powerful unions. It has come to such a pass that the U.S. Government has had to formulate a labour reform bill about which *The New York Times* of August 23, gives the following details:

"*Labour*: The Senate passed a labour reform bill in April; the House passed its more stringent version two weeks ago. Last week the two measures went to a fourteen-man conference committee for reconciliation. It was a tough job because on a number of important points the two measures are diametrically opposed. The Democratic leadership agreed to give the conference committee seven days to try to find a compromise; if it fails, the Senate might take up the House bill and vote on it. But in any case, the Democratic leadership strongly predicts that some labor reform legislation will be passed. Organized labor regards the Senate measure as distasteful, the House measure as downright repugnant. Last Thursday James B. Carey, head of the International Union of Electrical Workers, sent letters to the legislators who voted for the House bill threatening that labor would "take appropriate action at the ballot box." A number of legislators angrily branded this as "an attempt to intimidate" the Congress."

Some details about the nature of trouble that the proposed bill wishes to guard against can be gathered from the following commentary in the same issue of *The New York Times*:

"Since the racket-ridden, hoodlum-dominated International Long-shoremen's Union was expelled from the American Federation of Labor in 1953 it has been the focus of considerable activity and pressure. For one thing, the waterfront Commission of New York Harbor, created in the same year, has been hard at work purging the 80,000-member union. The Commission has largely excluded hoodlums and racketeers from the I.L.A. It is now a crime for a local that has a convicted felon among its officers to collect union dues. It is also a crime for a convicted felon to approach within 500 feet of the waterfront. The shape-up, under which longshoremen had to appear early each morning to wait a nod from the gang boss assuring him he would work that day, has been scrapped. Now hiring agents are licensed and longshoremen are registered. Longshoremen's pay has on the average doubled—as of June 30 it was $107 a week—and their wives, able now to feed and clothe their families, are all for the new respectability.

Another form of pressure on the I.L.A. has come from Harry Bridges of the West Coast longshoremen's union, who would like to extend his control to the East and Gulf coast ports, and Jimmy Hoffa, of the Teamasters, to whom the longshoremen are an indispensable element for the transport federation he would like to build."

Our Government should take note of all these.

Laos

The Security Council of the U.N. has met in an emergency call in response to an appeal by the Government of Laos for U.N. aid to meet aggression by forces that have been equipped, according to them, by arms of

Chinese, Russian and Czech origin. The incursion, according to the Laos authorities, was organised and supported by a neighbouring Communist State. The Security Council has appointed a fact-finding commission, which has been condemned by the Premier of North Viet Nam. *The New York Times* of August 23, carried the following commentary which gives the U.S. version of the affair:

"Last Friday, en route home after a month's "vacation" in Moscow, Ho Chi Minh, the President of Communist North Vietnam, held a secret conference at Peiping with the leaders of Communist China. The meeting was followed by a banquet. There was no official hint of what had been discussed but it was widely believed that high on the agenda was the fighting in Laos.

The Buddhist kingdom of Laos (area: 89,000 square miles; population: 3,000,000) is in the heart of South-east Asia and shares common frontiers with six states—Communist China, Communist North Vietnam, neutralist Burma and Cambodia, pro-Western South Vietnam and Thailand, which is allied to the United States through SEATO.

Three weeks ago fighting broke out between Communist dissidents and Government troops in the country's two northern provinces along the North Vietnamese border. Last week the fighting intensified and there were reports that fresh Communist forces were massing inside the Communist Vietnamese frontier.

The fighting has touched off an acrimonious East-West exchange. Russia last week accused the U.S. of violating the 1954 Geneva accord on Laos by establishing military bases in Laos. Under the terms of the 1954 agreement, which ended the eight-year-old Indo-China war, the introduction of troops "from outside Laotian territory" was prohibited but Laos was permitted to receive military aid "necessary for the defense of Laos." Russia warned that the fighting in Laos would have "dangerous consequences for peace in South-east Asia."

The U. S. branded the Communist charges "false" and declared: "We have no troops in Laos. We do not have in Laos, nor have we provided that country, with any heavy or medium equipment. We have no bases in Laos, nor airstrips." U.S. miilitary aid to Laos, it was pointed out, started in 1950 and has continued since 1954 as "defense support." The bill now runs to about $25,000,000 a year. The U.S. also has seventy-one military aides in Laos and 100 technicians in civilian garb to help train the 25,000-man Royal Laotian Army.

Washington accused the Russians of "complicity" in instigating the fighting. The U.S. said the conflict erupted when Communist dissidents in the northern provinces balked at integration into the Government army—as agreed to last year. The insurgents then escaped into Communist Vietnam, the State Department said, "providing further evidence of the link between (Laotian Communists) and North Vietnam," regrouped their forces and returned to invade Laos.

Some Asian observers speculated that the Laos crisis may have been created by Peiping against Moscow's wishes. According to this theory, Peiping may have been trying to register displeasure at and possibly disrupt the forthcoming Eisenhower-Khrushchev exchange. They recalled that Peiping was believed to have vetoed Mr. Khruschev's proposed trip to a U.N. summit meeting in New York last summer. Moreover, this line of reasoning goes, he had no choice under the circumstances but to back Peiping on the Laos issue.

During the week the United Nations was drawn into the affair despite Secretary General Dag Hammarskjold's expressed desire to maintain "hands off." On Wednesday a Laotian envoy arrived in New York and held a series of conferences with Mr. Hammarshkjold to ask what the U.N. will do about the affair."

The Caribbean States

The Americans are known to most of us in the terms of the major States, such as, Canada, the United States, Mexico, Brazil, Argentina, Chile, etc. But besides these there are a whole host of big and small States that are highly unstable and are in a perpetual state of agitation. Recently, after the seizure of power by Fidel Castro in Cuba, there have been sporadic attempts to start risings against Castro's rule, that were financed and supported by dictators in other States. Castro also retaliated in trying to stage a revolt in the Dominican Republic. There was a turmoil which led the U.S. Foreign Secretary to call a meeting, at Santiago, Chile, of the Foreign Ministers of twenty-one American States. The *New York Times* of August 23, gives the following commentary of the meeting:

"Within the Caribbean Sea's 750,000 square miles is a diverse group of nations ranging from new "revolutionary democracies" of the Latin world such as Fidel Castro's Cuba to old entrenched dictatorship such as Generalissimo Rafael Leonidas Trujillo's Dominican Republic. At least six Caribbean states—Nicaragua, Haiti, Panama, Honduras, Cuba and the Dominican Republic—claimed over the past six months to have been invaded or infiltrated by "foreign elements." The turmoil ultimately led to the meeting at Santiago, Chile, a fortnight ago of the twenty-one American foreign ministers—including the representatives of the rival Caribbean nations—to discuss ways of coping with the strife.

At the conference the United States —which is deeply disturbed by the tension on its doorstep—was confronted with a dilemma. On the one hand, the U.S. was loath to give apparent support to Latin American dictatorships. On the other hand, the U.S. has termed the inter-American principle of nonintervention the "foundation stone" of hemispheric relations and has viewed the Caribbean invasions as undermining that doctrine.

Last week, after six days of debate highlighted by bitter exchanges between the Cuban and Dominican delegates, the conference produced the "Declaration of Santiago." The declaration reaffirmed the doctrine of nonintervention but condemned "every system tending to suppress political and civil rights and liberties." The conference also approved a resolution empowering the five-nation Inter-American Peace Commission, formed in 1940, to "initiate" an inquiry into Caribbean tensions. Secretary of the State Christian A Herter said: "(The meeting) has had a positive and constructive result."

Observers in Santiago felt that the conference achieved about as much as could be expected under the circumstances and that Mr. Herter had favorably impressed most of the Latin American delegates. There was hope in some diplomatic quarters that the peace commission might discourage governments such as Premier Castro's from assisting exiled rebel groups in mounting invasions against the dictators, while restraining the dictators from aiding anti-Castro movements in Cuba. But many observers felt the committee lacked the authority to do the job and that the "Declaration of Santiago" had a hollow ring. They pointed out that the Dominican Republic was among the signatories and that, obviously, Generalissimo Trujillo had no intention of introducing democratic reforms at home."

Bengali Encyclopaedia

An encyclopaedia forms an essential part of a nation's literature. The Government of India has formulated a scheme for financial support to efforts to prepare encyclopaedias in the various languages of the country. Work—under official patronage—is in progress simultaneously for the compilation of two encyclopaedias in Hindi. Commendable progress has been made in the preparation of a Tamil encyclopaedia in the south and some of the volumes have already come out. However, progress in this respect has been rather tardy in other languages—chiefly because of a lack of proper financial support for the project and the absence of a feeling of urgency for such a thing among the scholars. In West Bengal all work has so far been bogged down over the controversy over the personnel of the editorial board. While Indian efforts have thus remained crippled for one

eason or other it is rather remarkable that Pakistan, where financial and aggregate ntellectual capabilities can hardly bear comparison with India's, should have nanaged to launch upon a scheme for the compilation of a Bengali encyclopaedia representing what has been described as 'Muslim points of view." Of course the project is being financed by a U.S. firm but considering the possibilities of market returns Indian producers could certainly present more hopeful prospects to draw in foreign concerns over comparable projects in Indian languages. The truth must be sought elsewhere—in the enthusiasm of Pakistani scholars to enrich their language and literature. Only the other day we had the news of the completion of the compilation of a Urdu-Bengali dictionary. Indian languages have yet to have a dictionary each for every other Indian language.

The Coal and Soft Coke Problem

We have received disquieting information about the position of coal and domestic (soft) coke stocks and raisings from one of the mining organisations of Bengal and Bihar. The information was given in response to our enquiry as to whether supplies would improve after the sanction of the increase of price by 0.50 nP per ton, and a full subsidy for stowing. In passing it should be remarked that the Government of India has taken 28 months in coming to this decision.

The fact that the Government has accepted the report in its entirety raises with force the question why the decision on the matter had to be delayed so much. The Government's action consisted solely in deciding upon policies the implications of which had been examined by the Price Revision Committee in relatively great details. The importance of an adequate explanation for the reasons of the delay in making up the Government's mind arises out of the fact that this indecision has had a particularly adverse impact upon the production of coal which was 3.81 million tons in June this year against 3.88 million tons in May last year. According to a statement issued on behalf of the industry the fall in production and non-utilization of available transport facilities (notwithstanding the fact that the latter have remained one of the great headaches in the matter of making coal available to the consumers at a reasonably low price) had been due not to any lack of demand for coal, since collieries held more than adequate orders for their output, but due to the absence of adequate financial support and the proper incentive. The result has been the almost complete disappearance of the stock of quality coal everywhere.

The Revision Committee's recommendations are based on the assumption that there would be no demands by labour during the next five years—a very doubtful proposition indeed in view of the constantly rising prices of daily necessities. During the past twelve years provision for wage increase alone has accounted for a rise of Rs. 8.25 in the price of coal per ton.

According to information received, the stocks of steam coal at the Bengal-Bihar coal fields are practically nil. The official statistics are illusory as the figures they give are of brick-burning slack. Also the stocks that should be maintained for Iron and Steel Works and other industries have also dwindled down to almost nil, day-to-day raisings and supplies therefrom being the order of the day. As a result the stocks held by the major consumers are fast coming down below the danger level.

The position regarding domestic coke is still worse, as we can testify from our own knowledge. Would the position improve now after the Government's decision? "No," say our informants. The Government's decision means that losses will continue in the coal mining industry, the award will only lower the losses by 30 per cent. The industry cannot carry on at this rate, in the face of continuing losses, and no prospects of industrial peace. The situation, as we can gather from the papers placed before us by three mining organisations, is extremely delicate.

REMINISCENCES OF SANTINIKETAN
1921-1922, 1923

By SNEHALATA SEN

Of all my visits to Santiniketan during the last 45 years, the present visit has brought to my mind the true significance of the words, "Santiniketan—the Abode of Peace."

When I came here before this, I was active, able to go for long walks, attend all the functions and visit people, but this time I am unable to go out much.

As I sit quietly at home with the sky and open places all around "Memory brings the light of other days around me." So I sit down to write the reminiscences of these days.

My longest visit to Santiniketan was when I lived here for 1½ years in charge of the Girls' Hostel.

The opening of the Women's Section of the Visva-Bharati is a landmark in the history of the Institution.

It is now nearly 37 years ago when I came here. I was then living in Calcutta in the northern quarter, and was longing to go away somewhere out of the crowded city. My son Kula Prasad was at that time working in the villages at Surul along with a band of boys under the guidance and leadership of Sri Nepal Ch. Roy, the well-known partriotic worker. Kula Prasad suggested I should come to Santiniketan for a change.

I had been to the Asram four or five times before, after my son Prodyot had been admitted as a student to the Brahma Vidyalaya started by Gurudev. I sent Prodyot there at the age of ten years on the advice of my father. I decided to go to Santiniketan and wrote to Gurudev that I would like to go and work there if he would let me. He wrote at once in reply, asking me to go:

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কল্যাণীয়াসু

তুমি ছুটির পরে শান্তিনিকেতনে আসচ শুনে খুব খুসি হয়েছি। আমি নিশ্চয় জানি তুমি যদি ছেলেদের পড়াবার ভার নেও তাহলে খুব ভালই হবে। আমার অনেকদিন থেকেই ইচ্ছা ছিল তোমাদের মত কাউকে পেতে কলকাতার চেয়ে এখানে তুমি শান্তিতে থাকবে তার সন্দেহ নেই। আমার খুব বিশ্বাস এখানকার কাজ তোমার ভাল লাগবে।

এখানে আমাদের কয়েকজন অতিথি এসেছেন তাঁদের নিয়ে ব্যস্ত আছি। ইতি ২৩শে আশ্বিন ১৩২৮

শুভাকাঙ্ক্ষী

শ্রীরবীন্দ্রনাথ ঠাকুর

His reply to my letter seemed to be almost an answer to a prayer. It has been my privilege to be intimately known to the Poet since my childhood and throughout my life. When I went to Santiniketan I took 2 or 3 classes teaching little boys English and English conversation. They used to come to me every morning.

Later on when Gurudev requested me to take charge of the Women's Section of the Visva-Bharati, I felt it was a great honour. I prayed I would be able to justify the Poet's trust and confidence in me. I wanted no salary, and wished to work in an honorary capacity as long as I could. I was made a member of the Karma Samiti and attended all its meetings.

After receiving Gurudev's reply to my letter I left Calcutta with my daughter Malati accompanied by my son Prodyot, and arrived at Bolpur Station. Some boys met us at the station and took us to the cottage known as Nutan Bari. It adjoined the building known as Dehuli. I was given a large room with a big verandah in front and also a bath-room attached to my room. The other rooms of Nutan Bari were occupied by the girl boarders, who were then ten in all. I give the names of the girls: Manjusri, Malati, Surekha, Eva, Satyabati, Latika, Saraju, Tapasi, Amita and a little girl of 6 or 7 years of age.

I did not know then that Surekha would become my daughter-in-law. She was married to Prodyot after I had left the Asram. Soon the number of girls increased to twenty.

There was a matron to look after the kitchen and boarding arrangements.

I lived happily with the girls here, attending Gurudeva's classes, going to the mandir for prayer and service once a week. In the evening I would go out for walks or go to Gurudv and sit by him with the other girls, boys and visitors.

During my residence at Santiniketan my eldest daughter Sunity came here with her little son on a visit to me. She was surprised to see how much I had improved in health and how active I was.

We had at that time amongst us Miss Stella Kramrisch, the talented lady, who came out to India at Gurudeva's invitation. She taught the students the principles of Indian Art and dancing. Miss Kramrisch occupied a room of girls' boarding opposite mine. We soon became very friendly.

It was at this time that Mr. Elmherst came out to India at the Poet's request and took charge of the Agricultural Institution at Sriniketan in Surul. He came and visited us sometimes and encouraged the girls in gardening. His first lesson to them was to cut down some trees and clear the jungle around Nebu Kunja and other cottages.

How happy the girls were—attending classes in the open under the trees, learning embroidery, handicrafts, music, dancing, painting and gardening.

At that time Gurudev lived in the Dehuli and the girls went to him to attend classes named Balaka, when he read out his poems from the book *Balaka* and explained them to us all.

I made it a rule that the girls should cook one meal on Wednesday, their weekly holiday. They were very enthusiastic and cooked their lunch. Sometimes they went out for a picnic and cooked somewhere in the open.

They used to go out for long walks in the evening and they went out in groups of four or five and had to be back in the Asram before the bell rang for Evening Prayers.

An English lady came to the Asram to enlist members for the Girl Guide Movement from the Girls' Boarding and other places. I sent the girls to her. They were very eager and excited and went to her.

Soon they came back looking very serious and said they could not take the Oath which was 'Loyal to my King and my country'. They were willing to take the Oath: "To my country but not to my King, as the king may not always be loyal to our country." I laughed and told them; "It is alright, do what your conscience tells you." However, in spite of this, the girls of the boarding and Asram were given lessons in Girl Guide. It was good discipline and training for them. Gurudev named them Sahaika.*

In a year the number of boarders increased to twenty. It was a slow increase but people hesitated to send their girls to a place where there was co-education. In order to encourage the girls and boys to mix freely as comrades and class-mates I proposed inviting the boys now and then to small social gatherings. I wrote to Gurudev asking his permission to do so. He wrote in reply:

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কল্যাণীয়াসু

তুমি যে প্রস্তাব করেচ আমি তার অনুমোদন করি। ওখানকার ছেলেমেয়েদের মধ্যে একটা আত্মীয়তার সম্বন্ধ ঘটাই ত উচিত। তবে কিনা মাঝখানে তোমাদের থাকা দরকার হবে। তার কারণ বাংলা দেশের সাধারণ গৃহস্থ ঘরে পরস্পরের মেলামেশার অবকাশ না থাকাতে এ জন্যে অধিকাংশ লোকের মন ঠিক তৈরী হয়নি। গুজরাটে মারাঠায় এ সম্বন্ধে কোনো বালাই নেই। যাই হোক তোমরা এ রকম নিমন্ত্রণ সভায় কাজ আরম্ভ করে দিতে পার। তোমাদের ওখানে কেবলমাত্র মেয়েদের মধ্যে আলাপিনী সভা আছে—ছেলেমেয়েদের একটা আলাপ সভা থাকলে ভালই হবে। আমি সম্ভবত দশই এপ্রেল তারিখে আশ্রমে উপস্থিত হব। ইতি ৩ এপ্রেল, ১৯২২

শুভাকাঙ্ক্ষী

শ্রীরবীন্দ্রনাথ ঠাকুর

However, that prejudice of co-education was gone in time, for when I visited Santiniketan fifteen years after in 1938, there were more than 100 boarders. The girls' boarding had been removed from Nebu Kunja to the big building which was named Sree Bhavan by the Poet. There was a Lady Principal, an Asst. Lady Principal and two matrons in charge.

I was obliged to go to Calcutta for a few days in November, 1922, and wrote and asked

* সহায়িকা

Gurudeva's permission. He wrote in reply saying I could go, leaving the girls in charge of Sm. Sarajubala Dutt who was then with us, living in the boarding with her daughter Amita (Ranu).

When I came back the girls ran to welcome me. Then I went to Gurudev to make a *pranam*. He laughed and said, "Oh you are back. The girls seemed to be quite lost without you." It was at this time that repairs were made to the cottage of our boarding for additional accommodation to receive more girls. The copy of Gurudeva's reply to my letter is given here:

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কল্যাণীয়াসু

আমি ঘুরে ঘুরে বক্তৃতা দিয়ে ভিক্ষে করে বেড়াচ্চি। আশা করি শীঘ্র ফিরব। জীবনে কোনো বিদ্যাই শিখি নি, কি করে ভিক্ষে করতে হয় তাও জানি নে, তাই এত সময় লাগছে। তোমাদের ওখানকার খবর শুনে খুসি হলুম। নেবুকুঞ্জের বাড়িটা মেরামত করবার কথা ছিল। যদি মেরামত হয়ে থাকে তাহলে নতুন মেয়ে আরো কিছু নেবার বাধা হবে না। যদি মেরামত না হয়ে থাকে তাহলে রথীকে তাড়া দিতে ভুলো না।

তুমি কিছুদিনের জন্য ছুটি চেয়েচ। সরযুবালার উপর ভার দিয়ে ছুটি নিয়ো। আমি যখন ফিরব তখন হয়ত তুমিও ফিরবে, সেই সময়ে তোমার সঙ্গে সকল বিষয়ে আলোচনা করতে পারব। নতুন পাঞ্জাবী মেয়ের কথা শুনে খুসি হলুম। বিদেশী মেয়ে অনেক জুটবে, জায়গা করে দিতে পারলে আর কোনো বাধা থাকবে না।

তোমরা সকলে আমার আশীর্ব্বাদ গ্রহণ কোরো। ইতি ২২ নবেম্বর ১৯২২

শুভাকাঙ্ক্ষী

শ্রীরবীন্দ্রনাথ ঠাকুর

The personality of our beloved Poet and his unique institution drew girls from all the provinces of India. I found girls from Rajputana, Gujarat, Sind, United Provinces, Central Provinces, Assam, Bengal, Behar and Orissa, South India and Ceylon. And the wonder of it was, that most of the non-Bengali girls spoke Bengali fluently!

The Poet had a great regard for women and gave them a special place in his institution. He did his utmost to place within their reach Indian learning, culture, and art in all its phases. There is a wonderful library open to all.

Gurudev combined idealism with the practical side of life. He was accessible to all and never refused anyone or turned away anyone. He treated the workers and teachers of his institution like friends. He took a personal interest and this human touch of sympathy, promoted co-operation and made his institution develop and grow into what it is now.

He helped me in my difficulties and advised me in all matters like a friend. His energy was unceasing and untiring and he looked after his guests and to all the details of Sriniketan and Santiniketan.

When the call came Gurudev would leave India, and set out as an ambassador to other countries, to tell the peoples of the world, what India was, what India is, and what India can be. Wherever he went he was besieged by crowds, and went through a heavy programme with a cheerful and untiring spirit, but throughout his tours, his heart was at Santiniketan, and with the residents of the Asram.

Sometimes visitors from Calcutta came and visited the Girls' Boarding. They were surprised at the freedom given to the girls and at the long walks they used to go for. I explained to them that this was not a boarding in a city but a home, an Asram for them, and we trusted them.

After nearly 1½ years, I left my post as Lady Principal to the Women's Section of Visva-Bharati to go to my son Prodyot, who was then posted at Gaya. I went to Gurudev and asked his permission to leave. He smiled and said, "You must wait till I get someone to replace you." Soon after Miss Hembala Sen came from Calcutta to relieve me, and I left Santiniketan before the summer vacation. I left my daughter Malati in the Girls' Boarding, where she remained for five years more. During Malati's stay at Santiniketan as a student, a young man of a well-known family of Orissa, Naba Krishna Chowdhury, came to Visva-Bharati as a student. Malati and Naba got engaged to be married and they left the Asram. I was very pleased and the marriage took place at Calcutta. Gurudev attended the wedding and gave them their blessing. Malati was very happy and benefited much from her resi-

dence at Visva-Bharati as a student. The personal influence of Gurudev and his teachings, his patriotism and idealism, have influenced and guided Malati throughout her life.

During my stay at the Girls' Boarding my eldest daughter Sunity Dutt, came on a visit to me with her little boy. He is now a grown-up young man. Sunity was surprised to see the improvement in my health and the active life I had.

Her little boy was very sweet and intelligent and Gurudev took a great fancy to him and would keep him on his lap. One evening the child was sitting quietly in Gurudev's lap when a sudden strong breeze arose. The child turned to Gurudev and said, "Guludev, uttal hawa."*

The Poet was delighted to hear the apt quotation from his poem in the lisping accents of the tiny child.

The months that I spent at Santiniketan were some of the happiest and peaceful days of my life. The memory of that time brings to my mind the picture of the Poet, as a friend, a worker, a counsellor, and a Guru, to be loved and revered by all.

* উতল হাওয়া

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THE PRIME MINISTER IN THE INDIAN POLITY

By Prof. V. LINGAMURTY, M.A.

I

Parliamentary government signifies the entire web of the government, the legislature, the executive, the electorate and political parties being the four important strands closely interwoven. Parliamentary system connotes the manner and extent of parliamentary control over the executive, the position and influence of the opposition, parliamentary check on delegated legislation and the existence of a vigilant electorate. Thus parliamentary system of government is a multiple thing and involves four factors. "The first of the four is an electorate . . . The second is a system of parties . . . The third and cardinal thing is the parliament. . . The fourth is a guiding Cabinet—a Cabinet guiding parliament and yet at the same time guided by parliament."[1] Of the four factors, the Cabinet is a "vitally necessary thing—which adds the final touch to the representative system."[2] Gladstone once described the Cabinet as "the solar orb round which the other bodies revolve." While the Cabinet is "the Central directing instrument of Government," the Prime Minister occupies the pivotal position within the Cabinet. In the suggestive phase of Lord Morley, "The Prime Minister is the key stone in the Cabinet arch."

What then is the exact position of the Prime Minister under the parliamentary system? According to the traditional view the Prime Minister is the leader but not the master of the Cabinet. He should treat the other ministers as his colleagues and not as his servants. His position is described by the phrase "Primus inter pares" or "first among equals." Such a characterisation of the Prime Minister is considered by writers like Ramsay Muir[3] as "nonsense," for the Prime Minister is practically occupying the position of a "dictator." Even Sir William Venon Harcourt's phrase "inter stellas luna minores" or "a moon among lesser stars" does not fully describe the pre-eminent position occupied by the Prime Minister in Britain. His functions are so wide and varied that "all in all, it is small wonder that the shoulders of many a Prime Minister have drooped under the burden."[4] In Great Britain

1. Ernest Barker: *The Parliamentary System of Government*, pp. 21-22.
2. *Ibid.*
3. *How Britain is Governed.*
4. Ogg and Zink: *Modern Foreign Governments*, p. 93.

the ascendency of the premier has been developed. Dr. C. R. Reddi once remarked, that "the premier is not the Chairman of the Cabinet, much less its speaker. The Cabinet is his. He is not its." Under the Constitution of the Fourth French Republic the office of the President of the Council of Ministers or Prime Minister[5] is "constitutionalised" and he is given wide powers. While it is undesirable, nay dangerous, to idolise the Prime Minister, it is equally improper to consider him as one who is merely to register the opinions of the ministers. The recognition of the leadership of the Prime Minister is indispensable for the establishment of a unified Cabinet. Otherwise there would be as many leaders as there are Cabinet Ministers, each being the leader of a group in the legislature. It would be the negation of the Cabinet system, for under such conditions there would not be a Cabinet at all.

II

Unlike the constitution of the Fourth French Republic, definite mention is made of the Prime Minister in the Indian Constitution. But bitter controversy has been raging over the position of the Prime Minister in the Indian Polity. This is because, the President of the Indian Union is not a glorified figure-head. He is vested with powers of far-reaching significance and this has given rise to the opinion that supreme authority lies not in the Prime Minister and the Cabinet but in the President. Article 74 (1) which lays down that the Council of Ministers is "to aid and advise the President" is often pointed out as indicative of the importance attached to the President. This becomes still more significant by the absence of any clause stating that any act passed by the President must be countersigned by a responsible Minister. The power to appoint the Prime Minister under Article 75 (1) cannot be treated as a formal one in view of the multiple party system that seems to be developing in the country. What has already happened in some of the states like Kerala and Orissa may take place at the Centre also. Then the President will have ample opportunity to exercise his discretion in the appointment of the Prime Minister and the other Ministers. The powers of the President do not cease with the appointment of the Prime Minister. Article 77 (3) says that he "shall make rules for the more convenient transaction of the business of the Government of India and for the allocation among Ministers of the said business." There are, however, certain articles which clearly indicate that the President of India is not intended to be the counterpart of the American President. Article 75 (3) which says that "the Council of Ministers shall be collectively responsible to the House of People" (Lok Sabha) envisages the establishment of a parliamentary system in India. Mr. Alladi Krishnaswami Aiyar who was one of the architects of the Indian Constitution, observed on several occasions that the system envisaged under the new constitution is of the parliamentary type. Referring to the various articles dealing with the functions of the President, he remarked that the President "will have necessarily to be understood as the President acting on the advice of his ministers."[6] He further observed that "the expression, 'aid and advice,' is euphemistic phraseology."[7] A similar opinion was expressed by Mr. S. N. Mukherjee, Joint Secretary of the Constituent Assembly of India. He remarked, "Although the title 'President' has been used in the constitution to denote the head of the state, the form of government is modelled not on the Presidential system of Government of the United States but on the system of parliamentary democracy."[8] From this is becomes clear that under the new constitution, a parliamentary-cum-non-parliamentary system is introduced and it is mainly by conventions that the one or the other should prevail.

"No important institution is ever what the law makes it merely. It accumulates about itself traditions, conventions, ways of

5. In the Constitution, the word, Prime Minister, is nowhere used.
6. *The Hindu*, January 22, 1950.
7. *Ibid.*
8. *Indian Republic*, 26th January, 1950.

behaviour which, without ever attaining the status of formal law, are not less formidable in their influence than law itself could require."[9] The framers of our constitution were largely influenced by the examples of Britain and the Dominions where the parliamentary system is largely based on conventions. Nothing is said in the constitution of the relation between the Prime Minister and other ministers. Moreover, no provision is made for the appointment of different categories of ministers such as Ministers of the Cabient rank, Ministers of State and Deputy Ministers. "The constitution does not fix any minimum or maximum limits to the size of the Council nor designate the offices. It leaves the Prime Minister completely free in these matters."[10] As long as Sardar Vallabhai Patel was alive there was the post of Deputy Prime Minister and it terminated with his demise. The setting up of convention for the sake of an individual is not a good sign for the healthy development of a constitution. However, in the matter of the relationship between the President and Prime Minister, the aims of the framers of the constitution have been fulfilled by the setting up of healthy conventions. It is remarked that "since the achievement of independence there had been scores of instances where the Chief Ministers and Governors in certain states differed over many matters."[11] But there are hardly any such instance in the case of relations between the President and the Prime Minister. The President of India has so far kept up the tradition of the parliamentary system by acting on the advice of the Prime Minister. The working of the constitution during the last eight years has shown that in the matter of powers the Indian Prime Minister occupies a unique position.

The ascendency of the Prime Minister has been established not only by convention but also by certain provisions in the constitution. The leadership of the Prime Minister is recognised in Article 74(1) wherein it is said that he shall be "at the head" of the Council of Ministers. Under Article 78 he acts as a liaison between the Cabinet and the President. He has to communicate to the President all decisions of the Cabinet and furnish such information relating to the administration of the affairs of the Union and proposals for legislation as the President may call for. In the words of Mr. Alladi Krishnaswami Aiyar, "This article is a very salutary provision and is based upon the constitutional practice obtaining in Britain at the present day."[12] Unlike the constitution of the Fourth French Republic, it is not stated in our constitution that the Prime Minister alone should "initiate" legislation. However, constitutional practice has established that the Prime Minister of India is the moving figure in the legislative field also. The cardinal feature of our constitution is that the powers of the Prime Minister are "secreted in the interstices of procedure," and consequently the Indian Prime Minister has become one of the most highly powerful functionaries in the world, more by practice than by the letter of the constitution.

Since the beginning of this century, parliamentary system is marked by the mounting supremacy of the Prime Minister. This has led Mr. Ramsay Muir to remark that the Cabinet Government is "a dictatorship of one man." This tendency goes counter to the ideal of parliamentary system. The Prime Minister "is, of course, eminently a co-ordinating Minister and up to a point a supervising Minister, though even he will be wise not to overdo it. He is not the master of the Cabinet."[13] But the position in India today is far from this ideal and the Cabinet is completely eclipsed by the Prime Minister's overshadowing personality. "The parliamentary system is conducted on the vital hypothesis that no man is indispensable"[14] However, in India a feeling of the indispensability of Mr. Nehru is pervading the minds of the people and this explains the paramountcy of the Prime Minister in India today. In the matter of the selection of ministers as well as in his relations with them, the Prime Minister has been acting almost without any check. The names of several of the Ministers of State and Deputy Ministers have come to be known to the people only after their appointment as ministers. Several of them have been made but they have not grown into ministers. It is a significant fact that few of them could rise higher in the ladder and become Cabinet Ministers. It is well remarked that "promotions from the ranks of the deputies have been so few that one cannot help questioning the wisdom of the initial choice."[15]

The imperious position occupied by the Prime Minister can be noted in his relations with his colleagues. Under the parliamentary system the Cabinet forms a team and hence collective responsibility has become a characteristic feature of the system. But in India Cabinet discussions and consultations have become few and formal. Men of the calibre and experience of Dr. John Matthai, Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, Mr. V. V. Giri and Mr. C. D. Deshmukh could not work under such circumstances. Mr. A. D. Gorwala in his report to the Mysore Government stated, "Some of the Chief Ministers have been responsible for holding up work. They concentrate all decision-making authority in themselves reducing their colleagues in the Cabinet to mere figure-heads."[16] What is said of the Chief Ministers holds good to a certain extent in the case of the Prime Minister. The Prime Minister has only to co-ordinate and supervise the several departments and acquaint himself with the broad outline of events in all departments. "A Prime Minister who endeavours to combine these functions with the pressure, for instance, of an office like that of foreign affairs, is bound to neglect one or other."[17] But the Indian Prime Minister has not only overburdened himself with a heavy portfolio but also placed on himself several other problems. Mr. C. D. Deshmukh's statement in the Lok Sabha after his resignation as Finance Minister has great constitutional significance, for it throws light on the relations between the Prime Minister and his colleagues. Mr. Nehru observed, "I am something more than a Prime Minister of this country. We are something more. We are the children of the Indian Revolution."[18]

In his relations with Parliament also, the Prime Minister occupies a unique position. Under the Parliamentary system, "he must be the active leader of the legislative assembly—his presence coordinates, in a way otherwise unattainable, the work of his colleagues in the legislature."[19] The uniquences of the parliamentary system lies in the responsibility of the cabinet to the legislature and its fulfilment depends on the existence of a strong opposition in the legislature. "On the opposition rests the main responsibility for what was once the critical function of Parliament as a whole."[20] In India Cabinet responsibility to parliament has become a picturesque formality and whatever the Prime Minister speaks in the Lok Sabha is drowned in applause. This is partly due to the personality of Mr. Nehru and mostly due to the absence of a strong opposition party. As the late Mavlankar remarked, "The difficulty is that one should reckon with the vagaries of the mammoth official party which has a three to one majority in the House while the opposition is a heap of contradictory and conflicting elements."

The Prime Minister of India is the key-man not only in the Council of Ministers and the Parliament but also in

9. H. J. Laski: *American Presidency*, pp. 13-14.

10. N. Srinivasan: *Democratic Government in India*, p. 218.

11. *The Mail*, August 3, 1958.

12. *The Hindu*, January 22, 1950.

13. Herbert Morrison: *Government and Parliament*, p. 38.

14. H. J. Laski: *Parliamentary Government in England*.

15. *Cit.*, in the Ed. Notes of *The Modern Review*, May, 1957, from the *Economic Weekly*.

16. *The Eastern Economist*, Aug. 8, 1958.

17. H. J. Laski: *Grammar of Politics*, p. 362.

18. *Statesman*, July 26, 1956.

19. H. J. Loski: *Grammar of Politics*, p. 362.

20. L. S. Amery, D. W. Brogan and Others: *Parliament—A Survey*, p. 39.

the Congress Party. Under the party system that prevails today the Prime Minister cannot but belong to a political party. However, it would not be proper for him to burden himself with party organisation or to carry party propaganda at the time of elections. A Prime Minister who works as the Secretary or President of a party can hardly find time to do his duties as a Prime Minister. Moreover, the two offices are irreconcilable, for the president of a party represents the party while the Prime Minister represents the country. It is equally inadvisable for the Prime Minister to take an active part in an electioneering campaign. It is no doubt said that the work is done in the capacity of a party member but not of a Prime Minister. Such a transformation is elusive. In the matter of political pressure exerted on the people and officials, the distinction between the Prime Minister and party leader, hardly remains valid.

III

Further evidence or argumentation is not wanted to conclude that one of the dangers to the parliamentary government in India lies in the growing domination of the Prime Minister. Under parliamentary system, no doubt the Prime Minister is the key-figure but in India he has become almost the sole figure. A sound party system is the sine qua non for the healthy progress of parliamentary system. Parties in a democracy must depend for their strength not on individual persons but on programmes. In a democracy "the professed reason for the existence of a party is the promotion of a particular set of doctrines and ideas."[21] In a country like Great Britain the Labour Party owes its strength not to Mr. Attlee or Mr. Gaitskell but to its programme; so too the conservative party. But in France it is said that "groups are pledged to men rather than to programmes or principles."[22] This is due to the absence of well-organised parties and so parlimentary system has resulted in parliamentary anarchy in France. In India the distinguishing feature of the party system is the existence of one strong party and a number of small groups. The parties which contested the elections (in 1952) for the Union Parliament numbered 79 and for the State Legislatures over 179. "The Congress won 363 seats out of 489 seats in the House of People."[23] Either the continuance of the present one-party domination or the growth of multiple parties will endanger parliamentary system in India. Under the former there will be the domination of the Prime Minister due to the absence of a strong opposition leader. Under the latter the Prime Minister's post may become slippery as has happened in France and the dictatorship of the President may come into existence. Thus either way there will be danger to parliamentary system. Political theory and practice have beyond dispute established the fact that the existence of two great political parties divided by broad issues of policy is an essential factor in the success of parliamentary democracy.

The domination of a single individual becomes possible when the people are ignorant and are indifferent to politics. Such a people generally lack self-reliance and develop hero-worship. Dr. B. R. Ambedkar remarked that "democracy in India is only a top dressing in an Indian soil, which is essentially undemocratic." The social and psychological background in India is such that people are prone to think that they are fit to be ruled but not to rule. No doubt in every country "party idols" exist and "personal leadership may attract or repel large numbers of followers."[24] But in India this tendency exists in a preponderant measure and therein lies the danger to our parliamentary system. The success of Parliamentary system in India or anywhere, ultimately depends on educating the people to love freedom. "The whole system (Parliamentary system) is a free system—and dependent in the last analysis on the will of the people to be free."[25]

21. Lord Bryce: *Modern Democracies*, Vol. I, p. 126.
22. Munro: *The Governments of Europe*, p. 507.
23. N. Srinivasan: *Democratic Government in India*, p. 378.
24. C. E. Merriam and H. F. Gosnell: *The American Party System*, p. 148.
25. Ivor Jennings: *Parliament*, p. 507.

SHORT-TERM BORROWINGS OF THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

By Prof. DHARMENDRA PRASAD, M.A.

I

It is the usual practice to resort to short-term borrowings to meet temporary imbalance in the revenue receipts so that the pubic authorities are constrained to borrow in the anticipation of revenues. The rates of such loans are generally lower because they are made with funds which the banks would not dare to use for long-term loans as they may need such money on very short-notice and unless this money can be loaned for short-periods it will have to remain idle with them. In addition, the modern governments have demonstrated an increasing reliance on short-term borrowings through the renewal and funding operations for war and development financing and consequently, the traditional pattern of floating debt forming a small part of the total debt has changed. It has come to occupy an important place in the public debt structures. An attempt has been made in this article to discuss in brief the trends in short-term borrowings of the Government of India. It will be preceded by a description of the various forms of floating loans.

II

The most common forms of short-term or floating loans in the Commonwealth countries are the Treasury Bills and 'ways and means advances.' Occasionally, however, Treasury Deposit Receipts have also been used as an effective instrument of short-term borrowings.

The Treasury Bill is a promissory note of the Government issued in exchange of deposit at the Reserve Bank of India. It gives a written promise to pay 91 days later the specified sum. The advantage to the creditor in this form of lending is that he can lend his money for only three months and know exactly what sum he will then have available. Moreover, the form of Treasury Bill leaves a space for the creditor's name, but the sum is payable to 'bearer' if no name has been entered and most of the bills the market handles are generally left as "bearer bills"; a phenomenon commonly inconsistent with ordinary commercial bills where the addition of each signature adds to the security. But the Treasury Bill is a promise of the Government and no discount house or bank signature can add to that security. The unquestionable security makes it possible for them to pass round the market as 'bearer bills' without any one hesitating to take them up. Being rediscountable at the Reserve Bank and generally issued during the slack season, they provide an ideal form of investment for the surplus funds of the banks.

The Treasury Bills are issued in two forms, viz, 'tender' and 'tap'; the former is meant to draw money from the public, and the latter, to enable the State Governments, semi-Government institutions and foreign Governments to invest their short-term surplus funds. The tap issues are created by the Reserve Bank on hehalf of the Government of India in the form of ad hoc Treasury Bills which also have a currency of 91 days. These ad hoc bills are sold at a rate arrived at by adding Rs. 0.016 to bulk 'tender' rate at the preceding public auction. The tap issues have been introduced with the object of making available to the State Government sufficient Treasury Bills to meet their needs whether or not the weekly auctions were being held and to eliminate undersirable fluctuations in the discount rate which would otherwise result if these governments competed with the regular investors, such as banks and insurance companies for the limited supply of Treasury Bills at the weekly auctions.

Public issue, in India, on account of tight money market conditions, is often only a small part of the total issue of the

Treasury Bills. The notice for the weekly tender indicating the amount offered and the dates on which the tender and payment are to be made, are included in the same press communique which announces the results of the previous auction. Application for the Treasury Bills have to be made for a minimum amount of Rs. 25,000 or a multiple thereof and payment for accepted tenders can be made in the form of cash, cheques or maturing Treasury Bills normally on the third day following the issue of the press communique. Tenders are usually received from a few scheduled banks but there are no restrictions on the class of tenderers and any member of public can put in an application. Very often the Reserve Bank has to intervene by purchasing bills on its own account to ensure successful placement. To certain extent it is true, private individuals and institutions other than banks also tender for Treasury Bills, but the amount tendered for on their own account is very small. More usually they purchase Treasury Bills through their banks. Tenders at higher rate which carries correspondingly lower discount rate are accepted to the fullest extent possible and the difference between the amount sold and the amount of offer is made up by making a proportionate allotment to the next best rate. On maturity the bills are repaid at the office or branch of the Reserve Bank from which they were issued.

This brings us to the ways and means advances. When in anticipation of receipts from taxation or from long-term loans, the government needs funds which cannot conveniently or economically be obtained from the money market, either because of temporary stringency or because the issues and maturities of Treasury Bills or other short-term securities cannot be properly adjusted to the requirements of the government, the Central Bank can perform a useful function by granting temporary ways and means advances to the government. Although, to the extent that the proceeds of Government disbursements out of such advances whether in the forms of notes, coins or cheques on the Central Bank—are deposited by the recipients to the credit of their accounts with the commercial banks, the latter enjoy an increase in their cash resources and, therefore, in their capacity to expand credit through increased advances, discounts and investments, but it is not always inflationary in consequence. In the first place, since such an advance is liquidated within a short-period, it does not serve as a source of inflation per se. Secondly, there are occasions during the year particularly in countries where the money market is not well organised, when owing to a desire for liquidity for those liable for heavy tax payments a temporary stringency arises; the Central Bank accommodation to the government not only provides the latter with the nessesary finance for the time being but also helps to counteract the stringency by placing more funds at the disposal of the market.

Section 17 (5) of the Reserve Bank of India Act, authorises the Bank to make to the Central and State Governments ways and means advances which are repayable not later than three months from the date of making the advances. There are no statutory provisions as regards either the rate of interest to be charged or the maximum amount of advance, which are regulated by the respective agreement of arrangement. The actual rate charged has usually been one per cent below the prevailing bank rate. In case of the Central Government the total of such advances outstanding at any time should not exceed the minimum balance which she has agreed to maintain with the Reserve Bank.

Borrowing through the issue of Treasury Deposit Receipts on the British pattern was resorted to as an anti-inflationary programme for a period of about two years since October, 1948, when on account of the tight money market conditions public issue of the Treasury Bills had to be suspended. In England, Treasury Deposit Receipts came into existence during the Second World War when in order to mobilise all available finance the Brit' Government started the practice of

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rowing a large part of the surplus balance of the banking system. Borrowing through Treasury Bills still left large balances idle in the market because of the low return on the Bills and the voluntary character of subscription to them. Under instructions from the Treasury the Bank of England, therefore, called upon the banks to lend a sizable part of their idle balances at stipulated rates of interest. Quotas were fixed for each bank after taking all relevant factors into account. Treasury Deposit Receipts have been, thus somewhat compulsory in nature and differ from the Treasury Bills in this respect. The Indian Treasury Deposit Receipts were issued for six, nine and twelve months bearing rates of interest of 1 per cent, 1¼ per cent and 1½ per cent, per annum, respectively, and thus, they were slightly less liquid as compared to the Treasury Bills. The Treasury Deposit Receipts were available only to the Commercial Banks. They amounted to Rs. 11.47 crores at the end of the year 1951-52. Their issue was discontinued on the resumption of the public issue of the Treasury Bills.

III

In the following table is given the trend in the short-term borrowings of the Government during the last twenty years. It has been compiled from the Reserve Bank's Reports on currency and finance.

SHORT-TERM BORROWINGS OF THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA 1939-60

(in Crores of Rs.)

At the end of the year	Issue of Treasury Bills.			Treasury Bills, ways and means advances and Treasury Deposit Receipts	(5) as percentage of (7)	Total Internal or Rupee debt of the Government
	Amount sold to public	Amount sold in favour of the Reserve Bank	Amount outstanding at the end of the year			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
	1939-40	120.43	104.95	54.71	54.70	6.6	760.64
	1940-41	101.33	140.76	68.90	84.90	9.4	902.74
	1941-42	118.60	291.48	136.98	136.98	13.7	998.51
	1942-43	371.93	496.42	264.70	264.70	20.3	1,298.87
	1943-44	396.19	275.73	110.61	110.61	7.4	1,494.11
	1944-45	229.28	144.81	86.71	86.70	4.7	1,822.65
	1945-46	117.91	161.99	83.33	83.33	3.9	2,245.10
RE	1946-47	51.27	220.30	77.59	79.20	3.2	2,323.15
RE	1947-48	84.56	271.33	98.68	86.84	4.1	2,132.59
RE	1948-49	46.01	1,117.85	350.47	373.33	15.0	2,412.96
RE	1949-50	38.76	1,381.12	341.86	361.48	14.8	2,456.33
RE	1950-51	—	1,394.35	358.02	373.20	14.9	2,500.73
RE	1951-52	—	1,335.50	314.34	335.01	13.5	2,474.17
RE	1952-53	42.00	1,233.11	315.29	319.19	12.8	2,499.73
RE	1953-54	56.50	1,309.06	334.95	405.29	15.1	2,553.85
RE	1954-55	23.50	1,523.81	471.87	554.95	19.2	2,899.98
RE	1955-56	55.50	1,994.09	595.25	711.87	22.4	3,170.82
RE	1956-57	1.00	2,737.58	835.70	865.25	24.6	3,514.10
RE	1957-58	—	4,236.65	1,295.12	1,215.70	30.3	4,004.66
RE	1958-59	—	—	—	1,275.12	27.9	4,592.89
BE	1959-60	—	—	—	1,535.12	30.3	5,073.79

It is evident that the percentage of floating debt to the total internal debt of the Government has increased more than four times since 1939-40 and its outstanding during the same period more than 28 times. At the end of the year 1939-40 the percentage of floating loans to the total internal debt was 6.6 whereas it increased

in 1959-60 (B.E.) to more than 30. The outstanding of floating debts which amounted in 1939-40 to Rs. 54-70 crores increased to Rs. 264.70 crores in 1942-43, Rs. 373.33 crores in 1948-49, Rs. 869.25 crores in 1956-57 and Rs. 1,535.12 crores in 1959-60 (B.E.). The substantial increases in the outstanding during the war and the later plan years indicate that there has been a significant growth in the Government's dependence on anticipatory borrowings in view of receipts from War taxes and development loans.

Another noticeable feature is that in the Government of India's floating debt structure outstandings of Treasury Bills have been occupying a dominating place because, on the one hand, the Government did hardly resort to ways and means advances in the immediate post-war years in view of the large cash balances accumulated during the Second World War, and on the other, most of the budget deficits in the later Post-War years could more conveniently be financed by selling Treasury Bills in favour of the Reserve Bank. The closing cash balance of the Government increased from Rs. 16.12 crores at the end of 1939-40 to Rs. 83,66 crores, Rs. 266.28 crores and Rs. 529.53 crores at the end of 1943-44, 1944-45 and 1945-46 respectively. Although, since 1946-47 it began to decline but before 1954-55 if hardly reached the scarcity surface. It amounted to Rs. 417.95 crores, Rs. 159.62 crores, Rs. 162.23 crores, Rs. 149.48 crores, Rs. 169.94 crores, Rs. 162.69 crores and Rs. 99.4 crores at the end of 1946-47, 1947-48, 1948-49, 1949-50, 1950-51, 1951-52 and 1952-53, respectively. This regular and substantial decline in the cash balances in the late post-war years was compensated by selling on an increasing scale the "ad hoc" Treasury Bills to the Reserve Bank rather than resorting to ways and means advance.

IV

Although, the Indian Treasury Bill is a child of war-time financial needs, its issue has been almost regularly practised particularly during the period of downward business spirals. It was first issued in 1917 for meeting the Government's disbursements on behalf of the British War Office. During the period between the two World Wars sales of Treasury Bills were made only in the slack season when funds for short-term investments were plentiful and discontinued in the busy season. They were more or less regularly issued by tender till December, 1949 and as stated earlier, a few scheduled banks have generally been the main holders. From December 1949 the public auction of Treasury Bills remained suspended owing to the tight money market conditions. The issue to the public was, however, resumed in September, 1952. It was again suspended from April 20, 1954 to November 20, 1954, since then it is issued regularly..

The outstandings of Treasury Bills consist of (i) Treasury Bills held by the public, (ii) Treasury Bills held by the State Governments and other approved bodies, (iii) "ad hocs" created in 1948-49 for holding in the Reserve Bank's Issue Department to replace sterling securities transferred to the U. K. Government in terms of the Sterling Balances Agreement of July, 1948 and (iv) "ad hocs" created in 1954-55 and held in the Issue Department for replenishing the Centre's Cash balances. The outstanding of Treasury Bills increased from Rs. 54.71 crores in 1939-40 to Rs. 264.70 crores in 1942-43, Rs. 358.02 crores in 1950-51, Rs. 595.25 crores in 1955-56 and Rs. 1,295.12 crores in 1957-58.

In connection with the purchase of sterling annuities and defence stores and installations under the items (iii) above, "ad hoc" bills amounting to Rs. 292 crores were created (Rs. 284 crores in August 1948 and Rs. 8 crores in March 1949). They were to be cancelled in gradual instalments. Their issue had no monetary impact as they were in no way connected with the Government deficits. No "ad hocs" were issued in the years 1949-50 to 1953-54 because the Government during these years had still enough cash balance to meet her temporary financial needs in anticipation of revenue and loans. In the subsequent years on account of large over all deficits, the cash position of Government rapidly shrinked and the Government had to approach the Reserve Bank for temporary accomodations. During the last five years the over-all deficits of the Government ranged as Rs. 159.87 crores in 1957-58, Rs. 184.75 Crores in 1956-57, Rs. 458.58 crores in 1959-60 (B.E.). These deficits were mostly financed by selling Treasury Bills in favour of the Reserve Bank which substantially inflated the outstanding position of Treasury Bills and considerably affected the money supply. The amount of Treasury Bills sold to the public during the war years showed a marked rise but in the post-war years it sharply declined because the market stringencies did not permit its regular sale.

V

The short-term borrowings through the issue of Treasury Bills have thus gradually occupied a significant place in the debt structure of the Government of India. It has played an important role in the proper placement of over-flowing funds during the slack seasons and in meeting the temporary revenue imbalance of the Government. The intention of the Government also appears to make the issue of floating loans a regular feature of the money market and even to finance the long-term needs by such issues through the renewal and funding processes. The receipts from the floating debts by issuing Treasury Bills in favour of the Reserve Bank during the Second Five-Year Plan period have been placed at Rs. 1,200 Crores A great authority on Banking has rightly suggested that keeping in view the appetite of the money market large floating funds can be directed to remain permanently employed to finance long-term needs of the public authorities. The regularity of rise in the floating debts by providing the Government securities capable of absorbing the short-term banking funds on a fairly increasing scale has also considerably compensated the traditional absence of a well-developed money market in India.

But the frequent disturbances in the public issues indicate that in India large short-term banking funds are not permanently available and Treasury bills are often more in the nature of an avenue through which banks may temporarily employ their funds than a positive aid to the Government for permanent borrowing. In the U. K. Treasury bills are floated all through the year because of the continued availability of large amount of floating funds for which Treasury Bills provide very suitable form of investment. Banks, discount houses, as well as foreign governments have large balances which remain invested in the Treasury bills. The problem is, therefore, to broaden the market for bills, not only by inducing as usual, the major Indian scheduled banks and average banks to evince greater and continuing interest in holding Treasury bills in their portfolio but also by bringing in non-bank institutions such as the large business corporations and thereby render the Treasury Bill an effective money market instrument, at the same time securing for the exchequer larger funds through their medium.



THE 4TH OF JULY IN AMERICAN HISTORY

A Legend and A Symbol

By SUDHANSU MOHAN BANERJEE, M.A., LL.B., I.A.A.S. (Retd.)

I just happened to be at Washington the 4th of July, last year. We ere lucky that we were there at the me negotiating a loan with the World ank. Round this day has grown a legend id by itself it has developed into a mbol. The whole of American History om the days of the "Mayflower" and the ilgrim Fathers, its colonial character nd its pioneer outlook seems converged n this day and it became symbolic also of new thought, a new era and a new ollective, creative and co-operative effort. he declaration of Independence drafted y Thomas Jefferson was adopted by the econd Continental Congress on July 4, 776 as "the unanimous declaration of the hirteen United States of America." It restated almost in academic terms certain fundamentals about human relations in a socio-politic unit—"truths which the framers declared were self-evident."

"(1) That all men are created equal.

(2) That they are endowed by their creator with certain unalienable right, that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

(3) That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed.

(4) That whenever any form of Government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it and to institute new Government laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to affect their safety and happiness."

Being basically a student of history, I had almost developed a subconscious veneration for this day. All the more so because I was re-reading the night before a small chronicle of American History, to refresh my memory about facts and figures. From my room in the Sheraton Park Hotel where I was sumptuously lodged I could see the dome of the capitol at the distance and the Washington Memorial which stared me in the face every morning on waking, with the distant line of the Potomac in the horizon and the green belt below. In those silent hours when the city was just dozing to a sleep one could get in a flash not merely an analysis of the broad facts of life but also a faint picture of a deeper synthesis. That was the pointer of history which I brought with me. I could hear the varied carols with Walt Whitman. I could hear America singing. It is claimed that the United States of America is a teeming Nation of Nations. One author states that "the richness and variety of the regional texture, each section with its own ethnic combination, constitutes one of the strengths of the United States. The consciousness of this extent and variety give a kind of continental confidence, perhaps even a brashness and boastfulness to the American Character." The whole of Europe and in the Pacific coast even a sprinkling of the China, Japan, Polynesia and others rushed here and built a nation out of a vast wilderness with a spirit of ruggedness and doggedness. Many say that U.S.A. has been the greatest single achievement of European civilisation. It is a statement correct up to a point. But America is not merely a repetition or projection of Europe or its civilisation. Its model of life, its thought pattern, its national character were conditioned by certain other factors, the greatest of which was the geographical impact of a vast uncharted continent with its untold natural resources and secondly the interplay of various racial groups that had immigrated. There was a spirit of individualism, there was a spirit of adventure, there was a touch of puritanic thought; there was an escape from the ordinary bounds of life, even from law and justice, there was avarice and greed, there was raw life. Search for gold and search of soul met together in the same plaform and combined into a new social pattern as a search for ego and life. 'I go west' was a real cry. Here was a curious admixture from the days of the Pilgrim Fathers, Boston Brahmins, the Cabots and the Lodges to the wild westerners on the banks of the Sacramento, to the Utah Mormons, New York bosses, Chicago bootleggers, St. Barvara or Beverley Hill's film stars. Years ago F—Scott Fitzgerald—wrote: France was a land, England was a people but America was still an idea. Yes, it still is, in the bigger sense.

The day wore on—a gay one but a little cloudy. There was a nip of the monsoon in the air. Washington could be as bad as Calcutta and as sweltering. Immediately after lunch we started for the main scene of the celebrations—the grounds near the Lincoln Memorial in Washington D.C., overlooking the distant Pentagon on the other side of the Potomac. Big limousines struggled with those on foot like us. It was a huge 'melee' of human heads. Men, women, children in their gayest dresses, of different races, climes and classes of all denominations even foreigners like us, joined to pay homage to a day which is symbolic of a grand chapter in human history. We walked in the grounds and in the gardens. We walked up the stairs, we stood in reverence before the outsize statue of Abraham Lincoln seated in that giant chair. Somehow or other my memory leapt back to the days of "Uncle Tom's Cabin" and from "Log Cabin to White House" which I had read with avidity in my school days. Like a Rip Van Winkle I awoke. We did read again the extracts of Lincoln's famous words inscribed there and saw the loving homage that the nation had paid to him. "In this temple as in the hearts of the people for whom he saved the Union, the memory of Abraham Lincoln is enshrined for ever" and the words that still ring in our ears are echoed and reechoed here that "Government of the people, by the people, for the people shall not perish from the earth."

We sat in the porch facing the river. Thousands sat with us gay, good and debonair. It was a fraternizing set. It was a society electric with thought and gaiety and loaded to the brim with passion. Multi-coloured lights sprang up. Bands and music brought up memories as well as melodies. Fireworks were silhoutted in the sky. It was the story of a nation, of life with a promise. The gong chimed ten. It was drizzling. It was time to disperse. We hurried. Street cars were all full. Hi, ho, we had imbibed from the folks something of a grand drama. It was not the rock and roll, not the sex and sensation, not the stories of Reno or Las Vegas, not of juvenile delinquencies or adult cruelties, its broadways and little ways, hotels or motels, not of the mighty dollar or the sky-scrapears, of down-town as well as uptown, but of 'life within life' as the poet Melville puts it.



BILINGUAL BOMBAY STATE AND BORDER DISPUTE

By D. V. REGE, I.C.S. (Retd.)

THE Marathi people have been agitating to have a linguistic State of their own and to have the predominantly Marathi border areas which have been unjustly included in the Mysore State incorporated in the Bombay State. People outside Maharashtra do not, however, seem to be well acquainted with the merits of the Maharashtrian case and are inclined to believe that the Marathi people are prone to unnecessary quarrelling and agitation. The Maharashtrians, too, relying on the justice of their case, have not taken sufficient care to educate the non-Maharashtrians in the matter. An attempt is, therefore, made here to set out the facts of the case briefly in the hope that the agitation will be viewed by outsiders in its proper perspective.

The resolution about reorganising the British Indian Provinces (many of which were products of historical accidents) on linguistic basis was a hardy annual in the Congress Plenary Sessions since the mid-twenties. Though the Congress Party lost much of its enthusiasm on his point after independence, Government announced its intention to form the Andhra Pradesh, following the disturbances that took place after the self-immolation of Pottu Shriramulu on this issue. After this, it was not possible to shelve the question of linguistic States and Government appointed the States Reorganisation Commission to report on it. States were already unilingual in the north and east of India, and the Commission recommended unilingual States of Kerala (which is only nearly 15,000 sq. miles in area), Madras, (Tamil), Andhra Pradesh (Telugu) and Mysore (Kannad), but denied the same privilege to the Marathi and Gujarati-speaking people who were clubbed together in the bilingual Bombay State. Though the Marathi population is 3½ crores, *i.e.*, the same as Telugu people, a separate State of the Marathi-speaking people of Vidarbha consisting of eight districts was recommended with a view to making the bilingual Bombay State 'balanced' as between the Marathi and Gujarati people. These recommendations evoked a storm of protest in Maharashtra which led the Congress High Command to put forward various alternative proposals, the underlying idea in all of them being to separate the Bombay City from Maharashtra. When this attempt was foiled by the martyrdom of 105 people who were shot down in the blood bath that took place in Bombay in 1956, a bigger bilingual State was ultimately formed, including Vidarbha.

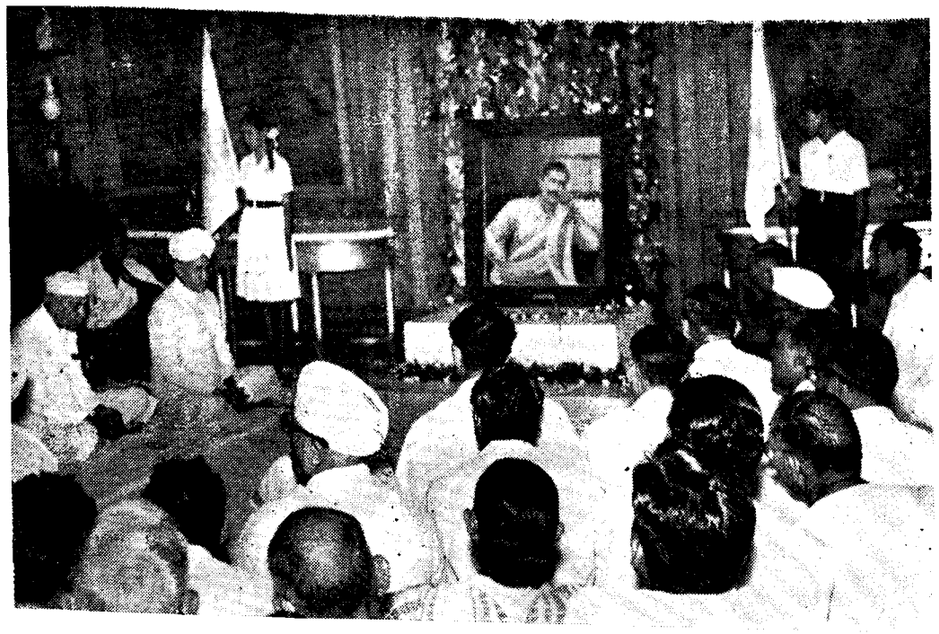
Both the Marathi, and to a lesser extent, the Gujarati people are nursing a sense of gross injustice and bitterness as they alone, of all people in India, have been deprived of their unilingual State. The advantages of a unilingual State need no stressing. In bilingual Sattes, there is always suspicion and bitterness that one language area is being favoured at the expense of the other; whereas in a unilingual State, people feel one with Government as the administration, Assembly proceedings and education in schools are carried on in their language. It is clear that the only reason why a separate Samyukta Maharashtra State is not conceded is the Bombay City. Bombay is surrounded on three sides by Marathi-speaking areas and by sea on the fourth (west) side. It is no doubt a cosmopolitan city, but so are Calcutta, Madras and other big cities. The Marathi-speaking people form about 49 per cent of the population, while Gujaratis form only 18 per cent. Though the development of Bombay owed a good deal to non-Maharashtrians such as the British, Parsis, Gujaratis, etc., the Marathi people have also contributed to its development in the shape of labour, which is not the case in Calcutta where the capital and labour are contributed by non-Bengalis. The fear that if Bombay is included in Maharashtra, the State Government will discriminate against the non-Maharashtrian capitalists is imaginary, as apart from the control of the Union Government, the Maharashtrians will not like to ruin their city which is



Dr. Rajendra Prasad recently attended a rally of Andhra Pradesh Scouts and Bulbuls at Hyderabad



Dr. Sigurd Waldemar Von Numers, the Minister designate of Finland to India, presents his credentials to the Prime Minister



A portrait of Sri Aurobindo was presented by Sri Aurobindo Ashram to the Vice-President at a ceremony held at Rashtrapati Bhavan



Dr. S. Radhakrishnan arrives at Frankfurt, by air, to attend XXX P.E.N. Conference

the nerve-centre of Maharashtra. Again, even in the heart of Maharashtra today, most of the millionaires are Gujaratis and Marwaris and nobody has molested them.

In this connection, it is interesting to note the views of two members of the States Reorganisation Commission which were expressed after the publication of their report. While addressing the Annual General Meeting of the Servants of India Society in Poona, Shri H. N. Kunzru declared that Bombay city belonged to Maharashtra. Sardar Panikkar stated in a public speech in Calcutta that Bombay City belonged to Maharashtra and that the Commission's intention in recommending the bilingual Bombay State was to allow for the development of Kandla Port before forming the two unilnigual States of Maha-Gujarat and Samyukta Maharashtra with Bombay as its capital.

The Maharashtrian case for a State of their own, though strong and just, has suffered due to the following five reasons: (i) Absence of a strong leader of all-India stature. The leadership of Maharashtra proved totally weak and had no courage to oppose the Congress High Command. (ii) Maharashtrians have no English paper of their own and their case did not get an all-India publicity. Most of the English newspapers published in Maharashtra are owned by capitalists who are opposed to the inclusion of Bombay in Maharashtra. (iii) There is prejudice against the Maharashtrians due to historical reasons and it has been intensified by Mahatmaji's assasination by a Maharashtrian. (iv) Failure of the Maharashtrians to educate the people outside Maharashtra on the merits of their case. And (v) propaganda done against Maharashtrians by powerful persons and vested interests. They have been labelled as goondas, though every community has its share of goondas and though common people everywhere take to non-violence to show their resentment against gross injustice done to them as was noticed in Gujarat, Andhra Pradesh and elsewhere. Allegations about molestation of Gujarati women during the Bombay disturbances were found to be false. It was even alleged that the Marathi people want their State to revive 'Maratha imperialism'. The American author, Alexander Campbell who visited Bombay during the disturbances, has stated in his book that a Gujarat Minister (one can easily locate him) told him that the Maharashtrians were like wolves who deserved to be shot. Shri Morarji Desai, the then Chief Minister of Bombay, told Edward Dean, an American student who interviewed him that Shivaji who killed Afzal Khan by 'treachery' could be praised only by the Marathas who were votaries of violence. All that the Marathi people who have served their country in times of peril want is justice and fair play and they firmly believe that truth will ultimately prevail and injustice cannot long endure.

Even those who appreciate the Maharashtrian stand on the Samyukta Maharastra issue are sometimes bewildered by their agitation for the border areas which have been unjustly included in the Mysore State, as they consider this to be a minor issue which can be postponed until the major objective is achieved. The border dispute is not such a minor issue as it appears. It has become a life and death question for the ten lacs of Marathi-speaking people who are affected by it. They have been agitating for their inclusion in Maharashtra ever since the question of reorganising States on linguistic basis was broached. The satyagraha started by them in 1956 was withdrawn on the assurance given by the Union Home Minister, Shri G. B. Pant, that he would take steps to solve the dispute through the Western Zonal Council or otherwise. The Prime Minister, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, told a deputation of the Marathi-speaking people from the border area who waited on him when the States Reorgonisation Bill was being discussed in Parliament that they had a strong case and that he would reconsider their case in a quiet atmosphere after the major issues were once settled. As no steps were taken to implement these assurances for over two years, the people concerned started peaceful agitation in which more than 10,000 people courted imprisonment and which has now taken the form of no payment of land revenue in the 148 villages selected for this purpose. The Government policy that the dispute should be amicably settled by negotiation between the two Chief Ministers concerned has failed and is not likely to succeed in view of the intransigent attitude

adopted by Shri B. D. Jatti, Chief Minister of Mysore. There is no reason why the Pataskar formula which has been evolved by an eminent Congressman and which has been accepted by two other Congress States for solving their border dispute should not be applied to this dispute also. The Mysore game appears to be to take an obstinate attitude to gain time and meanwhile to discourage the use of Marathi as much as possible and to manipulate the next census to decrease the percentage of Marathi people in the disputed area. Belgaum's case is exactly like that of Bellary which was given to Mysore against the recommendation of the States Reorganisation Commission and Mysore Government cannot have it both ways. The Marathi population in Belgaum town (including cantonment) is 57 per cent, while the Kannadigas form only 21 per cent, Urdu-speaking being 14 per cent and the rest 8 per cent. The Belgaum Municipality which recently completed 100 years of its existence has throughout this period carried on its administration in Marathi. The proportion of its Marathi members has always been above two-thirds. The Karwar issue is sought to be clouded by wrongly urging that Konkani spoken in that area is not a dialect of Marathi. Tulu spoken in South Kanara ((Kanara means a convert in Portuguese) may have many Kanarese words, but this is not the case with the Konkani spoken in Karwar and Goa. The insistence on Karwar is largely motivated by the desire to put a claim to Goa when it comes to India, though the regional language there is Marathi and though very few Kannadigas, if any, have taken part in the Goa freedom struggle.

There will be, of course, linguistic minorities in most of the States, but statesmanship lies in reducing the size of the minority problem as much as possible by following a just and uniform policy, as safeguards for the culture and language of the minorities do not help in actual practice. There is no point in forcing a people against their will to live in another language area when they can be easily amalgamated with their own language people. The agitation has been started by the people concerned themselves. No external stimulus can start such an agitation, and even if it does, it cannot continue so long. It is widely believed that the Belgaum-Karwar area was given as a bribe to the Kannadigas to secure their support in the old Bombay Assembly for the bilingual Bombay State. In a sense, the border dispute is more urgent and difficult than the splitting of the bilingual Bombay State which is not likely to continue beyond a year or two as an appreciable section of Gujaratis themselves want Maha-Gujarat and do not naturally wish to remain a permanent minority in the State. In view of the intransigence of the Mysore Government, it is the duty of the Union Government to find a just solution of the dispute which is an off-shoot of the reorganisation of States, as the delay in settling it is unnecessarily causing much hardship, frustration and bitterness.



KERALA: A TALE OF LOST OPPORTUNITIES

By S. G. MUNAGEKAR

Bells in temples and churches of Kerala rang when the first Communist Ministry in India assumed office on the 5th of April, 1957. Bells rang again, with the joy of 'liberation,' on 31st of July, 1959, when the President of India dismissed the Communist Ministry and suspended the State's autonomy.

The first Red Government was ushered in amidst loudly expressed good wishes—and not in Kerala alone. The Keralite masses were disgusted with a decade's unstable and inefficient administration. During these ten years there had been no fewer than seven ministries, six of Congress and one of the Praja Socialist Party (PSP), with two periods of President's rule, in between. Keralite people expected that the Communist Party, which alone was a coherent and purposeful political organisation in the State, with a large cadre of youthful and efficient workers, would provide them a stable and clean administration. Their expectations were not too high.

Nor did the Communists promise any revolutionary measures. All they aimed at, (to quote from a recent article in the party organ, *The New Age*, by Communist Chief Minister Mr. E. M. S. Namboodiripad), were "those socio-economic transformations for which the Congress itself stands, but which the Congress was unable to carry out because of its inherent weaknesses". They promised to remove what they called the 'sickening contrast' between Congress professions and performance. Their pieces of progressive legislation, including the most controversial ones, the Education Act and the Agrarian Relations Bill, were finally, if not initially, within the limits set by the Congress, the Constitution and the Planning Commission. They were careful not to commit, by legislative or administrative action, any open breach of the Constitution.

But the crisis in Kerala arose out of matters which did not involve the breach of Constitution. In the last two years, large sections of the people there nursed a strong feeling of unfair dealing by the Government, and a layer upon layer of that had come up. These complaints started piling up a few months after the Communist Ministry began its career. Later they grew in number and seriousness, and culminated into the charge-sheet movement, which, together with the school closure movement and other campaigns against the Government, snowballed into the 'people's upsurge'. The charge-sheet accuses the Communists of three major crimes:

1. The Constitutional Government of the State became a mere facade behind which the Communist Party established [illegible]tive cell administration.

2. Communists tried to 'monopolise the strings of rural economy' by starting new types of co-operatives and infiltrating the established ones.

3. They aimed at indoctrination and regimentation.

The first charge has its origin in the new policy on industrial and agrarian disputes, which the Government adopted late in 1957. They decided not to allow the Police machinery and the various sections of the Indian Penal Code and the Criminal Procedure Code to be used against the rights of workers and peasants for collective bargaining and direct action. Two corollaries followed. Firstly, criminal prosecutions arising out of such disputes were withdrawn in cases where the disputes themselves were settled. There were 688 cases of such withdrawals in the first 18 months of the government's tenure. Most of the beneficieries were alleged to be Communists or their sympathisers. Secondly, there were large-scale commutations and remittance of sentences and fines, again in cases relating to industrial and agrarian disputes. Here, too, the chief beneficieries were alleged to be party-men or sympathisers. Government justified these measures as necessary for the "restoration of harmonious

atmosphere". Actually it created a sense of insecurity amongst the propertied classes.

In the confusion that followed this new policy towards labour disputes, local Communist cells grew powerful and aggressive. Gradually they usurped the power which formerly the police were using in such disputes. As Acharya J. B. Kripalani, the PSP leader, pointed out, "Interference by party-men is a set policy in all Communist countries." The Kerala Comrades followed it, and in doing so they felt they were doing their duty. They had no bad conscience about it. Opposition charges about 'cell administration' may be exaggerated. But the massive interference in, and domination over, the governmental machinery by the Party have certainly resulted in discrimination against non-Communists in all walks of life.

The second charge centres around Communist government's activities in the field of co-operatives. Two new types of Societies, the Toddy Tappers Co-operatives and the Labour Contract Co-operatives, are the chief target of attack. In Kerala, a natural palmland, toddy tapping is a big rural industry. Formerly a few hundred private contractors used to get licences, by public auctions, for tapping and vending toddy, which is a popular drink of the villagefolk. These contractors employed the tappers, all belonging to the backward Ezhva Community, at pitifully low wages, and took away the cream of profits in the business. Communists have been working amongst these tappers for many years. When they came to power, they decided to remove the middlemen, the contractors, from this business and hand it over to Tappers Societies. They were provided with finance and other facilities to form the co-operatives. Party workers assumed leadership and about a dozen big co-operatives with a membership of 15,000, were quickly established. Each society was given, at bargained fee, the monopoly of tapping and vending toddy in a big area generally a taluq. These co-operatives today control about half of the toddy business in the State. Their turnover is over four crores of rupees. Some of the societies are like big industrial establishments. There is no doubt that these co-operatives have improved the lot of the tappers. They now have regular and about 50 per cent bigger incomes than before; their children are attending schools, while formerly they had to hanker after odd jobs for supplementing the family earnings. The biggest change is psycholcgical. The tappers now look to the 'higher' castes as equals. Opposition is attacking these societies on two points. Firstly, these societies are 'packed' with only Communists. Tappers, who refuse to be subservient to Communists are refused membership. Secondly, it is alleged that these societies with official connivance, make large profits, part of which go to the coffers of the Party.

The Labour Contract Societies are also a new creation of the Communists. Under the National Extension Scheme of the Government of India, large building and construction programme is undertaken, mainly in rural areas. Half of Kerala is now under this N. E. S. The Communists Government decided to entrust building contracts, costing less than Rs. 25,000/- to co-operative societies of labourers. For each Taluq under the N. E. S., one co-operative society was formed. Here, too, the societies were organised by Communists. Others complained that the societies came into existence long before they knew about the Scheme. They accuse the Government of deliberately suppressing publicity of this Scheme. These societies have been provided with finance by Government; they have monopoly of small and medium construction works. Labourers' wages have risen by 30 to 40 per cent. These societies, too, are attacked by the opposition for being 'packed' with Communists, and for making illicit profits which find their way to Party's coffers.

In the coir and fishing industry, the opposition alleges that the Communists tried infiltration with the help of powers vested in the Government by the Co-operatives Act. (These two industries are controlled by non-Communist co-operatives). The charge-sheet has described all these activities of the Communists in the co-operative field as 'wily manoeuvres to monopolise the strings of rural economy.'

The third charge against the Communists relates to education. In Kerala, the Private Sector has an entrenched position in education. The Catholic Church was the pioneer in this field. The Arch-Bishop of Trivandrum Rev. Mar Gregorios told me, with obvious and justified pride, that the first school in Kerala was opened by the Catholics, "seventy-five years before Government opened its first school". He claimed that the Catholics were the first to bring education to the untouchables, for whom Government schools were closed for long time. Other Communities and institutions later followed the Catholics and started their own schools. Today out of the 11,000 schools in Kerala, 7000 are under private management, 2,100 of them being under Christian control.

To the Christians, particularly the Catholics, their educational institutions are a pillar of strength of the Church. They resisted successfully, in 1946 and again in 1950-51, Government attempts to establish some sort of control over their schools. This time the Communists tried to do a thorough job of it. Characteristically, the Church fought back with all its might.

Friction in this field began when Government nationalised the text-books for 1958-59. Cries of 'indoctrination' were raised. A committee of enquiry appointed by the Government opined that some of the material "tends to offend social, religious and political sentiments," and "certain lessons and passages tend to create in the pupils impressions favourable to Communist ideas". (Government did not publish this report. These quotations are from an unofficial copy of the report, widely circulated in Kerala).

When the Communists framed their Education Bill, the Catholics decided to give a last ditch battle. The Bill was discussed in great detail in the Press, on the platform and in the Legislature before it was subjected to a close scrutiny by the Law and Education Ministries of Government of India; later it was referred to the Supreme Court and finally received the President's assent. The Communists made substantial concessions all along the line to remove "any elements of totalitarianism or political bias." But they did not yield on the points on which the Catholics had based their total rejection of the Bill. When the Act was placed on the Statute Book, the Catholic Bishops decided to counter it by the School Closure Movement, which touched off the great upsurge.

Pandit Nehru has expressed amazement at the "sweep" of the movement, the like of which, he said was not seen in India before. He attributed the Communists' 'astonishing failure' to their mistake of not doing their own thinking. Acharya Kripalani has cosdemned the Reds for having "copied Chinese and Russian methods in administration." The P.S.P. leader has said that the Communists invited their downfall because, in their zeal to establish party dictatorship, they forgot that Kerala was not an independent State, but a State, with strictly limited autonomy.

The Communist Government did attempt to implement some socialistic measures. The various kinds of co-operative societies, and the Agrarian Relations Bill (which prescribes land ceilings), if implemented, would definitely register a marked shift in the income groups in Kerala. Theirs was the first Government in Kerala, free from casteist or communal bias. They put down caste tyranny in the services. All these are certainly big achievements. But somehow the Reds' experiment mis-carried. Three factors worked against them.

Firstly, the Communist government's conduct was discriminatory and partisan. Even in measures aimed at benefiting the working classes, Communist groups were singled out for special favours. "No succour without subservience" became the rule. The general strike of June 29, called by all non-Communist trade unions, was primarily a protest against this discriminatory treatment.

Secondly, Communists ignored the fact that Keralite masses are more caste-and-community conscious than class-conscious. Swami Vivekanand once remarked that Kerala was a mad house of casteists and communalists. The situation is very much unchanged today. The Communists did not realise that the reaction to their socialistic measures would be basically communal. In Kerala, the toiling masses belong mainly to the Ezhva community whom the caste Hindus regarded as practically untouchables till a generation ago Ezhvas are the single largest community

numbering 4 million. With government assistance, they are fast coming up in the services and in other fields. The caste Hindus, especially the Nairs, who had a monopoly in services, and who enjoyed caste superiority, are finding it difficult to adjust themselves in the social change. The fisherfolk, another exploited class, have derived benefits from Communists' measures. Yet they sided with the agitationists, because they are completely under the influence of the Catholics. The Muslims had no grievances against the Communist Ministry. Yet their organisation, the League, participated in the agitation, with the object of gaining Congress recognition for itself as a respectable party.

The third factor that worked against the Communists was the stagnant economy of the State. Kerala has no big industry; its density of population (1000 per sq. mile) and annual rate of birth (3 p.c.) are among the highest in the world. Rice-eating Kerala produces only half the rice it needs. There is no more land to put under the plough. During the last two years, price of rice rose by about 50 p.c., largely wiping out the relief government measures might have brought to poorer classes. Unemployment, and the politically explosive substance, the educated unemployment, is on the increase. Capitalists went on strike when Communists came to power. Mr. A. V. George, a big plantation owner and industrialist in Kottayam, told me how, he with the help of a few capitalists from Madras, had finalised plans to set up a 5-crore rubber factory in Kerala. But when the Communists won the elections, he said, his colleagues from Madras backed out and the scheme collapsed. Mr. Namboodiripad's government signed, last year, an agreement with Mr. G. D. Birla for opening a 4-crore rayon factory in Kerala. Mr. Birla got substantial concessions assuring him freedom from labour trouble. But later his enthusiasm seems to have disrappeared.

All this "totality of circumstances" might have thrown the Communists out of power in the 1962 elections; it will probably reduce them to a minority in the elections due in the next few months. But did it justify the dismissal of the Ministry? Neither the President's proclamation, nor the Prime Minister's later pronouncements have mentioned specifically the reasons for Central intervention. Mr. Nehru has said that neither the charge-sheet, nor the peoples' upsurge weighed in the Centre's decision. In his Press Conference of August 7, he said: "The totality of circumstances was such that everyone concerned . . . wanted this to be done." In a speech in the Congress Parliamentary Party's meeting, where he had to face unprecendentedly critical speeches for three successive days, Mr. Nehru is reported to have described Central intervention as a "formula of disengagement," which became absolutely essential to separate the two groups to avoid imminent blood-shed.

That might have been true in the ultimate stage. But critics are unanimous on the point that Congress could have, with firmness and a little foresight, kept the Kerala crisis under control, and could have avoided the extreme step about which it now seems to have a bad conscience. There were two crucial moments when Congress could have retained the initiative. The first one was some time in the latter half of May, when Kerala Congressmen were allowed to participate individually in the School Closure Movement. This was the thin end of the wedge. When the agitation started, Kerala Congress fully plunged itself into it. It became impossible to extricate it from the agitation, which was controlled by others. The second opportunity for Congress came when the Communists accepted Mr. Nehru's suggestion of holding negotiations with the opposition groups on various disputes. This was around June 25. The Communists did actually make some important concessions to facilitate talks; they agreed to make the negotiations unrestricted; and finally they accepted to be guided by Mr. Nehru's advice in unresolved matters.

Had Mr. Nehru thrown his full weight in favour of this approach, negotiations would have come off. But he also suggested, what he later described as a parallel approach, that elections could be the best way out of the crisis. When the Catholics, the P.S.P. and the Nair leaders found that Mr. Nehru himself did not press for the approach of negotiations, they openly rejected it. The Kerala Congress had to follow suit. And the Congress High Command had to accept it as a fait accompli. The weakness of Kerala Congress, and the equivocation and vacillation of the Congress High Command clinched the issue.

Why did the opposition reject Mr. Nehru's suggestion of talks? Mr. Nehru has now said that this rejection was a mistake. The reason the opposition publicly gave was that their demand for the removal of the government was not negotiable. In private, opposition leaders admitted two other reasons—in fact the real ones. Firstly, they feared that negotiations would remove the cementing force that brought them together. Various groups in the opposition had conflicting interests in the issues involved. Talks would have exposed them to dividing influences. The second reason was the opposition's fear that Communists would make substantial concessions, then parade as good boys' for the rest of the tenure of their office, and further entrench themselves. Mr. P. Govind Menon, the strong man of Kerala Congress, and a former Chief Minister of Travancore-Cochin explained to me this point. He said: "What has come to our rescue is the Communists' misdeed. Frankly, we are not willing to provide them an opportunity to make amends."

Many non-party observers, and a few Congress leaders had hoped that the crisis would be resolved by negotiations. This could have avoided what Mr. C. Rajagopalachari called the 'bad precedent' of Central intervention. It could have established sound democratic conventions. The fact is that with their success in Kerala, the Communists had inherited a vested interest in the Constitution. In Kerala it was the Communists who exhorted the opposition, particularly Congress, to give up its agitation and return to "the path of constitutionalism." A negotiated settlement could have strengthened the Communists' interest in democratic ways.

Of course, to the Communists the essential principles of the Constitution are the State's autonomy and, its corollary, the existence of governments formed by different parties. This is obvious. After Kerala they hoped to capture power in a few more States like West Bengal. So they were anxious to find a solution to the "problems of how to work Parliamentary Democracy in the concrete conditions of today, when the problem of different parties forming governments in different States has been posed in a realistic manner." Communists were anxious to evolve a code of conduct for political parties and the government. They wanted to remove the threat of Central intervention, "hanging like a sword over the Kerala government." But now that they are convinced that Congress has no 'qualms in violating the Constitution by manoeuvring to maintain one party rule,' they are not keen about such a code at all. They have decided not to resort to retaliatory agitations in Congress-governed States. That is because they fear that such agitation would completely isolate them. But they do have in mind some substitute action as is evident from the resolutions of the Central Committee of CPI.

What is in store for Kerala, which has foisted a big disturbance on the Indian political scene? If the non-Communist overcome their personal and communal rivalry, and forge an effective electoral alliance, the Communists will be reduced to a minority in the next elections. Last time, at the height of popularity, the Communists got 35 per cent of votes and only 60 seats in a house of 127. (They had the support of 5 independents.)

But Kerala Congress cannot hope to have a majority either. Its strength in the dissolved legislature was 45. It may claim a few more seats from the 'divisible pool' of seats which the Communists are likely

to lose. But they will not be enough to give it a majority. In fact the Kerala PSP leader Mr. Pattom Thanu Pillai told me that Congress can never hope to have power by itself in Kerala.

There will have to be a coalition of some sort—a coalition without a strong leader, and without any common programme. It is bound to be dominated by casteists and communalists. In fact the interplay of these forces has already begun. The incongruence and incoherence of these groups rules out any genuinely socialistic programme. The truth is that it will be more difficult to make this coalition adopt socialistic measures, than it was to make the Communists conform to the spirit of democracy.

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SAMKARA—THE GREAT PHILOSOPHER

By Dr. ANIMA SEN GUPTA, M.A. Ph.D.,
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Sree Samkaracharyya, one of the great sons of our motherland, was born in South India. He lived only up to the age of thirty-two. This short span of his life was exceptionally brilliant because it was full of penetrative thought, rare wisdom and creative activity. The rich and varied experiences of Samkara ennobled and purified the spiritual atmosphere of India at a time when it was full of religious strife and philosophical controversies. It was the fulness of his insight and emotion that had won for Samkara a unique prestige and position in the history of Indian philosophy and religion.

Samkara was born in an age when there was a keen rivalry between Vedic and anti-vedic schools of philosophy. From the 2nd century A.D. up to the 9th century A.D., Buddhism was a very powerful religious force in India and during this period all orthodox schools of Indian philosophy used to struggle hard to defeat Buddhism.

Buddistic Philosophy

Buddistic philosophy, as we all know, found its full development in the writings of Jogachara and Madhyamika schools. Both the schools hold that this world of experience is "asat," non-substantial and consequently devoid of value and meaning. The word "asat" used to be interpreted at that time in the sense of "pure negation." For Yogachara Buddism, the world of external objects is nothing but a projection of varied cognitions of human mind. We should admit the reality of cognition alone with its multifarious characters and forms. Since an object can never be perceived, the object is nothing but a form of cognition. The world that we see and feel, appreciate and admire does not actually exist in the form in which it presents itself to us. Its physicality, independence and extra organic existence are only appearances and illusions.

The Madhyamika school goes a step further than the Yogacharas when it denies the reality of cognition also. The cardinal principle of this school is "sarvam sunyam." All things of the world including consciousness and self are subject to the laws of change, relativity and mutual dependence. This mutual dependence of things is a mark of their unreality and non-substantiality. Both physical and psychical things do not exist with any essence in them. They exist only as causal relations there being certain phenomena: there happens to be certain others. As there is no substantive basis of the world apart from an ever-changing and ever-flowing stream of becoming, the world is devoid of significance and value. It is as valueless as the worlds of dream and magic.

Opposition and Protest

Against this type of teaching of the Buddistic philosophy, the realistic schools of N-V and S-Y raised their voice of protest and opposition. As the maxim "sarvam sunyam" was repugnant to them, they tried hard to establish the reality of the external world on logical grounds. To them the world is such that we can see, feel and

touch it in our every-day life. How can we, they ask, deny the existence of this world? Patanjali, for example, has said: "Vastusamya chittabadat tayoh vibhaktapantha :" (i.e., as the ideas become different even though the object remains the same, their ways of being are different). Vachaspati, too, has said that of two things, if one does not change and the other differs, they cannot be identical. The same object is perceived differently by different persons and hence the object is not identical with the different ideas. The Nyaya school also holds that the positive and concrete things of the world are continuously and forcefully stimulating the intellect of human beings and that they are being thought of and reflected by different individuals in all ages, in all places and at all times. These facts, they maintain, prove the reality of the external world which is the constant object of our intellectual apprehension and consideration. An "asat" object like the hare's horn can never become an object of intellectual consideration.

Samkara as a Saviour

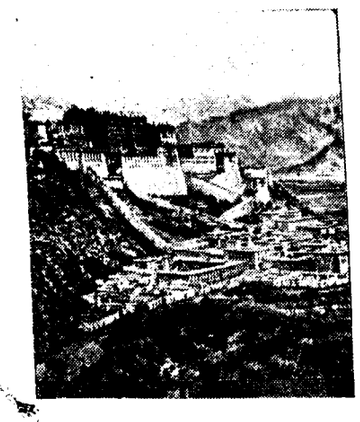
Both the views regarding the status and significance of the world used to be preached simultaneously in our country when Samkara was born. The constant strife between Buddism and Vedic schools of thought kept the philosophical atmosphere of India in a state of instability and mental unrest. It was at such a critical moment of Indian history that Samkara appeared as a prophet and saviour and delivered to the people of our country a new message of philosophy and religion. His "jagat mithya hva vada," as I understand it, is nothing but a reconciliation or synthesis between the two opposite views of "jagat satvad and jagat asatvad." The synthetic approach of Sree Samkara in the field of philosophy and religion seems to be the most outstanding contribution of this great leader. The world, for him, is not of permanent metaphysical value: yet its value from the practical and ethical standpoints has been strongly emphasised by him. The world is not wholly non-existent or "asat" like the sky-flower. It is also not wholly real or "sat" as it is not permanent and independent. The world is neither real nor unreal. It is neither 'sat' nor 'asat' nor both. It is "asat" as it cannot continue to manifest itself in all times and it is also "sat" as it forcefully manifests itself to all persons so long as ignorance exists in them. This relative and conditional character of the world is described by him as "anirvachaniya." We clearly experience its reality and unreality under two different conditions of bondage and liberation, but we have no word at our disposal by which we can express its character in a more precise and definite manner. To assert that the world is wholly "asat" is as false as to say that the world is wholly "sat." The world occupies an intermediate position between "satdravya" and "asatdravya." For ordinary men of the world who have not been able to attain true knowledge, the world is real and meaningful and all worldly arrangements are concrete, positive and significant. It should not, therefore, be dismissed as something totally worthless. The world is necessary for moral preparation which is essential for liberation. Still, the world should not be regarded as wholly real. Although, it is placed on a substantive basis, yet it is not eternal. Its multi-coloured forms are the effects of "avidya" and are, therefore, not lasting. Even though the world is so near and dear to us—so charming and soul-enticing—still we cannot claim for its ultimate reality and eternal value. Thus Samkara has made a synthesis between realism of "Vaidika" schools and nihilism of the "Avaidika" schools and has been able to bring together the two rival camps by the magic touch of his "anirvachaniya-vada." This synthetic approach in philosophy has also helped Samkara to make an effective compromise between "saivism" and "vaisnavism" in the field of religion. Samkara has preached that supreme reality is one and due to different "upadhis" one reality appears in the forms of different gods and plays different roles. Siva, Vishnu, Saraswati, Lakshmi, etc., are nothing but the different incarnations of one God. Different religions are not really opposed to each other, they are only different tributeries flowing into one vast sea of divinity.

TIBET: THE ROOF OF THE WORLD

By S. H. HUSAIN, B.A.

In Central Asia beyond the towering walls of the majestic Himalayas lies Tibet, a vast, semi-desolate table-land. Variously known as the Roof of the World, the Forbidden Land, the Mysterious Land and the Land of Lamas, the country covers an area of about 500,000 square miles and is inhabited by nearly 4,000,000 people. Guarded by the dreary deserts and a great girdle of glacier-crowned mountains, Tibet has always preferred to slumber in obscurity and isolation rather than to become a cock-pit of international politics.

On October 7, 1950, the Chinese troops marched into Tibet claiming it to be a part of China. The Red invasion rudely awakened the Land of the Lamas from its peaceful slumber. The ill-equipped Tibetan forces tried in vain to stem the advance of the invading armies and the Tibetan Government was forced to conclude a treaty with the Chinese on May, 23, 1951.



The magnificent Potala Palace, residence of Dalai Lama at Lasha

The treaty conditions gave the control of the foreign affairs and defence to the Chinese but secured the internal administration of the country to Dalai Lama and guaranteed the freedom of worship and respect of religion. During the course of time the Chinese began to take more and more interest in the internal affairs of the country and attempted to enforce many social and agrarian reforms. The clergy, however, saw the doom of their religion and culture in these reforms. Therefore, they became critical of the Chinese intentions and opposed their activities. The growing anti-Communist sentiments took the shape of open rebellion. Leaving their monasteries and prayer wheels, the Lamas and the laymen took up swords against the Chinese.

Chinese interest in Tibet dates from 650 A.D. when for the first time their expeditionary force entered Lhasa. In 1209 Tibet was conquered by Genghis Khan, and in 1270 his grandson, Kublai Khan, became a convert to Lamaism and set up the rule of priest-kings.

The veil of mystery shrouds the ancient history of the country. The accounts of the period prior to the 7th Century. A.D., which have reached us through the contemporary Chinese historians, are mostly mythical and legendary. Tibetans believe that they are the descendants of Chen-re-si, the 'Lord of Mercy', the patron deity of Tibet. The most notable legendary King was Nga-tri-tsanpo, said to be a son of King Prasenajit of Kosala, the first royal patron of Buddha. It was during the reign of Song-tsan-Gampo the Great (7th Century) that Tibet stepped into the light of history. A great conqueror and religious reformer, he prescribed a Code of Civil and Criminal Law, and formulated the present Tibetan alphabet on the pattern of Devanagri characters. He got many Sanskrit and Pali works on Buddhism translated in Tibetan language. As a result of the translations of the Indian Buddhist classics, the country's literature rapidly increased in volume.

King Song-tsan-Gampo married Princess Wen Cheng, daughter of the contemporary Emperor of China, whom he had defeated. A devout Buddhist, she firmly established her religion throughout her new country of residence although Buddhism had already reached Tibet from India some two hundred years earlier.

The form of Buddhism practised in Tibet is an amalgam of Shamanism cult (Nature worship), *Tantric* mysticism and Buddhist

faith, and is commonly known as Lamaism. According to Lamaism a number of gods, saints, demons and evil spirits guide the destiny of man and control the universe. Buddha is regarded as the chief god.

Certain Brahmanical gods also find a place in the galaxy of these superhuman beings.

Om Mani Padme Hum meaning "Glory to the Jewel in the Lotus" or "Glory to God in our Hearts", is the most sacred *mantra* of Tibetans and is ever on their lips. About one fourth of the total male population are Lamas who take their abode in gompas or monasteries. Some three thousand monasteries, both big and small, are spread all over the country. They are mostly built in the inaccessible places to ensure solitude. Situated in the vicinity of Lhasa, the Monastery of Drepung houses about 10,000 monks and is the most powerful and greatest stronghold of Lamaism. These monasteries are not only the centres of religious devotion, but also the backbone of social and cultural structure of the country.

The power and privileges enjoyed by the Lamas attract a large number of recruits who enter a monastery at the age of eight. There they are trained and educated and have to pass many stages to become monks. Thereafter, they devote most of their time in learning the religious scriptures and in meditation. The monastic life imposes vigorous discipline, celibacy and abstinence upon them yet they have to do almost no physical labour to eke out a living and for this they depend on the financial help of the lay population.

Tibetans are a very superstitious folk. Besides the Lamas, they also consult the Sungmas, the living oracles of Tibetan Church, for the solution of their problems. A Sungma is either a Lama or a layman possessed by some malignant spirit or the spirit of a demonized hero. Any Lamasery with a claim to importance has its oracle. Every Sungma has his fee, the amount depending on the importance of his demon, and the status of the person who seeks the augury. Whether oral or written, the replies given by the Sungmas are generally vague. Often the replies are animal-like grunts which the attendant Lama, through whom the questions are presented, interprets.

These oracles play an important role in the selection of high incarnations, or in the search for the incarnations, of a deceased Dalai Lama.

Extremely courteous and hospitable, the Tibetans have a strange way of welcoming the visitors. They put out their tongues, smile and hiss. Whether rich or poor they invariably offer tea, their most popular beverage, to the strangers and friends alike. They add salt instead of sugar to the tea and butter instead of milk. This salty beverage is served in small wooden cups inlaid with a thin silver-sheet. Whenever two Tibetans meet, they exchange scarves as a gesture of goodwill.



A scene during the New Year Festival at Lasha

Barley is the staple food of the people, Yak's meat, mutton, barley-bread, cheese and tea make up the menu of the common man. Rice, fruits and vegetables, which are sparsely grown, are consumed by the richer people.

The Yak is a typical draft animal, a long-haired form of cattle whose shaggy appearance exaggerates its massive proportions. No other animal is so well adapted to Tibetan travel. The Yak is actually the most useful animal of the country. It provides milk, butter and meat, and yields wool which is used for clothing and tent-making. Rope is woven from its hair and its hide furnishes leather. Its horns and bones are utilized in building houses and the tail is exported to America. Finally, dried Yak dung is used as fuel in a land where there is no coal and almost no wood.

Agriculture and pasturage are the mainstay of the population. Carpet and blanket-making and cloth-weaving are the chief cottage industries.

Monogamy, polygamy and polyandry are confined mostly to the nomadic and poor families. Wedding ceremony is performed by the monks on some auspicious day amid much feasting and merriment, and is attended by prayers, blessings and exchange of ceremonial scarves and gifts. Instead of giving dowry, the parents of a Tibetan bride receive an agreed amount known as 'Milk-money' from the bridegroom.



Three Tibetan Ladies

Although untouched by the trend of modern times, the Tibetan women enjoy a wide range of freedom. They take an active part in trade and business, are strong, intelligent and often masterful enough to be the actual heads of their families.

The Tibetan festivals are celebrated amidst scenes of great pomp and pageantry, in which both Lamas and laity take part. Attiring themselves in the gayest apparel, they flock to the local monasteries to worship, offer gifts to images and spend the day in eating, drinking and dancing. The most important festival is the *New Year* or *Great Prayer* festival at Lhasa. It falls sometime in February every year.

Lhasa, the Capital of Tibet, is the Mecca to millions of the followers of Lamaism and the dream city of explorers. Surrounded by snow-capped mountains, the holy city lies in a green valley where vegetables, apples, peaches and many flowers grow. To add colour to its wondrous natural situation, scattered up and down the mountains are red and white monasteries, some of which cling precariously to rock cliff. Its electrified bazars, shops stuffed with a variety of goods and festive costume of the people make it look like a carnival of brilliant colour. In the heart of the city is Jokang, or Cathedral where under a roof lavishly ornamented with gold, the images of Buddha are placed on an illuminated altar.

The crowning feature, of the capital is the monastery-palace of the Dalai Lama, the gold-roofed Potala, the noblest creation of Tibetan architects. This fairy-like palace is one of the most majestic buildings of the world. Erected some 300 years ago, it has 1000 rooms, including the spacious apartment of the Dalai Lama and his high priests, and the tombs of eight previous Dalai Lamas which are covered with heavy gold-leaf. Within the palace are large audience halls, reception halls and throne room. Some of the rooms contain the images and paintings of great historical and religious personalities and interest. Many of these are the masterpieces of realistic art.

Dalai Lama, meaning the 'Broad Ocean' in Mongolian, is the spiritual as well as the temporal sovereign of Tibet. He is referred to by his people as 'Rimpoche,' which means 'Precious King'. To his followers, he is the incarnation of Lord Buddha and is revered like God. They believe that when a Dalai Lama passes away, his soul, immediately after his demise, enters the body of a baby, who is then sought out by the high priests with the aid of the oracles and prescribed signs.

His Holiness Gywa Tendzing Gyamtso, the 14th Dalai Lama of Tibet, who is now an honoured guest of this traditionally hospitable land, was discovered in 1939 in a small village in Western China. Unusually intelligent and well-read, His Holiness is a charming youngman of 24 years. He is a progressive and enlightened ruler and is interested in the peaceful development of his backward country.

The present political situation in Tibet is causing much anxiety to his several million followers in Tibet, India and elsewhere. It is hoped that he will be allowed to return to Tibet to lead his people, gradually and steadfastly, towards progressive enlightenment.

India looks at the current developments in the political life of Tibet with great concern. For, India is Tibet's next-door neighbour and through centuries of close contacts, she is bound to that country through innumerable ties of geography, history, religion, culture and trade. All the political events that take place in Tibet have an important bearing on this country. Moreover, as in the past, she has again turned to India for protection and assistance for maintaining her autonomy. And the people of India have made it clear in unequivocal terms that they want Tibet to progress in freedom.

Tibetans love independence and they are fully entitled to enjoy it.

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RECAPTURING LOST MELODIES

The poet, listening in with his imagination, may find the unheard, long-since hushed melodies of the past sweeter than the heard, living melodies that float towards him from plucked strings or the pressed ivories of the keyboard.

But the feeling can be valid only against the comfortable assurance of hearing melodies when one feels like it. Otherwise, we should all be hankering after permanent deafness. And the ordinary man, not oppressed with too heavy a legacy of introvert imagination, would on the whole be happier with the recovery of lost melodies in tangible form than in imagining about them.

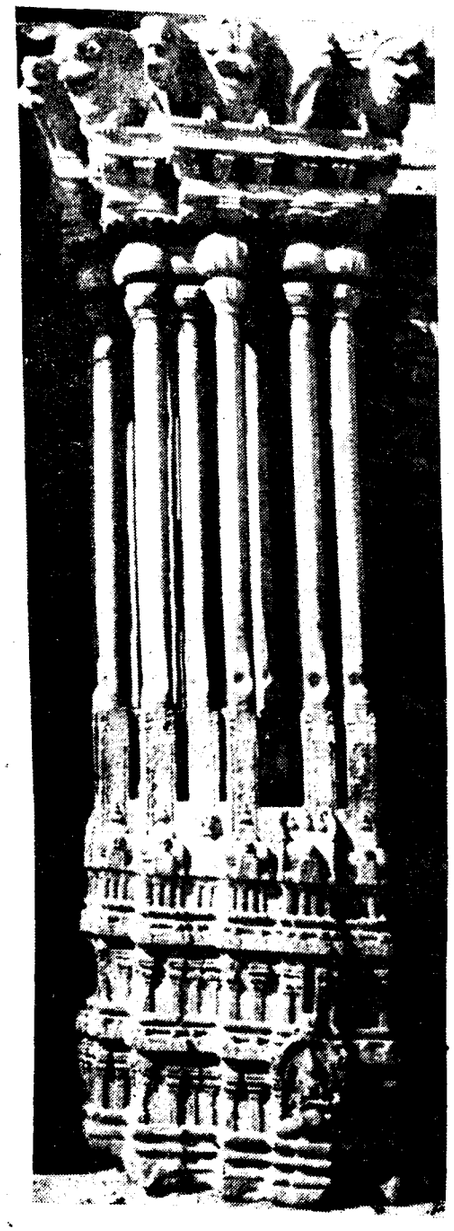
Temple music in India continues to be a living tradition even today, especially in the South. But the specialised vintage of an old, masterly art has been lost to us. Architecture has been described as frozen music and the latter has been described as a mobile architecture of sound built-up in the dimension of time. The traditional architects of the South linked the two arts in a yet deeper manner. They were not only adept at evolving the melodic rhythms of architectural contours, of sanctum, perambulatory and towering "gopuram," but they succeeded in making the structural elements of architecture yield melodies.

The products of this unique craft are found in many temples scattered throughout the length and breadth of the Indian peninsula, and in a variety of forms. In the temple at Darasuram, near Kumbhakonam, there are stone steps which give



Siva Nataraja in Thiruvanaikavil temple at Tiruchirapalli

musical notes. In the hill-shrine at Simhachalam, near Vizag, notes are heard from the stone foliage work on the top of the



The musical pillars of Meenakshi temple at Madurai

pillars. Musical pillars are found in many temples. Single pillars are found in the temples at Lepakshi and Tadpatri in Andhra. Technically more complex are the groups of pillars, where, when one pillar is struck, the neighbouring pillars yield sympathetic vibrations of the same frequency. The temples at Madurai, Alwar Thirunagari in Tirunelveli and Suchindram have such groups of pillars.

Pillars were cunningly fashioned to yield notes with the tone-colour of wind instruments, with the help of scroll-like resonating chambers inside the pillars. By blowing through different holes in the same pillar, in the Siva temple at Chempagaranallur, notes of different tone-colour are produced. Nagaswarams—the South Indian prototype of the North Indian Shahnai—were also made out of stone.

The technical virtuosity of the South Indian craftsman was able to draft sculpture also into this new, unique art. The frozen forms, carved in stone or moulded in bronze, were made to resonate into musical notes. A stone image of Rathi, the goddess of love, at Madurai, gives the first three notes of the Indian scale when tapped on the left knuckles, the left wrist and the right arm.

Perhaps the masterpiece among this type of sculpture is the metal image of Vishnu in the Adi Kesava temple at Perunthottam in Tanjore District. Cast in a five-metal alloy this icon, only twenty-four inches high, yields all the seven notes of the scale when struck at appropriate spots by a small, thick piece of metal.

Long ago, when this unique craft, which involves the mastery of several arts, was a living tradition, the resonant stone used to provide solo music as well as accompaniment. The arts of architecture, sculpture, music and dance blended into a fine amalgam during the performance of the ritual temple dances.

A.I.R. Recordings of Lost Art

All that is past now. Nevertheless, long after the melodies from the resonant stone died away in the corridors of time, an attempt is now being made to recover the lost music.

All-India Radio's technical and programme staff have been working on salvaging this lost treasure. A.I.R., Tiruchi, has put on the air several programmes featuring the musical pillars at Madurai and Alwar Thirunagari. Music recorded from the Madurai pillars was presented with appropriate vocal support in a sound documentary on this historic city with its cultural treasures. In a literary magazine programme, music recorded from the pillars of the Alwar Thirunagari temple and music played on the stone nagaswaram were broadcast. A.I.R., Tiruchi, has a stone nagaswaram, said to be nearly three hundred years old.

The lost music came back to life again in the composite feature programme during the Republic Day, 1956, entitled the "Rainbow of Endeavour", in which different stations of A.I.R. joined together. This time it was the Madras A.I.R. which broadcast the music of the pillars, thus affirming, on a day sacred to the nation, the legitimate pride of the present generation in the spectrum of past achievement, the bright loveliness of which can always be recovered, if we tried hard enough.—*PIB.*

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REGIONALIST PAINTER RECREATES NORTH AMERICAN HISTORY IN MURALS

DURING the titanic job of building the new St. Lawrence Seaway—to provide deep-water navigation to The Great Lakes and power for both the United States and Canada—an artist was working to interpret in murals the scene of the river's discovery by Cartier and French explorers in 1534.

American painter Thomas Hart Benton finished his two murals, commissioned by the New York State Power Authority, in 1958. They hang in the new administration building at Massena, New York, a power and industrial center along the Seaway. Though much smaller than the huge decorative and historical map they flank, they dominate the room with their vivid colors and swirling, dynamic lines.

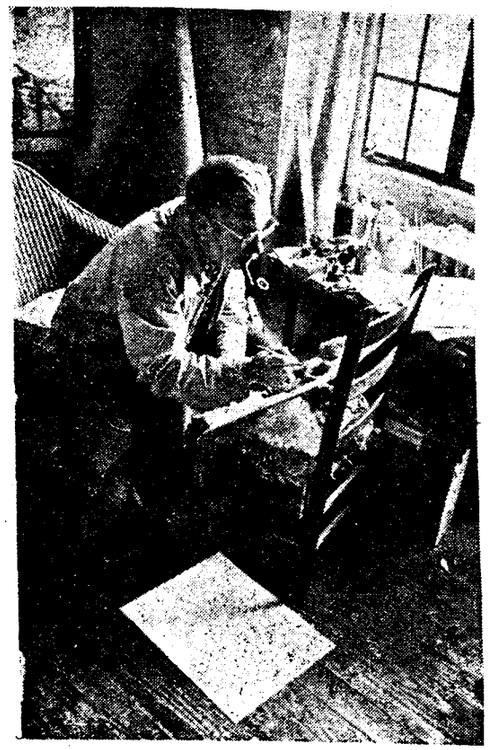
When he began his Massena project, Benton was already in his late sixties, his hair greying and his eye-sight less keen. Over the thirty years that he has been known as a painter in the realist tradition, he has steadily contrived to make himself the center of controversy. Vociferous and belligerent, he has gladly taken issue with any who disagree with him, including Directors of art museums. Comments about him run the gamut from "cocky, terrible-tempered and rebellious," to assertions that he is a painter whose "works have a beauty as distinctive as those of El Greco."

The St. Lawrence murals proved that he had lost neither his vigor as an artist, nor his capacity for work. For seven months before he began any but rough sketches, he documented his material, studying books and contemporary accounts of the discovery. "Merely finding the true design of Cartier's flag," he says, "produced an international sheaf of correspondence inches thick." Locating as models some full-blooded Seneca Indians whose ancestors had greeted Cartier, took more time. Also, to get the feel of the country he was going to portray, he wandered along the land bordering the river.

Once his detailed sketches were finished, he modelled his figures in "plasterine of Italian oil" and placed them on a special board that provided a three-dimensional composition. And lastly, before the final stage of painting from a scaffold, he painted an easel version.

Since such a schedule is Benton's invariable preparation for the execution of murals, it is no wonder he said after finishing those at Massena, "I didn't want to do

any more. Painting a mural is a lot of moving and climbing around all over the thing." A good mural, he feels, "must have a world of depth into which you can move."



Benton tints some of the plasterine figures he molded for his Massena Mural

However, commissions for two additional murals followed. The first, now under way, is also for the New York State Power Authority. It will be installed in a tourists' overlook structure, above the main generating plant of the Niagara Power Project. It will show the French Jesuit Missionary Father Louis Hennepin, gazing at Niagara Falls. He is believed to have been the first white man to have seen it.

The second will cover 470 square feet (43 square meters) of the main wall of the entrance lobby of the Truman Library in Independence, Missouri. It will portray events of the years 1815 to 1850—those marking the "independence and opening of the West."

In 1951, Benton remarked "my pictures have been out of fashion for 15 years now." And it is true that his stubborn adherence to an objective, realistic approach—indeed his scorn for any other—has meant that his easel paintings are now seldom seen. But with his mural painting, he now seems to be regaining something of the eminence he experienced in the 1930's, when he was a leader in the "Regionalism" movement of the time.

Early in his art career, Thomas Hart Benton was a super esthete, of the type he now detests. He was born in the mid-Western State of Missouri, in 1889. His father was a lawyer and his great-uncle, of the same name, was Missouri's first Senator and a distinguished figure in American history. The stage was set for young Benton to follow the family tradition of the law.

Such a prospect seemed to him the height of boredom. He early decided to be an artist. At 17 he went to the Art Institute of Chicago, but after two years deserted it for Paris.

In Chicago, he had bolstered his adolescent ego by wearing a "black shirt, a red tie and a pair of peg-top corduroy pants," by letting his hair grow long and surmounting it with a derby hat. "I began to be regarded as a genius among my contemporaries," he later remarked drily. Returning to the United States after three years in Paris, he was attired in French clothes and carrying a cane. He had divided his time in France between a slavish imitation of the more avant-garde experimentalists and studying the Renaissance painters at the Louvre. His own painting had gone through cubism, symbolism and "synchronism" by the time he exhibited in the American Forum Show of 1916.

He might have gone on into expressionism and non-objectivity, as many Americans were to do by the 1920's, had he not been assigned to work as an architectural draftsman in the U.S. Navy during World War I. "This was the most important event in my development as an artist. I was forced to observe the character of things—buildings, airplanes, dredges and ships—things so interesting that I forgot my esthetic drivelings and morbid self-concerns. I left once for all my little world of 'art for art's sake'."

The world Benton embraced instead was that of his own country and the people comprising it. From that time on his rediscovery of America became a crusade. He began painting his neighbors on the island of Martha's Vineyard, off the coast of Massachusetts. Drawn back to his native Missouri by the death of his father, he set out with his drawing materials to sketch the people of the Ozark mountains, of the Texas panhandle, the steel mills, coal mines, oil fields and shipbuilding plants in different parts of the country—sometimes travelling on foot and sometimes on river boats or trains.

And as always, controversy swirled around him and almost as often generated from him. A mural he painted for a school in New York in 1931 was called "tabloid, cheap sensationalism and modernist effrontery." But the Whitney Museum upset that verdict by buying the mural's cartoon and commissioning Benton to paint a mural for the Museum. Reactions to other murals he did—notably for the States of Indiana and Missouri—were equally argument-provoking.

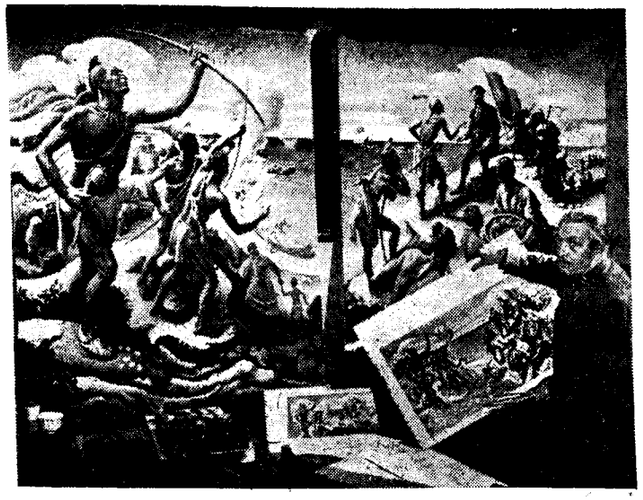
In 1935 he became the Director of painting at the Kansas City Art Institute—a post he held for six years. Ever since, his native State of Missouri has been his home, except for the summers he spends at Martha's Vineyard.

It was during the 1930's that the Middle-West became the center of the Regionalist Movement. Led by Benton, Grant Wood of Iowa and John Steuart Curry of Kansas, it gathered many followers among painters and the general public. In essence the artists were attempting to interpret their own country and particularly those regions within it which they knew intimately. "I believed," said Benton, "that an American art might develop best through understanding and sharing the ways and beliefs of the Americ people. ..... I sought for as realistic representation as possible. When thin were ludicrous or ugly, I made them such. When they were funny, I made the that way; when they were beautiful, tried as best I could to capture that qu lity. Always in this artistic adventure, t subject came first."



Benton personally put directions on the crate in which the St. Laurence Murals were shipped to Massena

Benton has exhibited widely and pictures have been bought by the Met politan Museum of Art and the Muse of Modern Art in New York City; t Brooklyn Museum; the Museum of F Arts in Boston, and other museums. "Bu says *Time* magazine, "as a new gene tion's vibrant distortions and vivid abstr tions transfigured the U.S. art wor Museum Directors began to shuffle canvases into cellar crypts."



Against a background of the completed murals Benton holds one of the preliminary easel paintings he did



This earlier painting by Benton depicts a scene typical of the American Middle-West

Whether posterity will insist that museums dust off and rehang their paintings by Benton, no one can now say. Benton himself is not concerned. "Painting is mine," he says. "I just keep on working because there's always something wrong with one picture that I try to correct in the next. The reason any painter paints is to learn how to paint."

Now 70, Benton is not disturbed by the prospect of the three years he expects to need to complete the murals for the Truman Library. As he did in depicting in paint the discovery of the St. Lawrence River, he will be working eight hours a day, every day of the week, in the renovated stable behind his home which serves as a studio.



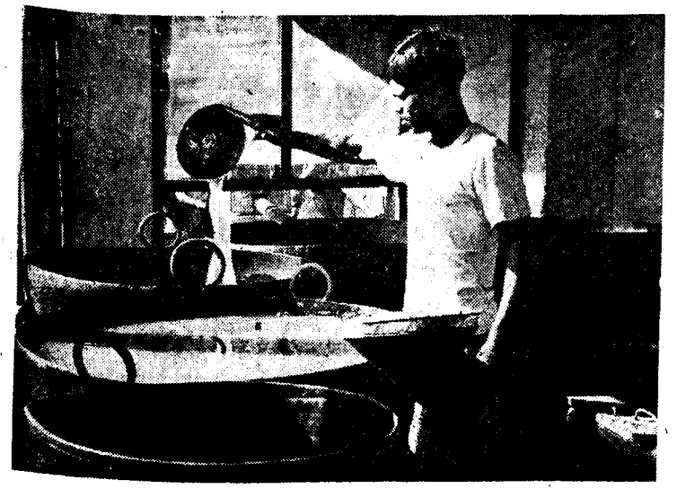
Benton handles the tiny figures to simulate the dimensional effect he seeks for the final product

"I'm going to take all the time I can get to finish these," he says of the Truman murals. "But I'll deliver them all right." —*USIS.*

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PROTECTION AGAINST ADULTERATION IN GHEE

How pure is ghee sold loose in open containers in urban areas? How easily can consumers be persuaded to accept adulterated ghee as genuine?



Properly graded ghee is being boiled before being put into Agmark-labelled tins

A sample survey conducted by the Directorate of Marketing and Inspection of the Ministry of Food and Agriculture based on 84 samples from 34 towns located in different parts of the country showed that 56 of these were adulterated with vegetable fat and 21 were of doubtful purity. Only eight were found free from adulteration, but almost all these had developed a rancid flavour.

Ghee can be so skilfully adulterated with cheaper substitutes that "ad hoc" checking by taste, smell or appearance cannot really help in detecting the admixture.

As part of the measures undertaken by the Government for affording protection against adulteration, and for ensuring supply of pretested ghee, grading of ghee under Agmark has been introduced. Specifications for ghee have been statutorily laid down. The physical and chemical characteristics of ghee depend upon a number of factors such as breed of the animal, the feed on which it is maintained, the stage of lactation and climatic conditions. These factors have been taken into account while prescribing Agmark standards for various areas.

Ensuring Quality and Purity

Grading can be done only by persons authorised by the Directorate of Marketing and Inspection. Each tin of "Kachha" ghee brought by a producer to an authorised dealer is subjected to preliminary tests by

qualified chemists and only those tins which are satisfactory in all respects are taken for processing. This is done by heating the ghee to make it homogeneous



A worker at a grading station is seen putting the Agmark seal on graded ghee tins

and free from suspended impurities such as "chach" and other foreign matter. Ghee thus clarified is allowed to settle in a large tank to remove the last traces of water.

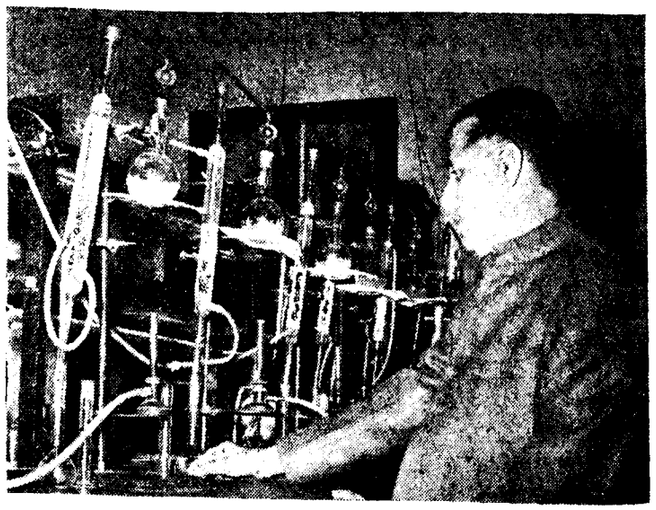
From this lot a sample is drawn by the chemist. A part of it is analysed by him in his own laboratory and the rest is forwarded to the Control Laboratories at Kanpur or Rajkot. If it is found to satisfy the prescribed specifications, it is poured into new tins, bung holes soldered and an Agmark label affixed with a special kind of adhesive which cannot be removed unless the label is destroyed. All these operations are done under the direct supervision of the chemist who keeps the ghee in his custody up to the time Agmark labels are affixed.

Further Tests

Graded ghee is released for sale through retailers. A further check on the quality of graded ghee is exercised by collecting samples from such ghee offered for sale in consuming centres by the Central and State marketing staff.

The check samples are sent to the Control Laboratories under a code number so as to keep even the laboraties ignorant of the place, time or name of the packer who has put it in the market. If in the course of a test a sample is found not strictly to conform to Agmark specifications, prompt action is taken to remove the labels from all tins belonging to the particular lot. Such instances of misgrading are however rare.

These facts are revealed in two brochures, published in Hindi by the Directorate of Marketing and Inspection.



A chemist at a grading station examining the samples of ghee

One of these deals with the extent of adulteration prevalent in the ghee trade particularly in urban markets, and the other explains the provisions of the Agricultural Produce (Grading and Marking) Act, 1937 as applied to ghee.

Agmark Competition

Grading of Ghee has made considerable progress in recent years. While only 92,000 maunds of ghee was graded in 1952, the quantity rose to 1.5 lakh maunds in 1956.

An Agmark ghee competition was introduced in 1954 to create a healthy spirit of rivalry amongst the authorise packers. It has since become a yearl feature and two gold medals are annuall awarded to the winners. The medals fc the last competition were presented b Shri M. V. Krishnappa, Union Deput Minister for Agriculture, recently to Porbander firm and a Co-operative Unio in Shikohabad (U.P.).—*PIB*

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THERMONUCLEAR ENERGY
A New Horizon

By ASHOKE MUKHOPADHYAY

Science and Technology are advancing in long strides. Scientists are causing wonders in the laboratory. It is only a hundred or a hundred and a fifty years ago that coal was the only industrial fuel known to man. But in course of time newer fuels such as Petroleum and Hydroelctricity came to the scene.

Atomic Energy

But the most recent and the most striking resource has been discovered only a few decades back. The destructive genie dwelling in the atomic bombs that burst upon Hiroshima and Nagasaki has now been trapped. With it has emergod a new era, i.e., the 'Atomic-Age.' Nuclear Energy has been controlled by scientists to do peaceful work. 'Atomic Reactors' or 'Atomic Piles,' as they are called, are in progress in many countries. Some of them have already started operating. Uranium is being 'burnt' there to produce heat and electricity. This has reduced to a great extent the apprehension of the death of our industrial civilization as a consequence of the probable exhaustion of coal and mineral oil in not very distant future.

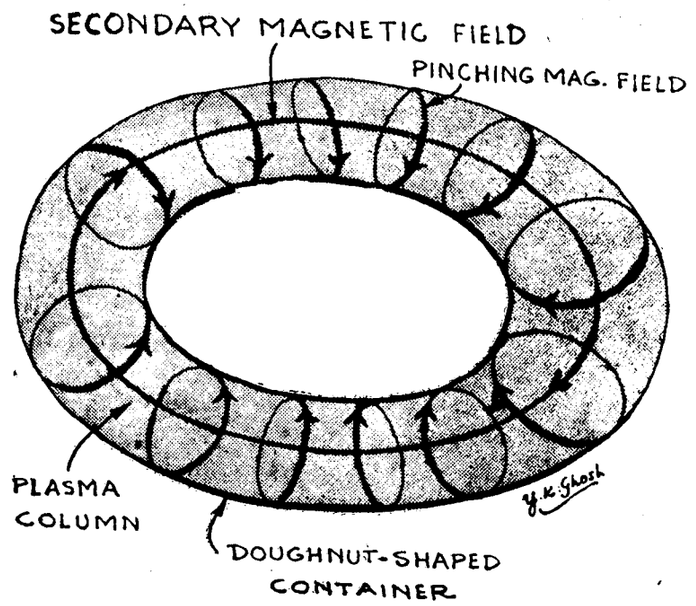
Transformation of Element

In the middle ages, there were some people known as Alchemists in the East as well as in the West. Their main objective was to find out the so-calle 'Philosopher's stone' which could tur 'Base Metals' like iron to 'Noble-Metal like gold. It is quite superfluous to mer tion that all their efforts proved to l failures. For it is as clear as day-lig today that the secret of converting or element into another lies nowhere but its nucleus. In fact the chemical prope ties of matter are dependent on the stru ture of its atom. To change these prope ties, there must be a corresponding chan in the nucleus. In short we have bring about some Nuclear Transformatic of the element.

Fission and Fusion

Modern Science has discovered the key that problem. Scientists have found out th this transformation can be made in two wa namely, fission and fusion.

In fission, the nucleus of a heavy eleme is disintegrated into nuclei of lighter elemer whereas in fusion nuclei of lighter elemer unite to give rise to the nucleus of a heavi element. In both the process a part of the ma is transformed into energy, the amount which can be obtained from a special law Einstein's Theory of Relativity. According that when matter is converted into energy energy into matter, the relation is given $E=MC^2$, where E stands for the quantity



energy, M for the mass concerned, and C for the velocity of light.

We can well imagine that a huge amount of energy is liberated by the conversion even of a very small amount of matter. It is estimated that the energy released by the nuclear disintegration of one pound of Uranium is equivalent to that obtained from the complete burning of 20 million pounds of coal.

In Atomic Bombs, fission takes place as a result of which the nucleus of Uranium is broken into the nuclei of Barium-137 and Crypton-82. The rest of the matter turns into energy and is released as heat and various radioactive rays. In Hydrogen Bombs, the process is altogether reversed as has been mentioned before. There the fusion of Heavy Hydrogen or Deutorium takes place and the products of this fusion are Helium-nuclei and Neutrons or Protons followed by the emission of tremendous amount of energy.

Fission Vs Fusion

Fission which is at the root of Atomic Power has been tamed successfully. But this has many drawbacks some of which are as follows:

(1) Uranium is a rare element. Besides, the 235 isotope of the element can only be advantageously employed as fuel in Uranium Reactors. The percentage of Uranium-235 in naturally available Uranium is practically very small. Although the total quantity of Uranium and Thorium scattered in nature is equivalent to ten to hundred times the amount of coal yet deposited underneath, we have to keep in mind that the demand for power is increasing day by day. After some time it would be more than can be imagined and in that case it may happen that the Fission Reactors will eat away all the Uranium and Thorium within a very short time.

(2) Fission Reactors involve the disposal of large quantities of radioactive wastes which are harmful to humanity. It has been calculated that if the power-need of U.S.A. alone were met with by atomic energy, then in fifty years time, the authorty would have to face the problem of disposing of annually a volume of Radioactive ashes equal to that resulting from the explosion of 200,000 Atomic Bombs.

(3) In the process of Fission streams of fast neutrons are emitted which, if not checked efficiently, would prove fatal. This demands the erection of stout 'shielding' which is very expensive.

In fusion, on the contrary, the above difficulties do not creep in. Here the fuel is some light element preferably Heavy Hydrogen.

Not only that Deuterium is plentiful in nature but also this is a fact that Fusion is capable of producing energy eight times more than Fission by the 'burning' of the same quantity of fuel. This consideration also pushes Fusion ahead of Fission.

Fuel in Fusion Process

As stated earlier, all the light elements are capable of producing energy by Fusion of their nuclei. But the use of Deuterium as fuel has got a large number of advantages over the others. It is present in all the compounds of Hydrogen including sea-water which is, to speak loosely, immeasurable. With every 6000 atoms of ordinary hydrogen is mixed one atom of heavy hydrogen. Deuterium is available commercially as *'Heavy Water'* in some countries. In Canada heavy water is sold at the rate of $60 a pound and in U.S.A. it can be obtained under special conditions from the U.S. Atomic Energy Commission at the meagre cost of $28 a pound.

Principle of Thermonuclear Energy

A Deuterium atom consists of a Proton and a Neutron in its Nucleus. When the Nuclei of two Deuterium Atoms coalesce, a Nucleus of either Helinm-3 or Tritium (which is a heavier isotope of Hydrogen having Atomic Wt.-3) is formed, both the chances being equal. In the second stage another Deuterium Nucleus collides with the Helium-3 Nucleus or the Tritium Nucleus to form Helium-4 and a huge amount of energy is liberated.

1st Stage.

$D + D \longrightarrow He^3 + Neutron + 3.25$ M.E.V.

or

$D + D \longrightarrow$ Tritium + Proton + 4 M.E.V.

2nd Stage.

$D + He^3 \longrightarrow He^4 + Proton + 18.4$ M.E.V.

or

$D +$ Tritium $\longrightarrow He^4 +$ Neutron + 17.6 M.E.V.

(M.E.V. denotes Million Electron Volt Energy).

The gases which are evolved in the above reactions are inert and naturally not so harmful.

Condition for Starting Fusion

It has been clear that limitless energy is hidden in a volume of apparently innocent hydrogen gas. Let us now see what are the conditions necessary to initiate the process.

The nucleus of all atoms carries positive electric charge. Again, like charges repel each other. Hence in order to overcome the mutual repulsion, the individual nuclei are to be accelerated to a velocity high enough to bring about collision between them. This requires millions of degrees of initial temperature. In case of Hydrogen Bombs, the required temperature is supplied by the explosion of an Atomic Bomb. But this cannot be possible when controlled fusion is to be achieved. Success has to be sought in some other way.

Many scientists have drawn an analogy between 'Fusion' and ordinary 'burning'. In 'burning' heat is to be supplied from external source to start the chemical reaction between the atoms concerned. This chemical reaction in turn expresses itself as heat. In fusion on the other hand, nuclei fuse together accelerated to required velocity by initial heating and the process liberates an enormous amount of energy which is the revelation of the nuclear re-action going inside. As the latter process necessitates heating to an extremely high temperature to be 'self-sustaining' it is called thermonuclear reaction. The minimum temperature which starts fusion is termed 'Ignition temperature' and it is different for different elements. For the nuclei to have the chance of colliding with each other the fuel must be first of all brought to a state known as *Plasma*.

Plasma

If a volume of enclosed gas be heated, its temperature goes on increasing. At 5000° C. all its molecules are disintegrated into constituent atoms. At hundred thousand degrees centigrade, the electrons are stripped off from their parent atoms and the gas turns into an electrically neutral mixture of positively and negatively charged ions. In this stage, the electrons move within the vessel at an average speed of 10 million miles per hour. But it is not until one million degree centigrade is reached that any fusion takes place. Even then an insignificant portion of the desired energy consumed by the fuel to be heated to the temperature will be given back. According to Sir John Cockroft, the eminent British scientist, if the temperature can be raised to 25 million degrees centigrade, the energy obtained will be one millionth part of the energy consumed and the two will be balancing when the temperature is lifted to 100 million degrees centigrade. If we want to tap power in a profitable manner, fusion temperature is to be of the order of 400 million degrees centigrade using Deuterium as the fuel.

Container for the Heated Plasma

All known materials will vaporise long before reaching the high temperature of the Plasma. But perhaps, this is not the main problem to be solved. Although the temperature will be many million degrees, the total heat-content of the Plasma will not be appreciably great in view of its reduced density. What is deemed as the greatest difficulty is, however, the sudden fall in temperature of the Plasma as soon as it comes in contact with the container-wall and the consequent collapse of the fusion process.

The problem has been tackled efficiently by the scientists. They have come to the conclusion that the Plasma is to be enclosed in some container whose walls will not be allowed to be touched. This seems paradoxical to common sense, but success has been attained in this sphere also by employing the peculiar behaviour of charged particles in a magnetic field.

Gas particles under ordinary circumstances travel in straight lines until tney collide with each other or with the wall of the vessel. But as soon as some magnetic influence comes in, the particles are disturbed in their straight-line motion and they are deflected away by the magnetic lines of force and pushed in helical or spiral paths. As a result they do not touch the container-wall and remain squeezed within the magnetic-envelope.

If we look to a glowing Neon-tube, it will be seen that the gas particles are crowded in a column detached from the walls of the tube with its axis coincident with the tube axis. The effect was first observed by E. Northroup in 1907 when he was carrying experiments with the effect of electric-discharge in mercury-filled glass tubes. The cause behind the particles being constricted within such a narrow column is a mysterious electrical phenomenon known as 'Pinch effect'.

We know that two metallic wires carrying current in the same direction experience a mutual attraction. The same principle lies at the root of this phenomenon also. In 1946 Dr. J.A.R. Samson and Dr. R.E. Vollrath of the University of S. California reported to the American Physical Society: "The use of this pinch effect is to form a column of hot electrified gas that maintained itself in position without the glass walls of the tube." It cast a new ray of light on the way to the solution of the containing problem, and scientists went on carrying vigorous experiments. An insulated tube was filled with gas at very low pressure and through it was passed electric current at high potential. The gas particles ionised and became conductors of electricity. The temperature of the gas jumped higher and higher. Finally the gas reached the plasmic stage and circular lines of force appeared round it accompanied by its pinch effect. One disadvantage was that the pinch lived only for one millionth of a second. After that the outward pressure of the Plasma reigned over the inward pressure of the magnetic lines of force and the particles leaked out of the pinch.

Magnetic Bottle

So the problem stands as how to produce a stable pinch at least for a minimum period in order that the thermonuclear reaction may be self-sustaining. For this, the scientists concluded, a secondary internal magnetic field is to be created parallel to the axis of the tube in addition to the pinching magnetic field around the Plasma. This requires an electric current of millions of amperage. To have an invisible magnetic bottle whose walls will be formed by the magnetic lines of force, a pinching field of one lakh Gauss intensity is required. This is not beyond the power of scientists. As early as 1927, the Russian scientist Capitza obained an intensity as high as 4 lakh Gauss.

Zeta: Achievement of British Scientists

Under a veil of official secrecy research in the field of taming thermonuclear energy is being led in many countries. But very little is published and the details are not known.

The U.K. Atomic Energy Authority raised a surprise only a few days ago when they announced some of the results of their research in the Harwell Centre. The British scientists have developed an apparatus named Zeta (Zero Energy Thermonuclear Assembly) which comprises a Dough-nut shaped Plasma-container and a magnetic field of strong intensity. It has been known that the maximum temperature attained in this apparatus is 5 million degree centigrade and the duration of the pinch is from 3 to 5 thousandth of a second. The British scientists claim to have obtained thermonuclear neutrons which testify that thermonuclear fusion has taken place. Of course it is not yet confirmed that the fusion has occured due to temperature and not due to the unstable electric discharge. Deeper research work will give us the correct answer.

From the very name of the apparatus, it is obvious that no net gain in energy has yet been achieved in Zeta. But it is quite reasonable to hope that in near future with higher temperature and stabler Magnetic Bottle, more and more energy will be obtained. Ultimate success is still a long way off. But it is there and man is sure to reach it because the journey has started.

Sir John Cockroft ventured to predict, "I have no doubt that within a year, Zeta, with some modification, will far surpass the centre temperature of the sun."

But that is not the goal. The aim of the scientists is the total conquering of the Hydrogen Bomb and thus to make man possessor of limitless power.

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SANTINIKETAN

By SURESH CH. SEN GUPTA

A spot of beauty—
Of the blue above and the green on earth,
Where the stars whisper their secrets unto
the eager flowers.
By the mortals unheard,
But there lived here one who had the whisper
heard, and carried it in his heart
breathe it out in his words,
'Hear, O hear the word,'
he sang in his soft melodies immortal,
And it was a word of love
A love that unites heaven and earth.

ON NATIONALISM

By Prof. SISIR KANTI BHATTACHARJEE, M.A.

The invention of H-Bomb has so thoroughly shaken the minds of thinkers of the world that we should try to think about old subjects and problems from new angles and with deeper conviction. Political philosophers in the past have given their valued opinions on nationalism regarding its effect on man and his civilisation. Though the history of the theory of nationalism is not so old as that of the other theories of Political Science such as liberty, democracy, etc., it is nevertheless one of the most vital factors that have influenced man's activities in the world. It has been called the religion of modern times inasmuch as in the name of religion people can sacrifice everything near and dear to them. Today for the sake of the nation citizens offer themselves gladly to be butchered in the field of battle. They do not like to question the virtue of any issue. Their reason becomes paralysed and they are reduced to the category of automatons, of machines having no conscience and rationality.

It is true that nationalism is not merely a destructive force. It did something very laudable in the past and would repeat the same in future. This force of nationalism ultimately gave the people of Poland their cherished freedom. Similar are the cases of Italy and of Germany. In the case of India nationalism has been a tremendous necessity. In a country like India where diversity is to be found in almost every sphere of life, *viz.*, language, dress, culture, ways of life, etc., the sentiment of nationalism is the only unifying force. The need of nationalism in the formative period of a nation-state can hardly be over-estimated. The domination of a foreign Government over a country for a long period brings certain changes in the psychological make-up of a people. They lose their strength of character, resoluteness and tenacity. Slavish mentality begins to creep in gradually. The urge for self-determination is the only remedy against these vices. The concept of nationalism can ennoble the character of men inducing them to sacrifice their self-interest and even their dearest lives for some common cause. It cures men of such vices as fear, cowardice and selfishness. It must be differentiated from the militant or perverted type of nationalism. This nationalism has no design for territorial aggrandisement or dynastic ambition. It fosters self-respect.

To deny the right of self-determination to a people is to dwarf and cramp its personality. For the larger interest of humanity and civilisation no one should be forcefully subjugated. A people cannot contribute something in a creative way towards the enrichment of civilisation unless its political personality is freed from bondage. The comparative achievement of India under alien rule during the first half of this century and her material achievement during the past ten years can be a pointer to this. To quote a great thinker, "When a race wins political independence its art and science contribute to the general progress of civilisation." Sometimes, therefore, it is not only expedient but is also just to regard the forces of nationalism as great. To quote Mill, "It is in general a necessary condition of free institutions that the boundaries of Governments should coincide in the main with those of nationalities." Some political thinkers and historians have criticised this "One nation, one State" principle of Mill. In Lord Acton's view this theory of one nation, one State, "is more absurd and more criminal than the theory of socialism." And in the opinion of others this theory is the main barrier to international understanding. But whenever we are criticising the dictum of Mill we should remember that a State may be composed of diverse nationalities only by voluntary consent. If force is applied nothing can be established. One has only to look at the result of the British policy in America in the 18th century and in Ireland in the 20th century. By force the spirit of nationalism cannot be suppressed for all times.

Though we can theoretically accept the contention of President Wilson that the spirit of nationalism "is an imperative principle of action, which statesmen will henceforth ignore at their peril," nevertheless, Lord Curzon was right when he sounded a note of warning that it is a double-edged sword and can be respected with some limitations only. The contribution of nationalism towards Italian and German unification is really admirable. "Nationalism," as one writer puts it, "progressed by the appeal to common sentiments among people who had been divided by arbitrary governments."

But the history of the 20th century world has seen both the fairest and the ugliest manifestations of nationalism. Though it is true that the spirit of nationalism is, perhaps, the most vital factor regarding the emancipation of various dependent peoples of Asia and Africa, we cannot deny the fact that the world wars are mainly the outcome of the clash of militant nationalisms. The possibility of the third global war haunts the people of the world night and day. Our world today is menacingly divided into two antagonistic blocs each threatening the other with ghastly and deadly weapons like the A-Bomb and the H-Bomb. In my opinion, the present crisis in world politics and the probability of the third world war are not due to the conflict of ideologies between the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. as argued by some. Rather it is the result of the expanding nature of the nationalism of Russia and America. It is not true to argue that Russia has sympathy for the independence of dependent peoples. Because if we accept that Communist Russia has sympathy for their liberation, we cannot explain fully one of the most heinous treaties signed by Molotov and Ribbentroff just before the Second World War. Though to Marxist thinkers nationalism is a bourgeois sentiment, strangely enough in Russia attempt is being made, of late, to glorify the past of Russia in the same manner and degree as the so-called bourgeois countries did or do. This will be substantiated later.

If mankind is to be saved the impulse of nationalism must be held in check. Nationalism has a great tendency to move to extreme ends. People become altogether intoxicated and lose all perspectives of any issue regarding right and wrong. The statesmen do not hesitate to commit the vilest of crimes in the name of and for the sake of the nation. There seems to be a double standard of morality in this. The statesman whose foreign policy can exploit the foreign countries and peoples in a shameless and reckless way is hailed by his people as the hero of his country. This strange behaviour of human psychology is always enigmatic. If we see in our street that an enemy spy is being brutally murdered or beaten to death we sometimes feel pity and think whether he could be punished in some other more humane manner. But strangely enough we are delighted at a news in the paper that our army has become victorious killing ten thousand enemy soldiers or that our air force has destroyed the towns and villages of the enemy. In the former case, the death of a single man saddened us but in the latter case the massacre of thousands of men pleased us! In the former case we reacted because we were hurt at the sight of the cruel extermination of one who belonged to the greater family of Man to which we also belong. But in the second case we acted as mere automatons or slaves who are controlled by the great master spirit called nationalism. This idea of nationalism has exalted a great many brutalities we shudder to think of. There appears to be no standard of morality in the life of a nation. Acts that would have been considered absolutely heinous in the private life of an individual are considered quite just when committed in the name of the nation. It is interesting to quote here the words of a famous statesman of the 19th century, Cavour, "What rascals we would be if we did for ourselves what we do for our country." Nothing is unjust, nothing is immoral, nothing is dishonest if it is done for the sake of the nation. It sounds almost Machiavellian. Nationalism, therefore, leads to a negation of morality and a "narrowing of political outlook." It very often forces people to subscribe to the view of living at the cost of others and not the principle of 'live and let live.' Exploitation, whether militaristic or economic, becomes the dominant creed. War becomes holy and divinely ordained. War, the greatest enemy of man, is glorified and thousands of youngmen are butchered in the field of battle like so many

cats and dogs without any protest. They are taught that death in a war waged in the name of the nation is the death of a martyr. They are given no scope or education to judge the virtue of a case for which a war has been declared. If a man honestly and rationally denounces a so-called national war he is at once condemned either as a traitor or a coward who is afraid to die for the country. People's reason and personality are wilfully and deliberately paralysed. There are many writers who can find many justifications of war. The arguments of some are based more or less on rational ground but of others on mere sentiment. Treitschke did not hesitate to condemn the small state which was "a sin against the Holy Ghost." He supported most shamelessly the establishment of big states through war. In his opinion, "The essence of the state is, firstly power; secondly power; thirdly power." He believed, only in the state "can there be developed that genuine national pride which is the sign of the moral efficiency of a nation." This glorification of the state in the name of national pride directly leads to despotism within the state. It denies liberty and democracy. The people of a state which has become great by snatching away the right or forcefully annexing the territory of another people cannot enjoy their own liberty also in the long run. "It is fundamental," as Burke insisted in his indictment of Warren Hastings, "that the denial of right abroad means, sooner or later, the denial of right at home." And Laski has rightly said, "Men cannot discipline themselves in injustice to strangers without, ultimately, denying the duty of justice to their brothers." It cannot be denied that the doctrine of state absolutism derives its main support from the fanatical type of nationalism.

One of the ugly sides of nationalism is to be found in the advocacy of race superiority. It is argued by some that certain races are superior to others in every aspect—material or moral—and therefore, it is right and just that the superior shall always rule the inferior. A superior nation has no right, it is argued, to enjoy its qualities in a selfish manner, rather it has a sacred duty to elevate the condition of the so-called inferior nations by bringing them under its domain. It has got, so to say, a world mission. This sort of arguments were put forward by many writers regarding the "low-cultured" peoples of Africa, and Asia. The so-called superior nation was simply accepting the 'white man's burden.' Viewed from this angle imperialism becomes more a duty than a right "decreed by some law of the development of civilisation." Giddings in his book *Democracy and Empire* cherishes not the slightest doubt in concluding that the emergence of U.S.A. as a colonial power towards the close of the 19th century was anything but "a matter of destiny." He further argues that the "stupendous" reserve of energy initiative, effort and vigour of American nation was "gaining a natural outlet." And hence to check the expansion of American colonialism was to engage in "idle contention against cosmic law." In this context both colonialism and war lose their demerits. And war becomes a dutiful right. 'War,' said Coker, 'is the natural instrumentality of national expansion and its outcome is the test of the right to expand.' And Bagehot was right when he asserted that "It is war that makes nations." It has been put forward by many that "Efficiency, inventiveness and orderliness are indispensable factors of military strength, so that the most military nations have been essentially the most progressive nations—industrially, culturally and politically." "The appeal to arms," said the staunch nationalist professor Treitschke, "will be valid until the end of history." War, it is argued, is a vital element of national solidarity. Civilisation can spread from one nation to another by war only. There is hardly any other school of thinkers in politics apart from the nationalist school who most shamelessly argues like Treitschke that "The grandeur of history lies in the perpetual conflict of nations." There are writers who support like Corrado Gini "that the virile men of a victoriously invading army improve the stock of the people of a conquered territory by the 'large progeny' the invading soldiers leave behind in the regions they temporarily occupy." The greatest difficulty is that killing, murder, rape, plunder and destruction are supported on moral and cultural grounds for nationalism. Definitely these are steps historically retrograde in character.

The theory of race superiority is surely then one of the greatest enemies of mankind. This theory got its greatest manifestation in modern Germany. Fichte had no doubt about the superiority of the Germans. In his opinion the Germans are "the pioneers and models for the rest of mankind; to have character and to be a German undoubtedly mean the same." The Nazis were strongly influenced by the theory of the Nordic Race or the chosen race of God sent to rule this world and its ugliest manifestation can be seen in their effort to exterminate systematically the Jews from Germany. "It is estimated that there are about five millions fewer Jews than there were before the Nazi persecution." The Jews were murdered to keep the German blood pure. The Jews were considered inferior. But we should not forget that the greatest scientist of all times namely Einstein was a Jew and not a so-called Nordic being. The concept of race superiority is no doubt an aspect of staunch nationalism. All sorts of atrocities were committed on the ground of better rule by higher culture and civilisation. Thus Bertrand Russel says that in "fifteen years this enlightened monarch (King Leopold II), a pillar of the church, and an arden self-proclaimed philanthropist, reduced the population of his African kingdom approximately from 20 millions to 9 millions!"

The evils of nationalism can also be found in the distortion of history by a thousand pseudo-professors of history. Almost in every country history is being distorted and coloured. New facts are manufactured and truth shamelessly and deliberately suppressed to uphold national prestige. Innocent young children from the very beginning are supplied with lies and when facts are told they are coloured in such a way that the reader can have no access to the reality. In India, for example, during our struggles for liberation, the revolt of 1857 was described as the first national revolt against the alien rule. It was done perhaps not with eyes to historical facts but to historical necessity at that time. We wanted some sort of impetus and any incident could do. Many eminent historians like Dr. R. C. Mazun dar and Dr. S. N. Sen are not willing give the 1857 revolt such a great name the first war of Independence. Their viev have not yet been seriously challenged. Th is nothing peculiar in case of one countr only. We are told "Modern Russia has pe haps carried this process further than it h ever been carried before. We learn th Copernicus was a Russian; that it was n Vasco da Gama, but a Russian, who di covered the cape route to India; that th law of gravitation was not discovered b Newton but by a supporter of Ivan th Terible; and that Darwin's ideas cam from Russian source which he carefull concealed." (B. Russel). Instances can als be quoted from British or French histor Bertrand Russel himself an Englishma states that "No English school-boy i allowed to know Wellington's comment o the battle (Waterloo) : 'It was a damne nice thing,' or Napoleon's comment: 'I war, the English always lose except th last'." It is the nature of every countr to declare that truth is on their side an their own side is sure of victory and i therefore, stirs men's desire for war an they lose all their rational qualities t judge every issue on its merit dispassion ately. In this regard Rabindranath Tagor strongly criticises this system of educatio and civilisation. He says, "Where the spiri of Western nationalism prevails, the whol people are being taught from boyhood t foster hatred and ambitions of all kinds o means—by the manufacture of half-truth in history by persistent misrepresentatio of other races and other cultures of un favourable sentiment towards them, b setting up memorials of events, very ofte false, which for the sake of humanity should be speedily forgotten.....It is hold ing up gigantic selfishness as the universa religion for all nations of the world." Ber trand Russel has no hesitation in arguing "Nationalism is in our day the chief obs tacle to the extension of social cohesion beyond national boundaries. It is, there fore, the chief force making for the exter mination of the human race. Everybody is agreed that the nationalism of other

countries is absurd, but the nationalism of one's own country is noble and splendid and any man who does not uphold it is a lily-livered cur."

In some dictatorial countries like Nazi Germany, Italy and other countries where nationalism played or is playing the dominant role, no scope is given to the liberty of thought and expression and by this means the freedom of will is completely destroyed.

If we accept the fact that salvation of mankind lies in the creation of an atmosphere of fraternity and friendship throughout the world, we can hardly support this sort of misrepresentation of facts and perversion of education. From the very beginning the minds of men are poisoned to create in them an idea of hatred and blind obedience, which become the main motto of the nationalist state. The distinction between a liberal and a nationalist education cannot be better expressed as it is to be found in the prescription of Fichte. In his opinion, "The new eudcation must consist essentially in this that it completely destroys freedom of will in the soil which it undertakes to cultivate, and produces on the contrary strict necessity in the decisions of the will, the opposite being impossible. Such a will can henceforth be relied on with confidence and certainty."

The people who play with nationalism, really speaking, play with fire. The instrument, on many occasions, becomes the master and the master along with the entire nation has to pay heavily for it. Both in the case of Napoleon I and Bismarck nationalism became the support of military despotism. This is the result within the State but outside the state it is true that through impetus of nationalism the French army of Napalean and Hitler could achieve astounding success, nevertheless it is exactly the same force which ultimately gave rise to the nationalist feelings in various parts of Europe that led to the defeat, destruction, humiliation of Napoleon's France and Hitler's Germany. Germany had to pay the dearest price for her sons' hot-headed nationalism. In this regard Rabindranath Tagore was perfectly right when he asserted, "The nation is the greatest enemy of nation." And that is why we can say that this international wars are the outcome of conflict of various aggressive national interests.

Earlier it has been argued that for the sake of nation people can stoop to any meanness and commit the vilest of crimes without being ashamed. Rabindranath Tagore was deeply moved by seeing this sort of degeneration of man. Though in his time India was inspired by nationalist ideas and fighting to throw off the foreign yoke yet he had the courage to state through one of the characters of his famous book *Home and Abroad*. "It, indeed, pains me and I can hardly console myself when you deify country, and in its name and for its sake want to sacrifice truth, justice and humanity."

Rabindranath like Gandhi was never willing to separate ethics from politics. He believed that the realisation of the unity of man is the goal of history. To the Poet it does not matter whether geographically speaking I am born in India or in America or in Russia. The fundamental factor is that I as a human being belong to the great family of Man whose interest I should serve first of all. There is no end if we continue this "bull fight" among nations. Nations have thriven "long upon mutilated humanity." The Poet was aggrived to find that men, fairest creatures of God, come out of national manufactory in huge numbers as war-making and money-making machines, ludicrously vain of their pitiful perfection of mechanism. Though the wounds of World War II which took away for ever millions of young smiling faces are not yet healed, there is the talk of a third conflagration in the air. This is mainly because the soul of man is in bondage and is not in a position to assert itself due to the impact of nationalist sentiments Tagore was aware of it and he had sounded a great note of warning to the bigotted nationalists in Japan long before the Second World War. "Nations," he said "who sedulously cultivate moral blindness as the cult of patriotism will end their existence in a sudden and violent death." And in case of Japan how brutally it came to be true.

This sort of nationalism shows no regard to the finer virtues of man. It can do anything and everything without the slighest hesitation. It appears almost unbelievable to us when we see the news in the press that the surplus wheat stocks were burned in Canada, milk and apples were dumped into rivers in the U.S.A. and coffee stocks thrown in the sea in Brazil while millions were hovering between life and death due to starvation in other parts of the world.

The only way by which we can cure the malady of this mad world, gone astray through the cultivation of extreme nationalism, is to create an impression in the individual's mind that "the real unit of allegiance," as Laski pointed out, "is the world." It is to the total interest of humanity that we shall sacrifice everything near and dear to us. Nationalism, it is true, is the result of a long historical process and since it is instinctive it cannot be easily undone. But our main concern is how to control it in such a way that it can serve the interest of a particular country without jeopardising the interest of mankind in general. That is why Laski pointed out that "the problem, then, is the equation of nationalism with right," with the right of all people of the world. And if it is not possible for us to create an atmosphere of mutual trust and co-operation, progress and civilisation will be doomed. In a world threatened with A-bomb and H-bomb where a few of them is quite sufficient to exterminate all lives on our beatiful planet and to bring the peace of the grave we cannot but find an echo in our heart of what Laski said long ago, "Logically, the foundation of an approach to the common problem of civilisation is either international or it is worthless." In this regard it may be interesting to quote a few words of the father of modern nationalism in Italy, Mazzini. In his opinion, "Life.....was given you by God so that you might use it for the benefit of humanity." In addition to the duties of man to his family and to his country he should have duties to humanity. Laski advised his countrymen to be "apostles of this faith, apostles of brotherhood, of nations and of the unity of human race." Every one should be given such education and training from childhood that he may realise that he is a man first before he is a citizen. "Citizenship" said MacIver, "is not the only duty of man." Children should be taught the lesson of interdependence among nations and groups and find out the folly of conflict in the atomic age. Centuries ago the poet put down:

The mind is its own place, and in itself
Can make a Heav'n of Hell, a Hell of Heav'n.

The bad effects of the perverted nationalist sentiment can be checkmated if people try to train the younger generation in the light of universal brotherhood without poisioning their minds with false vanities. Thus in the preamble of the consitution of the Unesco it has been rightly said, "Since war begins in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that the defences of peace must be constructed." The Unesco and the UNO started with the hypothesis that the worst enemy of peace is the national ego to be found in the minds of men and hence it must be replaced by the universal ego. We should not lose faith in man and get frustrated on account of the failures in the past. Due to the development of communication our world has already shrunk considerably in size and we have begun to feel for each other. The news of a devastating flood in India bring sincere words of sympathy and material help from men living thousands of miles away in the remotest corner of the world. This is of no mean significance. Man has the instinct in him to become great, it only needs proper cultivation. Thus Shakespeare's Hamlet says, "What a piece of work is man! how noble in reason! how infinite in faculty! In the form and moving how express and admirable! in action how like an angel!

an apprehension how like a God!" If a deliberate and determined effort is made to reshape man's mind, I think, Wendell Willkie's one world will not remain an Utopian concept for ever and nationalism will gradually cease to be a menace to civilisation.

THE CULT OF NILA AND HIS ALTAR

A Festival Custom of Bengal

By SUSHIL KUMAR DEB

In popular nomenclature, Nila means Shiva, the primeval god of the Hindu pantheon. Literally, Nila means 'blue,' the divinity who obtained this name because of his supernatural powers. At some aeonic time out of memory, when the Kalakuta poison churned out of the ocean stuck in the throat of Shiva he came to be known as the blue-throated Immortal, who saved all creatures without discriminating the gods from the demons by drinking this deadly drink. He is surnamed Nila-lohita, dark blue and red. This name positively suits his complexion : blackened by poison, he is actually flame-coloured, bright yellow. In the Sanskrit lexicon "shabdakalpadruma," the exposition of this appellation incorporates details of the pertinent rite being performed through fasting, sacramental meal-taking and the delights of festive proceedings on into the last day of the month of Chaitra (the closing month of the Bengali year, corresponding to a part of March and of April). Celebrations start off from the first day of the month that heralds the summer season.

Out of an uncomeatable, sequestered spot where it remained or was deposited for the major part of the year, an emblem of Nila is brought to the gaze of the common humanity only during the festival. Probably this emblem is no more than a lookout platform, a sacred altar, from where the god reigns in the hearts of his worshippers, and accepts their homage amid a medley of musical airs. Apart from the song of chorus on the occasion of his installation or enthronement, a conservatory of music includes in its repertory a number of arias appropriate to ritual bathing and robing, burning incense, and cooking, etc.

Shell-cutting invests this cult with the aura of art-in-industry. It is the minstrels' obligation to focus the activities of shell-cutters, the artisans whose birth-right it is to put into service the bracelets made of the sea conch, cut out with fine saws into thin circular pieces joined end to end. Some of these arm-bands or rings are white, while others, dyed with lac, yield a crimson colour in the ornaments that arouse deep religious sentiments among the married womanhood of Bengal. There is no bar to the shell-cutters' playing the minstrels' role. The latter are artists alike in locution and gestures.

As is the custom in some parts of Bengal, four or five minstrel-singers would chant homely hymns, that is, a set of favourite strains in public worship, make gestures, and cut shells. On the designated day at the turn of the month, a shed or temple outside the perimeter of the homestead is fabricated. At night, burnt fish, bhang, ganja, wine, and a variety of delectable food are offered to the deity. On the morrow, a shell-cutter goes the round of the houses, impersonating the ascetic-god Shiva and his spouse Gauri. Villagers whack him with the shoots of hemp that supplies the god, leading a cynobitic life, his usual narcotic drug. Gauri, too, is credited with drubbing him with the same hemp. It seems a sore grief to all that Shiva should remain an incurable bhang-addict. To free community life of the stigma of worldly-mindedness stoic worshippers, for the span of a full month, desist from eating either fish or meat, and are reconciled to a vegetarian diet. By no means until the thirtieth day of the festivities arrive would Nila partake of the consecrated fish. Not till then, with an otherwise absorbed, indifferent god to shepherd them along, the worshippers are permitted to feed on the fish diet.

One needs in this context to remember Faridpur's folkways bearing on an engrossing travelogue. Strolling players, i.e., theatrical parties, here, visit the houses and give currency to the countryside's wandering refrains. They would dance with obvious native virtuosity. They might mimic Hara (Shiva in a conspicuous mood) and also Gauri, his spouse, or Kali, the goddess of eternity. Even so, they might act as mimers very earnestly. Ultimately, they come trumping back, laden with rice, discarded garments, and cash money—spoils of their many days' continual hunt. In this way, the display of Bengali arts and craftsmanship fits into the pattern of an annual village function.

Below is an English transcript—a prose comment or paraphrase—of a Bengali lyrical ballad of the Fastival. The lines in Bengali show versification with irregular metre. The rhapsode apparently did not abstain from reciting or writing disjointedly. Thus, one might imagine, was accorded a place to composed or impromptu tunes in folk art. "Gauri Gets Her Bracelets" is riddled with vernacularism. The leitmotif for delineation of the scene of Gauri's wearing armlets is to stress the excellence—as has been brought into the light by tradition—of the Bengali Hindu wife's privilege to be honoured at home with gifts of jewellery of sorts, presumably since an early period of civilization. The convolutions of the story describe, first and foremost, Shiva's masquerading as a nimble-witted shell-cutter and peddler of jewellery. The main question for the fabulist or the rhythmist is: Will Gauri, born in the purple, tolerate a slant on earthly glory? Shiva, the wonder-worker was fain to profess he was poorest in worldly goods. Hence some part of the dialogue savours a trifle of an ostensible conflict and declamation as usual. Yet perhaps the whole choral work has produced a synthesis of so much diversity, found in the rights and wrongs of the disputed issues.

Gauri Gets Her Bracelets

Gauri longed to get what her heart bid. It was not just a quaint fancy. With folded hands, she exhorted Shiva: "Be sure, you give me the bracelets. Can a wife subscribe allegiance to her lord without such?"

"Dearest!" rejoined Shiva, "I know not where can I have riches to buy bracelets with. Your father and other near kinsmen are quite well-off. Aye, they have enough and to spare. Go up to them. Behold I have nothing to give."

Thus was Gauri counselled and sent adrift—while Shiva turned the matter over in his mind. He was set athinking lest any harm befell her as she went up the mountainous highway—a perilous journey far to the glacial North. Forthwith the mysterious god found wisdom, and resolved upon outpointing Gauri by setting a snare.

Leaving on silent feet his hermitage of the woodlands, Shiva made his way across the cliffs of rocks to a region which Gauri would surely have to pass. And, lo, he proceeded at once to cross her path.

He mused: "Go where she may in quest of the invaluable shell-ornaments, she, with her proven sagacity, must not pass me by."

Then, looking the very picture of a dealer in shellware he shouted out professional slogans, "Bracelets on sale, bracelets on sale!" and attracted her attention.

Without the least cause for feeling any misgivings about the reality of the merchandise Gauri greeted him, and made answer: "Ah, indeed! Have you bracelets to sell?"

The merchant man's voice called out again: "If you only care for such of the precious stuff I have in stock! Pray, come forth, and choose yourself."

However, Gauri had no intent to get into needless sundry conversations. She

extended one of her arms promptly towards him; she would certainly try the bracelets, and make a bargain.

The merchant man now uttered a platitude: "These ornaments in truth are unsurpassed for their marvellous beauty in all the three worlds." And he begged her to try them on. He had, as it were, the decorative artist's instinct to ensure that she did not have to trouble at all to wear those fine offerings.

"I am still such a distance away from my father's realm in the mountain fastness," she explained her circumstances, and pleaded with the decorator to set the bracelets on the wrists expeditiously. "Time has slipped away. It bodes ill for me to wait here."

Yet the merchant man smiled, as he performed his allotted task. A murmurous complaint smote his mind: "But she would not be discomfited even in an unequal contest!"

Aloud, he repeatedly praised the deft art of the ornament's construction, inasmuch as they were perfect to the minutest detail, saying: "Mine is the indisputable right of being their maker. None else could claim that right. Signs are there for all to see: subjected to strain and stress they will never crumple, fold or be broken."

"Pray, do not stay me from my routine padding programme," he continued solemly. "Time flies past." And so he wanted to be paid the price.

"Listen, merchant man," Gauri demanded. "Follow me as far as my father's mansion-house. Right off you will obtain compensation there."

This request astonished the merchantman who met it with a straight refusal. "Can I have misjudged you, do you think?" he cried. "Woe to such a customer! I teli you what, take this chance of doing right. Clear the dues—if you are not lacking in pride in your family."

Thus blew the blast of an argument, which slandered Gauri's conscience.

Ruefully she declared: "What is the sense of taunting me, merchant man?"

None too practical a salesman appeared Shiva. It came about that, before long, mortified and humbled, he craved her pardon.

Meanwhile, the goddes hastened to draw out the enchanted bracelets from her wrists, but failed. "Take these back," said she.

With baffled indignation, she struck hard at the bracelets. She then dealt them a blow with a scimitar, which splintered. Next moment, she hit them with a club, which became simply match-wood.

On the other hand, the almighty god could not help laughing to think that he must now calm her fears by telling her that she could fetch him the price at that spot on the following day,—that the—jewellery, of course, belonged to her, as she set her heart on it.

Gauri was so impressed with the challenger's change of mind and quiet grace, both, that she asked: "Who—who are you?"

"My home is in Kailas," came the cryptic reply.

Unvanquished, Gauri smiled and said with some temerity: "If this hostile campaigning on your part was a deception and anathema, why take to it?"

"Ah, with all the simplicity of your unpretentious nature, you have passed the tests," replied Shiva impartially. She had convinced him: Not that he was the least belittled or any more slighted.

Carrying the present—as though a trophy of victory, a symbol of her faith and dedication—once more, the goddess trekked through the icy vale with a cheerful message for her ageing father, the King of the Mountains.

The God's parting words rang in her ears: "Gauri! Be unswerving in your devotion to the eternal things. And remember me—ever more."*

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*Based on the archives of the Bangiya Loka Sanskriti Parishat (the Bengal Folk Culture Society), "Natore House," Lansdowne Road, Calcutta.

Book Reviews

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

EDITOR, *The Modern Review*

ENGLISH

GREAT THOUGHTS OF GREAT MEN OR IDEAS AND IDEALS: *By Sain Das. With a foreword by Dr. Diwan Chand, Ex-Vice-Chancellor, Agra University. Vishveshvarananda Institute Publications, Hoshiarpur. 1958. Pp. 208. Price Rs. 3.50.*

This fine work, as we learn from the short life-sketch in the appreciative Foreword, is the last intellectual testament of the gifted author who seems to have passed his whole life in devoted service without thought of self-aggrandisement. Containing the author's musings on the higher life after his retirement from thirty years' active service (1901-1931) as professor and latterly as Principal of the D.A.V. College, Lahore, it has been brought out posthumously by one of his former pupils and foremost admirers and included aptly enough in a series dedicated to the memory of a great saint, Svami Sarvanand (1859-1942). The work is divided into five sections bearing the titles *Spiritual Realization, Outlook on Life and Death, Art of Living, Happiness, Education, and Social and National Wellbeing.* It covers as such a wide variety of topics bearing on individual and collective good—from self-realization to the uplift of the Society and the State. It reveals evidence of the author's deep thinking born of a high intellectual, moral and spiritual fervour. The value of the work is considerably enhanced by appropriate quotations not only from the religious classics of India and their modern exponents, but also from the writings of the great saints and thinkers of our country as well as of Europe and America in recent times. It is distinguished throughout by practical approach to the problems handled by the author as well as the clear and effective style in which he has offered his solutions. The author himself, a Cambridge University graduate in Chemistry, has done well in pointing out the limitations of science in the scale of human values. Altogether we think that this monograph deserves wide reading in this country as a corrective to the prevailing craze even in its highest quarters for the advance of science and technology at all costs.

U. N. GHOSHAL

NIAMATULLAH'S HISTORY OF THE AFGHANS (*Makhzan-i- Afghani*): *Translated with variorum notes by Nirod Bhusan Roy, M.A. Published by the Visva-Bharati University, Santiniketan, West Bengal. Pp. Lv+211. Price Rs. 10.*

The book under review bears the title of Niamatullah's History of the Afghans; but it is much more than that. It is, in fact, a compendium of the source materials of the Lodi Sultans of Delhi. This is clearly evidenced in the structure of the volume which is divided into four chapters: 2nd, 3rd and 4th chapter bearing on the three Lodi Sultans and the introductory (1st chapter) describing the Afghan origins. The sections in the different chapters offer Niamatullah's narrative in English translation; but the sub-sections in each chapter collect relevant unknown materials from rare Persian sources such as the MSS of *Waqiat-i-Mushtaqi* (British Museum MSS), *Tarikh-i-Daudi* (Sir Jadunath Sarkar's MS, and of Allahabad University MS), *Tarikh-i-Salatani-i-Afghina* (Buhar Library MS), and the Persian text of *Tarikh-i-Ferishta*. For instance in the last section of Chapter II such

topics are described: (i) Bahlols's character as sketched in the *Tarikh-i-Daudi*, (ii) Bahlol's tactics in the Sharqi war (from *Tarikh-i-Ferishta*) and (iii) Bahlol's Islamism (from *Waqiat-i-Mushtaqi*). Similarly in the last section of Sultan Sikandar's reign are described, among others, such episodes as (a) Anecdote of Sultan Sikandar's meeting Babur Qalandar (from *Tarikh-i-Daudi*), (b) Some of the Emirs of Sikandar's reign, (c) Ancedotes of selfless love (from *Waqiat-i-Mushtaqi*) and (d) *Why Sikandar has gone down in history as bigot*. Appendices include the history of (a) the "Bhata" (Bhatgoran) Kingdom, (b) the first Battle of Panipat, (c) Kabir and Sultan Sikandar Lodi.

The other noteworthy feature is that the English translation is based on a text edited by the author after consulting and studying MSS of the Calcutta Asiatic Society, of Lucknow and Aligarh University, Udaipur Saraswati Library, British Museum Library and a personal MS. of Professor Sayyid Hasan Askari. The pains taken by the author in preparing an authentic edition were considerable; but the Persian taxt has not yet been published, for want of financial assistance. It appears from the Preface that the author derived material support in the preparation of this work from the late Sir Jadunath Sarkar, and Dr. Raghubir Sinha, D.Litt., M.P. who caused certain MSS to be copied and photostated for his use.

The introduction is a fairly long one. The author gives here an outline history of the Lodi period and modifies our prevailing assumptions about the Lodi Sultans Read for instance the author's estimate of Sultan Bahlol. "These chiefs (Afghan chiefs previous to Bahlol's accession) were only successful captains of war, dependent and subservient on the sultans of Delhi. The assumption of royalty by the Afghans was a prospect that could not be dreamt of by any member of the Afghan race. It was therefore a signal achievement of Malik Bahlol to raise his clansmen who excelled only in fighting and banditry, to the status of the rulers of Hindustan."

Read again the remarks on Sultan Sikandar Lodi: "As a sovereign he combined in his character qualities of contrast and antithesis. Outwardly deferential to the Ulema and the law, he paid scant regard to the laws of Islam in his private life and did not let his public policy be always swayed by them. He was thus more free of religious prejudice and narrowness than Sher Shah. . . . He could speak with facility in Persian and composed odes in that language. He listened to the recitation of Persian poetry and took part in philosophical debates. He had thus a range of culture and geniality of temper far exceeding that of the son of the Jagirdar of Sassarem."

Note again the remarks on Sultan Ibrahim:

"It has been said that Sultan Ibrahim, by his capricious tyranny and pharaonic cruelty, alienated the great body of noblemen and soldiers, yet despite the initial reverses, he assembled, on the field of Panipat an army estimated at one lakh of men.....How could such a large number of men and officers be mobilised, unless Sultan Ibrahim commanded a considerable measure of support among the Afghan chiefs? How, in spite of the week-long halt at Panipat, there occurred no desertion from the Afghan cmap? And how could the Afghans cheerfully lay down their lives on the field, unless they were attracted by the personal magnetism of the Sultan?"

In the extensive annotations the author has corrected slips and inaccuracies, made in standard historical writings, such as the Cambridge History of India, English translation of *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, In the latter, p. 361 B. De writes the name of a place "Madmaunakal," in Persian text the corresponding word is "Madmautakal". It is amended into "Matimau-ta-kol" (from Motimau to Koil) on the authority of the Lucknow University MS. where the name occurs as "Madiu." The note on stone-idols of Mathura being pounded and turned into measuring weights is very illuminating. Here the author shows how two other chronicles refer to the "Idols of Nagarkot" having been reduced to such weighing stones, while a third refers to the "idol of the temple of Kumbhalmir" in Chitor state having been so reduced, the reader is left to draw his own inference.

The volume, therefore, is a notable contribution to the history of the Lodi period and will perhaps rank as a finished product of research. The Visva-Bharati is to be congratulated for bringing out this work of mature scholarship. It bears extensive quotations in Persian, in Hindi and Sanskrit, yet the price is remarkably cheap.

B. QANUNGO

THE MIRAGE OF A CLASSLESS SOCIETY: *By M. V. Patwardhan. Published by Chetana Ltd., 34, Rampart Row, Bombay-1. Price Rs. 12.50.*

This book is a very bold study in Marxian theory of class struggle. According to Marx, one of the conditions for the emergence of a classless society was that all the surrounding societies should be classless. The author believes that every functioning society must be divided into four parts, at least, to assume the functions of the brain, the strength (for defence?), the activity (commercial?) and organs with which to carry out its work (service?) and that without these no action of any kind was possible. Since classless society implied a negation of such division of society into functional components, it is clear to the author that classless society could not exist as a functioning unit. Only a crowd can be classless, but a society, which is always a functioning unit, can never be so. According to the author, "All the classes are still at war with one another for supremacy, and no one can yet say, how the process will end. But one thing is certain: the end will not be a classless society, because the presence of four classes is essential to the very existence of society. The supreme goal will only be achieved when all classes are perfectly balanced and power and wealth are distributed in such a manner that each gets an equal share of both. No Western society, not even Communism, has been able to strike this balance as yet. But the social problem will not be solved until this is effected. Our energies, therefore, must be directed to finding a social structure in which the Brahmans, Kshatriyas, Vaishyas and Sudras, will have equal political and economic power as a minimum basic condition and in which these advantages will be so distributed that one class will not overpower the others. Such will be the ideal society . . . In the history of mankind only one society, so far, has approximated to this ideal and that too about 2500 years ago. This was the Hindu Social Structure formulated by Manu."

The reasons put forward are logical and arguments cogent. The book will provide ample food for thought to an unbiassed open mind in search of a formula for the establishment of a happy social structure.

D. B.

SLUMS OF OLD DELHI: *Report of the Socio-Economic Survey of the Slum-Dwellers of Old Delhi City conducted by the Delhi Pradesh Bharat Sevak Samaj. Published by Atma Ram and Sons, Delhi-6. Price Rs. 5 (Popular Edition) and Rs. 7.50 (Library Edition).*

Slums, by and large a product of the modern urban civilisation, are one of the serious problems of our times. The glamour of our cities—metropolitan and otherwise—very often blind us to the squalor of the slums which are a regular feature of each and every one of them. If Calcutta has its *bustees* and Bombay and Ahmedabad their *chawls*, Delhi has its *katras* and *bustees*. These underworlds suffer from either a total absence or an utter inadequacy of the basic amenities of life. Men and women live in sub-human conditions and together with beasts in not a few cases. Environments brutalise them. It is not a mere coincidence that many of the slums are the happy hunting grounds of anti-social elements. Slum-dwellers constitute a fair proportion of a city's habitual criminals.

It is, indeed, a happy sign that "we have at last become conscious of slum areas" and the survey report under review is a proof of this consciousness.

Congratulations are due to the Delhi Pradesh Bharat Sevak Samaj and their collaborators for a thorough and exhaustive report on the slums and the slum-dwellers of old Delhi. And what a lurid picture the report reveals! According to the report, Old Delhi has 1782 slums with a population of 225,000 (about 22 per cent of the city's total population). This vast humanity has to live perforce in physically disagreeable and spiritually degrading conditions. The report candidly admits: "We are face to face with a most pernicious evil of staggering dimensions." But the challenge must be accepted and a practical solution is certainly not impossible. "For this, however, it is imperative that we discrad the old methods followed by the Improvement Trusts . . . we must adopt what may be called the 'human approach'." (P. 33).

Real improvement, we believe, can be achieved only with the co-operation of the slum-dwellers themselves. No pains should, therefore, be spared to interest them, "to educate them and to rely upon their help."

SUDHANSU BIMAL MOOKHERJI

VOTING-BEHAVIOUR IN AN INDIAN VILLAGE: *By Dr. A. H. Sanjee, Ph.D.*

London), *Dept. of Political Science. M. S. University of Baroda, Baroda. Pages 64. Price .25nP.*

This is a political survey of the village Bairavi during the Second General Election (March, 1957). This village is 27 miles north-west of Baroda and has a population of about 3,000, spread over a radius of four miles. The investigators under Dr. Sanjee had a difficult task in carrying out their duties among sample voters fairly big, illiterate and suspicious about outsiders. To interview women samples was no easy problem with the investigators. Dr. Sanjee is of opinion at the conclusion of the survey that a village leader, who is not necessarily a caste leader, not only exercises considerable influence on the village electorate but he also helps to remove the externality of the general election by acting as a liaison between the world of the villager and the remote and impersonal electing of a candidate at the time of general election. Students of political science who have to undertake sample survey shall find this book an interesting and illuminating study.

A. B. DUTTA

SANSKRIT

PRABANDHAPARIJATAH: *By Sri Chamarajendra Samskrita Mahapathsala-Vidyara.hinilaya. Bangalore-2. Price Re. 1.*

BHARATIYA-SVATANTRYA SAMGRAMASYA ITIHASAH: *By Pandit Pandharinathacharya Galagali. Madhuravani office, Gadag. Price Re. 1.*

SVADHINA-BHARATAM: *By Prof. Ramaniriksana Simha, M.A. Publisher: Sahitya Sadan, Samartha, P.O. Kalyanpur, Darbhanga, Bihar. Price Rs. 2.*

We have here three interesting books in Sanskrit dealing with modern topics. They seek to demonstrate how Sanskrit which is supposed to be a dead language can be successfully used for all purposes. The *Prabandhaparijatah* is a collection of essays written in Sanskrit mainly by the student inmates of the Sri Chamarajendra Sanskrit College Hostel of Bangalore. The essays cover a wide range of topics, *e.g.*, U.N.O., Birth control, economic problems, electricity, etc. The *Bharatiya-Svatantrya Samgramasya Itihasah* presents an account of the fight for independence that swept over different parts of India in the year 1857. Brief references are made to earlier incidents that prepared the ground for the fight. The book closes with short life-sketches of a number of revolutionaries who worked at a later period. The author whose biography of Tilak was noticed in these pages (April 1957) intends to complete the account in a subsequent volume and bring it down to its latest phase ending in the winning of freedom in 1947. *Svadhina-Bharatam* is a metrical work which in 14 chapters describes briefly the history of India through the ages. The first four chapters pertain to the old and medieval periods laying special stress on the cultural condition of the country. The remaining ten chapters deal with the modern period beginning with the advent of the Europeans. These chapters are concerned with giving a chronological but short account of the struggle for independence. The last two chapters criticise the present system of Government and the working of the Five-Year Plans and appear to be rather irrelevant. The author's statement in his Foreword that 'except a small book written in Sanskrit by the late Pandit Ramavatar Sharma in 1912, no book in Sanskrit on Indian History has been written for the last about eight centuries' is far from correct as quite a number of works on particular aspects are known and at least one entitled *Laghubharatam* by Govinda Kanta Vidyabhushana giving a more or less detailed account and covering different periods has been written and published in modern times. Abundance of printing mistakes and inaccuracies, both factual and linguistic, may not unlikely defeat, to some extent, the purpose for which the books have been written.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

BENGALI

PUSPARANI: By Bhaktiteertha Umesh Chandra Chakravarti. To be had of Suresh Kali Mandir, "Bhaktiteertha", 85, Dwarik-Jangal Road, P.O. Bhadrakali (Hooghly) and leading publishers in Calcutta. Pp. 112. Rs. 3.50.

Pusparani is a collection of one hundred and sixteen poems written at different periods by Shri Umesh Chandra Chakravarty, who has already to his credit the authorship of a number of books. He has won the affection of devotees by editing a volume of *Shree Shree Chandi* and by translating the Vedic *Trisandhya*. The poems show the author as intensely patriotic and devotional. Many of the poems are imbued with deep philosophical appreciation. The great simplicity of the language however makes them easily understandable to all. Those who feel some affinity towards religion and philosophy would find the book, the proceeds of which are to be utilised in the construction of a temple for the goddess Kali, quite interesting.

SUBHASH CHANDRA SARKER

HINDI

SUSAMVAD: *Compiled by Nilkanth I. Mashruwala. 1956. Pp. 69. Price As. 9.*

SHEELA AUR SADACHAR: *Compiled by Mukulbhai Kalarthi. 1956. Pp. 134. Price As. 5.*

Both available from Navajivan Prakashan Mandir, Ahmedabad.

Susamvad is a record of the instructive and illuminating conversations the compiler had years ago on various problems and patterns of life with Shri Kedarnathji,—a radiant and robust rationalist. *Sheela and Sadachar* is an anthology of seventeen ancedotes from the lives of great men illustrating highest human character and conduct.

G. M.

GUJARATI

(1) REESHI RAJNAN PADO: *By Madhan Chowdhari. Pp. 64. Price 4 annas.*

(2) MIRANBAI NAN BHAJANO: *With a Foreword by Justice H. V. Divalia. With an attractive picture in colours of Miranbai and Krishna. Pp. 80. Price 12 annas.*

Both published by the Society for the Encouragement of Cheap Literature. Published at its own printing press, Ahmedabad. 1951.

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Indian Periodicals

R. D. Ranade

Professor George B. Burch writes in *The Aryan Path*:

Ramachandra Dattatraya Ranade was born in 1886 at Jamkhindi, given a *mantra* by a *guru* named Bhausahib at the age of fourteen and educated at Deccan College. He acquired only a distaste for Philosophy here, where the Professor of Philosophy assigned no reading except Aristotle's *Ethics*, Wallace's *Kant*, Mill's *Logic*, and Martineau's *Ethical Theory*, and lectured from the same notes for twenty years. But in other fields he got a fine education. He specialized in mathematics, studied English with Clark and learned Sanskrit from Patek. He learned the techniques of scholarly research from Rawlinson, to whom he taught Urdu in exchange for tutoring in Greek. His most influential teacher was F. W. Bain, later Professor of Economics at All Souls' College, an Englishman with a deep appreciation of Hinduism, whose beautiful stories of the Rajput era, written in the from of pretended translations from Indian originals, evoke visions of India even by their titles (*A Digit of the Moon, A Heifer of the Dawn, In the Great God's Hair, The Ashes of a God*). When Bain left Deccan College, a spokesman for the students said, in a public eulogy, that they had learned more philosophy from him than from the Professor of Philosophy and more literature than from the Professor of Literature. It was from Bain that Ranade received a vision of eternal beauty and truth.

While in college he began his lifelong habit of devoting three hours a day to meditation (even during examination periods, as one awed disciple told me without really expecting me believe it). In 1908, the year he received his B.A. from the University of Poona, he began having the mystical experiences which continued throughout his life. At first he found these experiences confusing. He went to Banaras to discuss them with the well-known Annie Besant, of the Theosophical Society, and she assured him that they were real.

He became a fellow of Deccan College after graduating, was appointed curator of manuscripts in 1912, and received the M.A. in 1914. During this period he became interested in philosophy, first of all in Aristotle's philosophy. With his command of Greek, he undertook the ambitious project of making an exhaustive commentary on Aristotle's *Metaphysics*. This project did not get very far, but it made a good start. The *Metaphysics* begins with a critique of the pre-Socratics, and the beginning of the proposed commentary produced a series of articles, eventually published separately, on various pre-Socratic philosophers. These studies had a considerable influence on his. later thought.

In 1914 he was appointed Professor of Philosophy at the quasi-monastic Fergusson College in Poona. In 1916, when his friend the philanthropist Pratap Seth founded the Indian Institute of Philosophy at Amalner, Ranade gave technical advice and selected the books for the library. Academically this was the happiest period of his life. He later recalled with pleasure his intimate association with the excellent students at Fergusson College. Personally it was a tragic period. The great influenza epidemic of 1918 took his mother and his wife, and left him in a state of poor health from which he never completely recovered, and which compelled his retirement six years later.

Bhausahib died in 1914, and was succeeded as *guru* by Ranade's fellow disciple Amburao, who in 1921 established an *ashrama* in the jungle near the small village of Nimbal. (This is some thirty miles north of Bijapur, a city which Ranade urged me to visit, not only to accept an invitation from one of his disciples but also to see the Gol Gumbuz, a building he considered "sublime," whereas the Taj Mahal was merely "beautiful.") When Amburao died, Ranade was persuaded, reluctantly, to undertake the responsibilities of the *gurushiр*. He moved to the *ashrama* in 1924, assumed the spiritual guidance of his former fellow disciples, and also began initiating disciples himself. I was told in 1954 that he then had about 2,000 disciples, living in various parts of India. For them he was their *gurudeva*, their teacher, to be reverenced like a god. His three years at Nimbal were fruitful not only spiritually but also scholastically. Besides the works on the pre-Socratics, he published a comparative study of Greek and Sanskrit, an edition of Carlyle's essays, two books on Indian philosophy, a four-volume *Source Book of Maharashtra Saints* in Marathi, a monumental *Constructive Survey of Upanishadic Philosophy* and a volume on *The Creative Period* for a proposed eight-volume history of Indian philosophy.

His health somewhat improved; he accepted an appointment as Professor of Philosophy in the University of Allahabad in 1927. He stayed there, as professor and sometimes dean, for nineteen years, but he never enjoyed teaching there as well as he had enjoyed teaching at Poona. He lived in a big rambling bungalow in the suburbs. When I went to Allahabad for the Kumbha Mela in 1954, although Ranade was not there, I stayed in this house as Pratap Seth's guest, browsed in his fine philosophical library (with its complete set of *Mind*), and met some philosophy students living there. Ranade's book on *Mysticism in Maharashtra*, based on the earlier *Source Book*, was published in 1933, and he continued his research in the field of popular mysticism by extending it to the oral tradition in Hindi. Whenever he met anyone, in any walk of life, he would ask him if he knew any song, and if he got in reply a song with any spiritual significance, he would write it down. In this way he gathered material for his book on Hindi mysticism, published in 1954 under the title *Pathway to God in Hindi Literature*. Eventually he added a volume on Kannada mystics, thus completing a trilogy on the mystical traditions in the three vernaculars with which he was acquainted.

He retired from teaching at sixty, but stayed at Allahabad another year as Vice-Chancellor of the University. After 1947 he resided at the Nimbal *ashrama* but usually returned to his Allahabad home for the cold season. His personal life became extremely ascetic. I was told that he gave up eating entirely, except for drinking tea with milk and sugar. He devoted his time to meditation, scholarly research and writing and the spiritual direction of his disciples. It was at Nimbal that I met him in 1954.

When I went to India to study Vedanta, several persons spoke to me of Ranade as the best teacher of mystical philosophy. This was not my chief interest, but I became curious about the man personally. A physics professor described him as the most advanced person he knew, and refused to express an opinion as to whether he was a *jivan-mukta*. I was warned not to try to visit him at the *ashrama*, where the life was too austere for a Westerner. I did have doubts about wanting to visit him, but on very differet grounds. Hindu *gurus* as a class have a mixed reputation, sometimes seeming (at least to a Westerner) to be arrogant, pompous or conceited. I had heard of *gurus*, including quite famous ones, who kept themselves in seclusion, refusing to see their own disciples, let alone visitors. But I took a chance, wrote Ranade a letter asking permission to visit him and was invited to come.

The man I met was the opposite of what I had expected. Small, slight and frail, a mere wisp of a man whom you would expect the slightest breeze to blow away, he was nevertheless vigorous not only spiritually and intellectually but also physically. His brisk, sprightly step was characteristic of his whole lively personality. Pomposity or unction would be impossible in this animated person. Hypocrisy would be impossible in this humble man, who kept his perspective and sense of humour even though surrounded by disciples for whom he was divine. He was frank and friendly, eager to talk with me, to learn as well as to teach, to discuss both his intellectual interests and mine. After telling me about his education, he asked me to tell him about mine. Rapport was established when we discovered a common interest in the pre-Socratics, and we exchanged offprints in this field. We became close friends immediately. I did not get the impression, however, that this was anything special about me. I believe that he was that way with everybody. But, for

all his humility, a visitor at Nimbal could never be mistaken as to which man was the *guru*. Ranade's spirituality shone clearly through every look, word and act. He did not have to pretend to be a saint, because he obviously was one.

The *ashrama* was a group of five small stone buildings. The only neighbours were a "criminal-caste" group living in eight mud huts—fine, dignified people who, as I found, would do favours for me but would not take *baksheesh*. Nearby were a miraculous never-failing well which Ranade had dug on a spot revealed in a vision after the old well did fail, and a ten-foot pit into which Ranade used to go for his meditation on days when the *ashrama* was crowded. Living in the *ashrama* were Ranade, his second wife, his daughter, his two small grandchildren and about fifteen disciples. They came from different social backgrounds: a young *raja*, a retired Postmaster Genral, college professors, doctors (one of whom, Ranade's physician, was trying to get him to supplement his tea with orange juice), lawyers, business men, clerks, the local station-master, a Harijan (who, coming to Ranade in distress when his children were starving on his forty-rupee school-teacher's salary, was assisted by him to get a hundred-rupee social worker's position). They had been drawn to religion by various influences—one, a Madras doctor, through the frustrations of bureaucratic regulations; another, a lawyer with an international practice, through the company of saintly men he met during three years in jail. This lawyer, said Ranade, had instructed him to see that I did not starve. Actually they went to considerable trouble for me, obtaining canned food they thought I would prefer to their usual fare and other conveniences for my comfort. While I neither requested nor especially wanted this special attention, I was touched by and appreciative of this hospitality toward a self-invited guest.

The day began at six, when the disciples assembled for devotions, chanting a hymn to the *guru*. We were expected to imitate the *guru's* practice by meditating together for three hours, but actually began leaving after about an hour. In mid-afternoon a bell, indicating that Ranade had finished his own spiritual exercises, summoned us to his presence for readings and discussion, followed by the ceremonial burning of camphor, inhaling the smoke and distribution, of *prasad*. Each evening someone gave a talk, and there was a final chant before retiring. The hymn to the guru ("Jai Guru Jai Guru Jai Guru Jai"), accompanied by cymbals, was chanted before photographs of Amburao, Bhausahib and the latter's *guru's* tomb (no photograph of him being available). In their own homes, at least those I visited, the disciples also had photographs of Ranade. I am sure they had him principally in mind when singing "Jai Guru," but there was no picture of him, nor was he himself present at these devotions. If anyone ever made any gesture of veneration in his presence, I did not observe it.

Interesting and edifying as these spiritual exercises were, my philosophical conversations with Ranade were more so. His philosophy, which he called "Beatificism," meaning the search for Beatitude as Self-realization, was a mystical philosophy in the tradition of Vishishtadvaita and *Bhakti-marga*. He rejected Advaita and *Jnana-marga* as dangerous teachings opposed to mysticism. One day a disciple recited a humorous poem on "Ten Great Saints," in which the eulogy of each saint was qualified by a statement of the defect in his sanctity. The ten saints were Prahlada, Dhruva, Narada, Vyasa, Shuka, Bhishma, Arjuna, Valmiki, Hanuman and Uddhava; in the case of Shuka the defect was that he was an Advaitin. All speculative philosophy, according to Ranade, is uncertain; all we can know of metaphysics is that all things come from God and tend to return to God. What we can know is the Self.

The means to Self-realization are fourfold. First, moral behaviour—both the prerequisite for, and the evidence of, true mysticism. Second, the company of good people—hence the importance of life in the *ashrama*. Third, a *guru*. Ranade rejected the theory, often advanced, that the *guru* chooses the disciple, and maintained that the disciple must seek and choose his *guru*. (When he told me this, a sudden emotion swept over me. Had not Providence, or *Karma*, brought me to this venerable man, probably the most spiritually advanced person I shall ever know, to whom I was already bound by ties of mutual affection, in order that he should be my spiritual preceptor? Should I not ask him then and here to give me initiation? I rejected this impulse, however, and in retrospect am sure that I was right. He could only have been embarrassed by so intemperate a suggestion, since initiation doubtless requires a preliminary discipline, while from my point of view I, as a Christian, already have my *sa guru* in Christ). Fourth, meditation —intellectual, moral and mystical. The all-important thing is love of God, which is a response to his love for us, and this is attracted by the moral goodness resulting from our own efforts. This, I take it, is the "monkey theory" of salvation: to be saved we at least have to hang on. It is by devotion, not deeds or knowledge, that we are united with God. When, after returning to America, I was asked to give a lecture on contemporary Indian teachers, I spoke of Vinoba as teaching the way of action, Malkani as teaching the way of knowledge and Ranade as teaching the way of love.

To love your family and your friends and, above all, God was Ranade's doctrine and Ranade's life. Spiritual meditation and mystical contemplation were the central activity of his daily life. He was a mystic in the perennial tradition of the mystic saints. Did he then attain their final goal of mystical union with God? The answer must be, No, unless it was after I knew him. He told me that he had never yet enjoyed the "unitive experience" described by the great mystics. To me that frank and humble statement was far more impressive than the exaggerated claims to extraordinary experiences made by some *gurus* and holy men.

Ranade saw me off at the station with expressions of friendship and devotion and an invitation to return, bringing my family, the next time we were in India, but that time never came. He ended his long life full of fame and favour. A seventieth-birthday celebration in his home town Jamkhindi was observed with typical Hindu ceremony: a civic address, a portrait unveiled, a volume of articles publihed, congratulatory letters and cablegrams. The invitations described him as "world-renowned philosopher-mystic." I do not believe that he enjoyed that sort of adulation, merited though it was. When he died in 1957, Shrimati Ranade received letters of sympathy from the President and Vice-President of India, *rajas*, governors, Union and State ministers, institutions and individuals in India and abroad.

Much as I appreciate Ranade's spiritual and intellectual achievements, it is his loving personality which I remember best. Surely for many, as for me, he was a friend never to be forgotten. For his disciples he was much more. For India he was one of her great men. In India, as also in other countries, there are many great scholars engaged in various researches, many great philosophers with deep insights into reality, many great mystics with ineffable visions, many great mystics with ineffable visions, many great teachers who inspire their pupils, many great souls whose integrity and personality are radiant. But we seldom see one person who is all of these at once. Such a one was Shri Ranade, one of those rare spirits who show us how fine human nature can be.

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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Bhutan, Kham and the Upper Assam Line

The following are some of the excerpts from an article by A. R. Field, Fellow in History at the University of Pennsylvania, in *Orbis*, a Quarterly Journal of world affairs:

To some Indian statesmen looking northward toward their Himalayan frontiers, Mao Tse-tung must appear as the perennial "abominable snowman." Ever since the People's Liberation Army started its march south from Mukden in 1948, New Delhi has been evolving its own military answer: a sealing off along the line of the Himalayas and Upper Assam. This is a prodigious task, for the Himalayas rarely have acted as the barrier which small-scale maps and popular notions may have led many to believe. More than anything else, these mountains have acted as a giant sieve. There are literally thousands of passes which have never been charted on any map.

In recent years, Indian Prime Minister Nehru has established himself as a seasoned Himalayan traveller. Mr. Nehru's most recent trek, accomplished on pony, mule and yak, was undertaken to reach the Thunderbolt Kingdom of Bhutan. On his arrival at Paro, Bhutan's traditional winter capital, Nehru addresed a public meeting. He spoke of the friendly and equal relations existing between India and Bhutan. He did not neglect to tell his audience that their very way of life came to them from India through the vehicle of the teachings of Lord Buddha. Nehru reminded his listeners that the world was fast changing: "Bhutan could not remain isolated, but any change Bhutan underwent would be in accordance with its own will and not because of pressure of other countries." The Indian statesman's words might have had a familiar ring to some of these Himalayan people. In the past, Mr. Nehru had also advised the Nepalese, prior to their revolution, that the world was fast changing and Nepal would have to change, else "there might be some pushing about later."

Government official spent the next two days discussing technical aid, the need for the development of road communications between India and Bhutan, plus the "International situation." Indian officials were well prepared to discuss road communications, for a preliminary survey of an all-weather road leading from Jainti, the railway terminus in Alipur Duars, to Tashichetzong on the Bhutanese border had already been completed. This road also connects with the North Trunk road from Bengal. A second major road is contemplated to run from Garubhada in Assam to Hatisar on the border.

The strategic importance of Bhutan, from the standpoint of India's political geography, cannot be overstressed. Bhutan is the pivot for the defense of India's northeastern frontier. An unfriendly or Chinese-dominated Bhutan would flank India's unstable position in Upper Assam. Indian independence and partition have left India proper with only a very narrow access corridor (the Assam rail-link) leading into the state of Assam. It is not unlikely that these are some of the factors that influenced Mr. Nehru's trip to Bhutan.

Mr. Nehru returned to New Delhi on October 2, 1958, and stated that "obviously conditions in Tibet are not fully normal." This, of course, was pure understatement. Even before the revolt erupted in Lhasa during March 1959, there had been persistent newspaper reports of sporadic fighting on the borderlands of Eastern Tibet, in an area called Kham. Much of this fighting had taken place east of Chamdo, in the Tengko-Batang-Litang triangle, although it was subsequently to spread westward to the Tibetan capital.

The Khamba people differ in dress, dialect and physical characteristics from the people of Tibet proper, but they do have strong religious ties with the Lhasa Pontiff. The men who traditionally make up the Dalai Lama's bodyguard are giant sevenfoot Khamba monks. The most important all-Khamba monastery is located at Chamdo. Thus, this village has played

a key role in the Chinese Communist administration of the Kham-Western Sikang area. The Chinese Communist government, to placate the Khambas, sanctioned funds for the rebuilding of Khamba monasteries which were placed under air bombardment during the Khamba revolt of 1957. The reason for this communist concession to religion is clear. To reach Chamdo the Chinese must traverse the strategic triangle area which covers the fork of the Chinese-Tibetan highway leading west to Chamdo and northwest to Jyekundo. Jyekundo is astride the "primary" Chinese-Tibetan highway which extends from the railhead at Lanchow, through Sinning, Chalaping, and then southwestward to Lhasa. The Katang-Chamdo-Lhasa road, although shorter, is the more difficult and considered to be the "secondary" Chinese-Tibetan high-road to Lhasa.

About the same time that hostilities opened in Korea, Rapga Rangda, a widely known and respected leader of the Khamba people of the Upper Yangtze area, arrived at Chamdo. He initiated discussions with representatives of the Lhasa authorities leading toward the formation of a common front against the approaching elements of the People's Liberation Army.

The Khambas have waged a protracted and sporadic guerrilla war for the past eight years, and have been slowly pushed westward by the Chinese from the Kham-Western Sikang area toward less desirable lands. As early as 1955, the Peking government started to transport young Chinese pioneers to "borderland" areas to set up colonies. Large numbers of Chinese have been moved into the Kham region in the hopes of displacing these troublesome peoples. By mid-year 1958, a policy of displacement was superseeded by a policy of extermination. On July 20, 1958, 'Kalpana,' an influential Nepalese newspaper published in Kathmandu, reported large numbers of Khamba people entering Nepalese territory. Eastern Nepal is about 900 road miles from the focus of past Khamba guerrilla activity. Little credence, therefore, was given at the time to these initial reports of Khambas fleeing the long distance to Nepal. A severely harrassed people would presumably escape southwest across the Assam or Bhutan borders.

The Khamba exodus has continued to the present. By last December, "fairly large numbers" were crossing the Himalayan snows and entering the Nepalese border district of Sola Khumbu, an area inhabited by the Sharpa people of Mt. Everest fame. It is significant that the Nepalese Sharpa people claim Kham as their traditional homeland and place of origin. In the Tibetan language, Sharpa means "people of the East." Of the ten tribes which constitute the Sharpa peoples of Nepal, one tribe is still called Khambadje. This ethnic affinity, in part, would account for the Khambas' long march westward to Nepal rather than directly south to the closer borders of Upper Assam and Bhutan. The Nepalese government, claimed that it is impossible to maintain winter frontier checkposts in the areas where the Khambas are said to be entering Nepal.

Total estimates of dead and wounded resulting from past Khamba-Chinese clashes have been placed as high as 65,000. By the first of this year, Chinese Nationalist intelligence sources stated that Tibetan borderland slaughters "surpass the 1956 Hungarian revolt in intensity." Fighting had occurred in the Mongolian People's Republic and along the Sinkiang-Tibet frontier in the northwest as well. Indian authorities affirmed that there was wide-scale Khamba activity but rejected the contention that this activity was comparable to Hungary. New Delhi publicly considered Taipeh reports "to be products of wishful thinking by Chinese Nationalists" —untill serious fighting erupted in Lhasa and world attention was drawn to this sensitive area.

It is difficult to evaluate the magnitude and reliability of the Chinese Nationalist intelligence organization in Tibet. After the Lhasa rising, Nehru stated that he had been informed by a "knowledgeable person" that there were "more spies in Kalimpong than the rest of the inhabitants." The Indian Prime Minister was quick to deny, however, that Kalimpong was the "command center of the Tibetan rebellion."

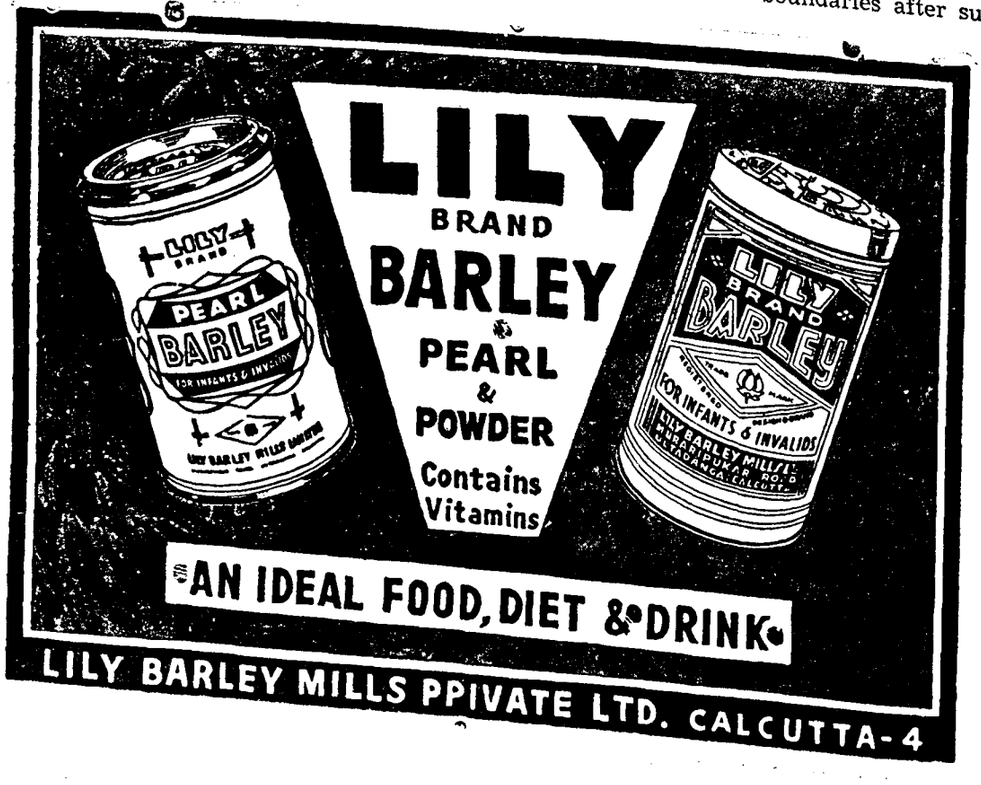
Throughout Mr. Nehru's trip to and from Bhutan, there were reports of Chinese Communist troop mobilization along sections of the Tibetan border. The Prime Minister scoffed at reports that the communist troops were present to prevent his being kidnapped. It is not unlikely

that Chinese troop elements were busily engaged in interdicting Khambas seeking a southern asylum.

Indian statesmen are especially apprehensive of the fact that Chinese Communist maps continue to show India's northeastern frontier, a block of about 33,000 square miles in Upper Assam, inside Chinese territory. These maps also show portions of Nepal, Sikkim and Bhutan under Chinese jurisdiction. In 1951, the Indian government first officially acknowledged the existence of these maps, which were filtering into India through Kalimpong. Mr. Nehru, however, was careful not to challenge Peking. He assured the Indian people, in a press conference, that the Chinese merely were using old maps. "We were told by the Chinese Government not to pay the slightest attention to these maps." The Peking government, according to Nehru, had not up-dated old atlases because it was "much too busy doing other things." Presumably, the maps in question were similar to the series contained in the New Atlas of China, first published in Shanghai in July of 1948.

Two years after the Chinese government had given assurances to the Indian government, the Chinese Communists published a new series of maps, entitled "The *Atlas of Chinese People's Republic, 1953.*" This time the Indian assumed that the Chinese were now using old map plates, for Upper Assam was once again included within the Chinese frontier. This was an optimistic assumption, for a detailed examination of contingent areas indicated that some remarkable cartographical changes had been made. Significantly, the Soviet *A las Mira*, published under the imprimature of the M.D.V. in 1954, reaffirmed the Chinese claim to Upper Assam. The Russians obviously were not using old Chinese map plates.

Regarding Upper Assam, it is difficult to determine why the Chinese waited from 1953 to November 1958 to broach directly a subject which they had begun to hint at as early as 1951. One month after Mr. Nehru's return from Bhutan, the Peking government officially proposed to the Indian government that "a re-drawing of the two countries' boundaries after surveys and talks with neighbouring countries" be undertaken. Officials in New Delhi stated on December 2 that India's international border is well known and "will not be subject to negotiations." This statement was tempered by an Indian assurance that minor border adjustments will always be open to consideration and negotiation. The precedent for minor border adjustments was established in 1950, when India retroceded a small parcel of land from the south-eastern corner of Jammu to Western Tibetan jurisdiction.



In October 1913, under pressure of the British Indian government, a tri-partite conference was convened at Simla to discuss boundary question. These talks among India, Tibet, and the Chinese Republic broke down "on one point only," namely the establishment of a boundary between China and Tibet. The Tibetan government agreed to a British proposal for delimitation of their southern boundary with India. The "quid pro quo" was a promise of Britsh support against the Chinese. Thus it was that, in early February 1914, the Tibeto-Indian frontier was fixed to run from "Isu Razi Pass to the Bhutan boundary." Two maps were exchanged showing the boundary marked in red; these maps have never been made public. Isu Razi La derives its name from Pomtang Razi, a 15,151-foot peak in the Kachin State of North Burma. It is located southeast of Rima, midway between the Taron Wang valley and the Alang Chi. The British, by fixing the boundary on the point of Isu Razi La, realized that a line drawn due north from this point would coincide with the upper reaches of the Yangtze river at Tengko. From the standpoint of a prominent natural terrain feature, the Yangtze river would be considered the maximal Chinese boundary between Outer and Inner Tibet acceptable to the British. Thus, Chinese influence would be excluded from all of Upper Assam and India's northeastern frontier would be secured.

The British representative, Sir Henry McMahon, having attained his main objective, was prepared to concede minor points to the Tibetans.

The Chinese representative, Mr. Ivan Chen, continued to press for a boundary line running through Gyam-da, a few stages east of Lhasa. This would place the Chinese within striking distance of the Tibetan capital and would extend a Chinese-controlled southern border over more than half of eastern Upper Assam.

At this point, Sir Henry McMahon suggested a "compromise," solution to the boundary problem. Tibet would be divided into "Inner" and "Outer" portions. The whole of Tibet would be recognized as being under Chinese suzerainty, but the Chinese were to accord autonomy to Outer Tibet. The British were using the precedent of the Russo-Chinese accord signed on November 5, 1913, in which Russia recognized Chinese "suzerainty" over Outer Mongolia while China agreed to accept Outer Mongolian "autonomy." The eastern boundary of Outer Tibet was to be established along the line of the 1727 frontier. This agreement, known as the Simla Convention of 1914, although initiated by Mr. Chen, was never ratified by the Chinese Republic.

The Simla Convention is sometimes pointed to as establishing the current Sino-Indian boundary. This is incorrect in the eyes of the Peking government. Nor does Peking consider itself bound by the notes and maps exchanged between British India and Tibet.

On May 23, 1951, the Chinese Communists signed an agreement with the "Local Government" of Tibet, which completed the "peaceful liberation" of the country. Article 14 of this agreement is significant because it contains the genesis of the Panch Shila agreement, later signed by India in April 1954: "There will be peaceful co-existence with neighboring countries and establishment and development of fair commercial and trading relations with them on the "basis of equality, mutual benefit, and mutual respect for territory and sovereignty." In the eyes of the Chinese, the Sino-Indian agreement reaffirms that any exchanges between the Tibetan authorities and the British-Indian government have been illegal and therefore non-existent. Mao Tse-tung merely bent to pick up the reins of Tibetan "suzerainty" which a Manchu emperor had dropped forty-three years before.

From the point of view of the Chinese Communist government, the only delimitation of the Sino-Indian boundary that has force of law was provisionally laid down in the Panch Shila agreement of 1954.

Article IV states: "Traders and pilgrims of both countries may travel by the following passes and route: (1) Shipki La, (2) Mana pass, (3) Niti pass, (4) Kungri Bingri pass, (5) Darma pass, (6) Lipu Laku pass." Therefore, the only Himalayan boundary recognized by the Chinese Communist government runs from the south-east corner of Jammu to the north-west boundary of Nepal. The northern boundaries of Nepal, Sikim, Bhutan and Upper Assam are still to be negotiated. China has made this amply clear in her request of November 1958 for the re-drawing of the two countries' boundaries after surveys and talks with neighboring countries.

If India's foreign policies seem to exhibit certain puzzling tendencies to the West, it is well to remember that India is experiencing pressures along every point of her frontier.

The smoldering rebellion in Lhasa, the Tibetan capital, has only served to underscore India's vulnerability along the Himalayas.

Wuhan—China's Rising Steel Centre

China Today, July, 1959 writes editorially:

Construction of the giant Wuhan integrated iron and steel enterprise is proceeding rapidly in the mid-Yangtse River port city of Wuhan, central China.

This enterprise is one of the two largest iron and steel projects being built by China during the current Second Five-Year Plan, the other being in Paotow, north China.

Together with Anshan, now the country's leading steel centre, the trio will form the backbone of China's iron and steel industry.

Two years ago, when construction of the Wuhan enterprise started, only a power station and clusters of electric excavators were there. Now blocks of spacious workshops, high chimney stacks and housing estates have been completed.

Railway spur-lines extend deep into the construction site which occupies an area of 30 square kilometres. The Wuhan Iron and Steel Company is already a city in itself, complete with living quarters, streets, shops, book-stores, recreational centres and other amenities serving the needs of the workers.

One of the giant blast furnaces of the company, originally scheduled to be completed on July 1, this year, was actually put into operation last September. A second and even bigger one also went into operation recently.

A labyrinth of scaffolding and thousands of building machines surrounding the new projects show the tremendous scale of the work now going on. The major projects include two big open-hearth furnaces, and a series of subsidiary plants for ore sintering and dressing, and making coke, refractory materials and other things required by a modern iron and steel enterprise.

Upon completion, the plant will have eight huge open-hearth furnaces each with a charging capacity of more than 500 tons.

These and all its blast furnaces will rank among the world's biggest. Each blast furnace will have a daily capacity of more than 2,000 tons of pig iron. When turned into steel, these are enough to make 100,000 double-wheeled, double-bladed ploughs for the Chinese peasants.

Its rolling mills will turn big steel ingots, each weighing upto 15 tons, into plates, tubes and structural shapes for the manufacture of ships, boilers, tractors, rolling stocks and the building of bridges and factories. The projects will be supplied to central, south, east and southwest China.

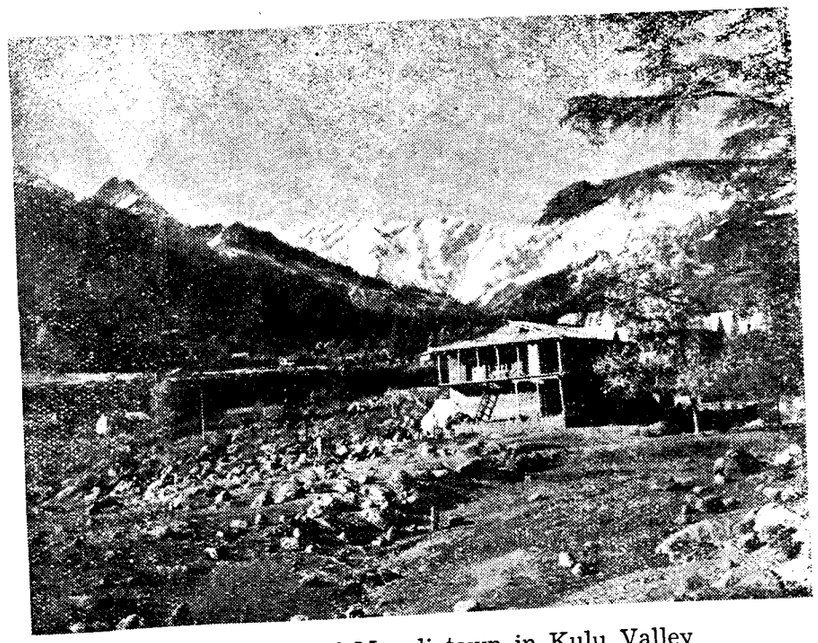
Builders of the Wuhan Iron and Steel Company, whose motto is "quality, speed and economy," have kept improving their work methods to ensure maximum effect. Last year, they set a national record by pouring 1,790 cubic metres of concrete at the foundation of the No. 1. Blast Furnace in 27 hours. In building the second blast furnace this year, they improved their own record by pouring over 1,800 cubic metres of concrete in 16 hours.

The company planned to build three air blast heating stoves, all towering more than 40 metres above the ground, in 15 days. But when the plan was handed to the workers for discussion, they said that it could be finished in seven days.

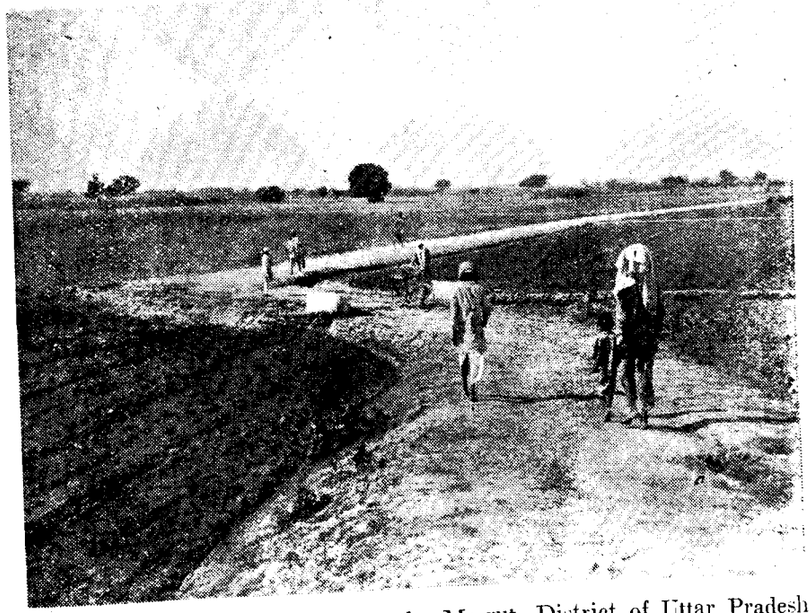
Altogether 336 suggestions were made by the workers to facilitate the work and raise labour efficiency. In fact, the furnaces were completed in four days and 19 hours. The quality of the work was better than the standards laid down by the state.

The rapidity with which the Wuhan Iron and Steel Company is being built signalises the advance of the iron and steel industry in new China.

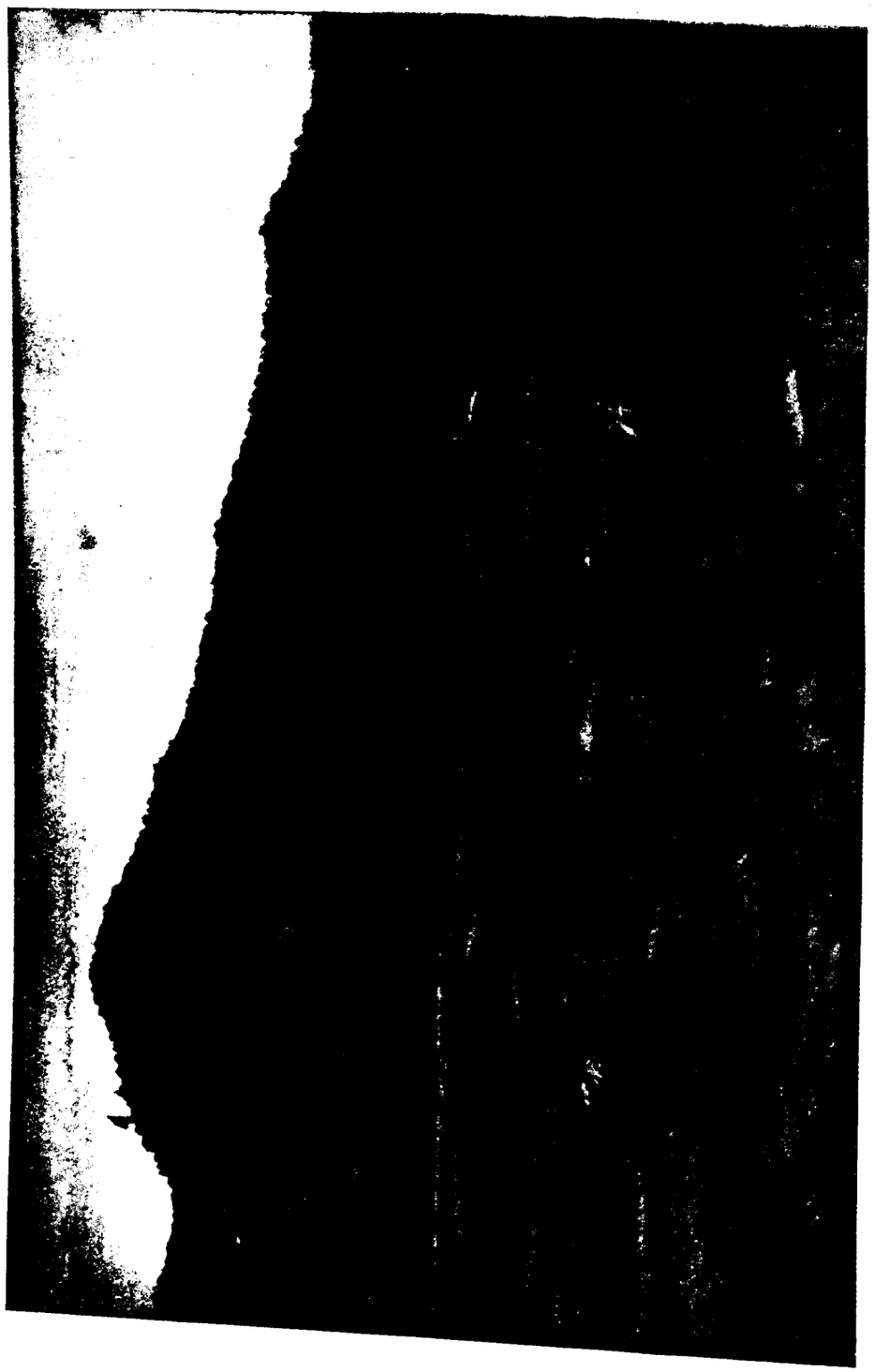
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120-2, Upper Circular Road, Calcutta-9



A lovely view of Manali town in Kulu Valley



The Dhakauli-Pilana Road in the Meerut District of Uttar Pradesh is built by the villagers themselves



THE HILL AND THE FIELD
By Panchanan Roy

Prabasi Press, Calcutta.

THE MODERN REVIEW

OCTOBER 1959

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NOTES

The Two Faces of World-Communism

Mr. Khrushchev has paid a thirteen day visit to the United States, where he has had a fairly good welcome. He had long talks with President Eisenhower, and issued a joint statement. On his way back home he radioed a very friendly farewell message and his speech on arrival at Moscow was also friendly.

The general effect of this visit has been a distinct lowering of the tension over West Berlin, and perhaps a slight thaw in the Cold War. This is thus a distinct gain in the cause of World Peace. But to our people and particularly to our Super-brahmins of the *Ahimsa* cult, the main factor that has led to this change in the political weather, will be lost. That factor is the near-equality in war-like strength —that is power of destruction—of the nations of the visitor and the host. There is no question that it is that that has led to the recognition, on both sides, that a major conflict between the two would not only bring them both very near annihilation, but is likely to put an end to all civilization, as known to-day.

But the position is quite different where "People's China," the other major partner in World-Communism is concerned. There the same phase that led to the Stalinist era of infiltration, disruption and extinction of weaker neighbours is just beginning. The moves are almost identical, as we are told by those who have suffered from the terrible impacts of Stalinist expansionism.

It is idle therefore to regard this lull on the northern frontiers of India, as being a mere lapse through anger at our espousing the cause of the Dalai Lama—as some of our arm-chair diplomats have stated. We think that a mere re-assessment of the chess-board is being made prior to another aggressive move. It may be that the failure of their agents to achieve more in the way of disruption has called for a halt, or it may be that the World reaction has been more intense than was allowed for. We are not in a position really to assign any reason for the lull, only we cannot in any case attribute it to either a change of heart or to any humane consideration like the Panch Sheel.

Under these circumstances, India's request to the United Nations, to accord recognition to People's China, would certainly seem to be remininscent of the knightly fervour of Don Quixote, of cherished memory, to the world at large—and likewise to many of us. We agree with our Mr. Krishna Menon, who thanked those who voluntarily accused People's China of aggression against us, and at the same time pointed that the same body had tacitly approved of another major act of aggression on India by a country that is a member of the major Parties Camp. But all the same, we regret that we are unable to see any logical reason for putting forward China's case for inclusion in the U.N., since we ourselves have not been able to obtain relief in that particular appeal that was pigeon-holed.

The peoples of the Union of India have reacted strongly to the Chinese threat. This is certainly a hopeful sign. But at the same time we cannot take an ostrich-like attitude to all the disruptive elements amongst our midst.

There are irresponsible men who are out for personal gain, in power or in more concrete terms, to whom the nation's trials mean little or nothing. There are, likewise others who are sapping the country's morale and means through the operation of corrupt tactics like bribery and jobbery or through black-markets and the anti-social tactics of creating artificial shortages. There is corruption in high places, beyond

all doubt, though the consideration might not always be in terms of cash. In none of these circles the question of nationalism is even a minor consideration.

Then there is the question of money and propaganda from interested parties abroad. Recently, New Delhi had to take cognisance of large-scale distribution of propaganda material, meant to spread disaffection amongst the peoples of India, through foreign diplomatic channels. But as yet we do not see any evidence of a check on the distribution of money, through devious channels to the disruptive elements inside the country. We admit there are plenty of young people in this country, with immature and weak intellects, who can be whipped into a frenzy by clever demagogues. But that does not explain how thousands of people can be transported from distant places and provided with the means for sustained series of demonstrations and disturbances lasting for days, which not only calls for considerable expenditure of energy, but also for the resources for physical recoupment on a large-scale.

Pandit Nehru uttered jeremiads regretting that the C.P.I. was completely devoid of nationalistic sentiments. Dr. B. C. Roy, in his refutal of the Communist Party's memorandum to the President against the Government of West Bengal, has said that the thinking apparatus of that party is situated outside the country. Both of these accusations are justified, judging by their behaviour during the Chinese campaign for the suppression of the Tibetans, when they made open statements in support of the palpable lying accusations of China against India.

Even now their leaders are siding with China on the question of the frontiers territories. There has been considerable disagreement, amongst the rank and file, over the question of the integrity of the Union's territories. But the outcome of their long discussions, held for five days in Calcutta has taken the same shape. The final resolution, stripped of all the *mumbo-jumbo* of their dialectics, is full support of the Chinese claims against India. They have requested that no insistence be given on the McMahon Line—which is tantamount to giving a directive to their followers to deny the Indian claim.

Report on Welfare

The report of the Study Team on Social Welfare and Welfare of Backward Classes is a mine of information on the existing state of the social welfare services in India and thus enables one to take a more objective view of the problems and prospects than has so far been possible. Though the practical importance of its findings and recommendations are limited by the obvious impossibility of their implementation in the near future they are not to be minimised by any means. Some of these—particularly those dealing with ways and means of achieving administrative improvement and efficiency—should not offer any great difficulty in the process of implementation.

The report is an indirect call for the maximisation of the efforts for economic development. So much remains to be done but so inadequate are the resources! The Team in its wisdom comes upon certain ways of approach or sees a definite solution but yet cannot, as a responsibile body, recommend its immediate adoption in toto because of lack of resources.

The objective of the welfare programmes, the Team rightly observes, should be the eventual integration of the backward classes and other under-privileged sections of the community into the normal community. The programme should be so formulated that it does not accentuate the differences. The difficulty with regard to a proper definition of "backwardness" has tended to expand the list of backward communities converting, as it were, backwardness into a privilege conferred by birth. The Team, therefore, suggests the adoption of an economic criterion and the introduction of a gradation in the pattern of assistance so as to ensure that a higher proportion of the benefits goes to the economically less advanced groups of persons.

No scheme of welfare service could be effective without the active participation of the general people and the voluntary agencies. The encouragement to the growth and development of voluntary agencies will thus be an important part of a well-conceived social welfare scheme. At the same time however it is equally necessary to recall that the solution of certain problems such as beggary, prostitution, juvenile deliquency and trafficking in women cannot help being heavily reliant upon state initiative. The experience gained in the efforts to abolish untouchability has demonstrated the vulnerability of an undue reliance upon state initiative. The Team's finding is not only that the evil still exists as everybody is aware but, which is of greater significance, that the results have not been commensurate with the expenditure incurred by the Government.

The Team has suggested that all social welfare activities should be co-ordinated under the Ministry of Education, if necessary by redesigning it as the Ministry of Education and Social Welfare. The team has uttered a warning against dangers of a too rapid rush with decentralization of administration by pointing out the fact that the origin of the backward classes was primarily due to the hostile attitude of the local communities and if all effective powers are now vested in them, they may yet again turn out to be oppressors. While there is undoubtedly great weight behind this argument it should induce us to implement decentralization with safeguards rather than to abandon it altogether..

Hindi Agitation

The decision of the Punjab Hindi Raksha Samiti to resume the "Save Hindi" agitation in Punjab, which was suspended on December 27, 1957 following the appeal of the then Congress President, Shri U. N. Dhebar, and the Union Home Minister, Sri Govind Ballabh Pant, in December next will be received with grave misgivings by all concerned. The earlier agitation which had gone on for seven months had led to the suffering of hundreds of people without contributing to anybody's happiness. What was worse the movement created great communal tension within the State.

The reasons for the call for the resumption of the agitation are far from clear. The Raksha Samiti has referred to the delay in the publication of the report of the Goodwill Committee and has further taken objection to the statement of the Union Minister of State for Home Affairs in the Lok Sabha that the Goodwill Committee Report had nothing to do with the language problems in Punjab. While the Samiti's criticism of the delay in the publication of the report of the Goodwill Committee undoubtedly cannot be lightly dismissed, it would apparently have done better to insist upon the early publication of the report and to suggest action only upon specific points of disagreement from the recommendations in the report. Resumption of the agitation becomes all the more unsupportable because nothing has happened since its suspension to warrant such a precipitate action.

While as a matter of principle every language should be ensured of its rightful place in the country in each State the claim to uphold one language at the cost of another is utterly untenable. Every true Indian would therefore be shocked to learn that the Hindi Raksha Samiti has set up a six-man sub-committee to discuss the question of stopping the teaching of Gurmukhi in all the Aryasamaj-run schools and other educational institutions in Punjab. It betrays a dangerous intransigence and unconcern for the rights of others which is hardly likely to promote mutual understanding and tolerance. If it is not right for Gurmukhi to prosper at the cost of Hindi it is equally wrong to suggest that Hindi should be encouraged at the cost of Gurmukhi which is as much a native language of Punjab as is Hindi or Urdu The type of overenthusiasm which has been betrayed in the resolution of the Hindi Raksha Samiti has been the greatest obstacle in the progress of the popularity of Hindi in non-Hindi-speaking regions. The atmosphere of goodwill created by Seth Govind Das's call for the unconditional withdrawal of all movements and agitations for the adoption of Hindi has been greatly shaken by the renewed belligerency of the supporters of Hindi in Punjab.

Kashmir in India

The unanimous resolution adopted on September 13, by the General Council of the Jammu and Kashmir National Conference endorsing the recommendation of its working committee for the extension of the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court, and the Election Commission of India to the State, removes another long-felt anomaly in the relations between the Union of India and one of its principal constituent parts. Though Kashmir has all along been claimed as an integral part of India, through a queer process of reasoning the inhabitants of the State were denied the best advantages of being Indian citizens by keeping the State largely beyond the pale of the important provisions of the Constitution of India. It would appear that the anomaly of keeping Kashmir outside the operation of the Constitution of India was dictated as much by the opposition of a set of vested interests within the State which wanted to cling to power, as by any other legal or political consideration.

After the adoption of the latest resolution which would raise the status of the State judiciary to the level of those in other Indian States and would ensure free and fair elections there, the political integration of Kashmir in India may now be regarded as almost complete. It is, however, interesting, and perhaps not altogether bereft of instructiveness, to consider how this process of political integration has progressed since August 14, 1952 when an agreement had been reached between the State Government and the Central Government over the expansion of the constitutional relationship between Kashmir and the rest of India. The initiative in the matter has all along been with the State authorities who have gradually adopted measures for the application of Fundamental Rights to permanent residents of the State, extension of the appellate jurisdiction of the Supreme Court, transfer of the State's Audit and Accounts Service to the control of the Comptroller and Auditor-General of India, financial arrangements with the Union Government, abolition of the customs barrier between Kashmir and the rest of the country, the integration of the services and the abolition of the restriction on travel between Kashmir and the rest of the territory of India.

It would thus be seen that for some unaccountable reasons the integration of audit and accounts claimed a precedence in the minds of those who were charged to effect this integration over the need to assure the people of the State an able and independent judiciary or a scope for free and unrestrained choice of their own representativs. If Pakistan takes advantage of such half-heartedness on the part of Indian leaders to act boldly and consistently to launch upon an anti-Indian tirade on the international plane there is little to wonder because no country would have missed such a golden opportunity to bolster up its own stand before the nations of the world. We hope that the Government of Bakshi Ghulam Mohammed would continue to exhibit the steadfastness and fidelity to principles through which it has succeeded in undoing much of the mischief of the past.

Urban Education

Delhi offers an example of the accentation of the problem of urban education in India where the populations of the cities have increased by leaps and bounds as a result of industrialisation and the operation of "push factors" through the impoverishment of the villages, while the rate of expansion of the facilities for housing, employment and education has always lagged behind. The sum-total of the situation is that in all the cities many people have to go without the benefits of the opportunity to read in schools and colleges even when they may be, relatively speaking, willing and able to pay for their education. In many places the educational institutions are run on shifts but even then the provisions are very much inadequate to meet the demand. The attitude of the University Grants Commission, which has based its policy on the logic that there is a very great danger of degeneration of standards and quality if there is no insistence upon the maintenace of a definite relationship between the demand and the supply and, therefore, in so far as it is not immediately possible to expand the facilities for education the only sane policy is to restrict education itself has added

another complication in the already complicated situation. In Delhi 10,504 students had sought admission to various constituent and affiliated colleges of Delhi University during the last academic season but, despite the Vice-Chancellor's particularly liberal policy, no more than, 6,212 could be accommodated. Much the same picture is obtained in other cities like Bombay and Calcutta. The potential magnitude of the problem is given by the fact that the populations of these cities are increasing at a faster rate than before and unless active efforts are taken right from now on the situation may go altogether out of control.

Temple Management

The Madras Hindu Religious and Charitable Endowments Bill which is now back in the State Legislative Assembly with the report of the Select Committee raises a few points which seem to require clarification. The object of the Bill, according to Shri M. Bhaktavatsalam, the Home Minister, is to consolidate the law relating to the administration and governance of Hindu religious and charitable institutions and endowments in the State. In actuality, however, the proposed legislation goes far beyond this professed objective and seeks to nationalize, so to say, the religious institutions and endowments. The Bill seeks to arm the Commissioner of Endowments with almost dictatorial powers and would thus render the management of Hindu religious institutions a departmental activity of the Government exposing it to the vicissitudes of party politics. True, the various temples and religious endowments are not all under ideal management, as occasional disclosures bear out, but it is doubtful whether the mere imposition of a number of bureaucrats with little or no connection with the people as managers can mean much improvement in the conduct of religious affairs. The experience with the various construction projects does not warrant such an assurance. It is not clear why the Government should seek to shoulder new responsibilities which it is patently unable to meet. The aim should rather be the supervision and regulation of the management of temples and religious endowments through responsible public bodies. The Bill further provides for the diversion of religious funds for other purposes which may not coincide with what the donors might have had in their minds when they had made the endowment. There may again be the constitutional question whether the State could actively associate itself with the propagation of a particular religious view which also forms part of the Bill.

Reserve Bank on Economic Developments

The Annual Report of the Central Board of Directors of the Reserve Bank for the year 1958-59 surveys the economic developments of the country during this period. The Report states that on the whole, the economic outlook of the country, which at about the beginning of the year was somewhat obscure, with doubts about the successful implementation of the revised targets of the Plan, showed a distinct improvement in the course of the year, an important contributory factor being the enlarged flow of foreign aid. The key-note of credit policy continued to be one of general restraint, with specific encouragement to sectors which stood in need of special assistance. The Bank continued to exercise restraint on credit through the selective credit controls and also through moral suasion. At the same time, the debt management policy was so operated as to absorb a substantial portion of the additional liquid reserves of the banking system. Progress was also made during the year in the spheres of expansion of commercial bank branches, co-operative credit and industrial finance.

The Report points out that during the year under review there was a marked slowing down of the rate of decline of foreign exchange reserves. The deficit in the Government budget also recorded a significant decline. A substantial increase in the output of food-grains was another feature of the year, though the food situation is still not free from anxiety. The rate of growth of industrial output, however, has been rather small, though in

the latter half of the year some improvement was discerned. The sharp decline in imports appears to have contributed to the slowing down of industrial production and investment in the Private Sector, though the rising trend of share prices suggested a revival of investors' confidence. Outlay on the Plan in the Public Sector, however, recorded a further rise. Overall economic activity, judging from such indicators as railway wagon loadings and bank debits, appears to have recorded a rise during the year.

As regards the price situation, the Report states that it continued to cause some concern during the greater part of the year. For the year as a whole, the net rise in whole-sale price nndex was 2.1 per cent (to 115.7 with 1952-53: base=100) as compared to a rise of 2.3 per cent in the preceding year. Referring to the rise in prices since April 1959, which is partly seasonal, the Board of Directors observes that the estimated record production of food-grains is not fully reflected in the price indices. This suggests, what is also borne out by *ad hoc* inquiries, that the flow of supplies to the markets has been affected to some extent by the announcement of introduction of State Trading in foodgrains. Bank finance has played hardly any role in this matter. Basically the output of foodgrains is insufficient for the needs of the economy and the importance of giving top priority to agricultural output in general and food output in particular cannot be over-emphasized. The Bank is making its contribution to this end by enlarging the flow of credit to the Rural Sector.

A relieving feature of the Indian economy during the year was the marked lessening of the strain on the country's balance of payments, the foreign assets of the Reserve Bank declining by only Rs. 21 crores as compared to Rs. 242 crores in 1957-58. The narrowing down of the current account deficit during the first nine months of the year under review was due entirely to the sharp reduction in private imports; export earnings were somewhat lower. In this connection, the Report states that in a developing economy, import cuts do not constitute an effective remedy for balance of payments difficulties in the long run; exports should be stepped up, which in practical terms means that the nation has to restrict consumption and render exports attrative to foreigners. Referring to external assistance, the Report says that the quantum of external assistance has shown a significant increase. However, the inflow of private foreign capital has continued to remain at a low-level in relation to foreign Governmental assistance and World Bank aid. The disappointingly small inflow of private foreign capital indicates the need for further efforts for creating a better climate for investment, including simplification of procedures.

In the monetary spheres, the main feature was the substantial rise in money supply as well as bank credit. Money supply with the public expanded by Rs. 452 crores during the accounting year of the Reserve Bank (July-June) as compared to Rs. 36 crores in 1957-58. The larger expansion during the year was principally due to (i) the substantial expansion in bank credit, and (ii) a marked decline in the balance of payments deficit which had been the main neutralising factor in the preceding two years. The banking situation continued to be characterised by a state of ample liquidity though during the busy season stringent conditions re-emerged. There was an expansion of Rs. 81 crores in scheduled bank credit in contrast to a contraction of Rs. 15 crores in 1957-58. Aggregate deposit liabilities rose by Rs. 234 crores, almost the entire increase, as in the previous year, being accounted for by time liabilities. A good part of the rise in deposits, as in the preceding year, represented the accrual to the U.S. Government's balance in India of counterpart funds arising from P L. 480 imports. The gilt-edged portfolio of scheduled banks recorded a rise of Rs. 149 crores.

During the year, the Reserve Bank's monetary and credit policy continued to be one of general restraint, bearing in mind the requirements of a developing economy. There was again no change in the Bank's lending rates. Open market operations were continuously employed to absorb the growing reserves of the banking system, and net sales of Government securities by the Reserve Bank amounted to Rs. 100 crores as compared to Rs. 70 crores in 1957-58. The selective credit control was continued in respect of advances against foodgrains and sugar with suitable modification; the control was extended to cover advances against groundnuts. The sharp expansion of credit in the busy season caused some concern, and banks were cautioned to go rather slow in the matter of credit expansion. In the last week of February, 1959, they were again asked to exercise restraint in the further expansion of cedit during the current busy season and to limit to a minimum their reliance on the Reserve Bank for funds. Nevertheless, net expansion in bank credit in 1958-59 busy season was as large as Rs. 182 crores. A circular was, accordingly, issued by the Governor of the Reserve Bank on June 15, 1959 following a general discussion with bankers, drawing attention to the imperative need of effecting a significant reduction of credit in the slack season, at least of Rs. 100 crores.

The Report states that the Reserve Bank continued to operate with flexibility its selective credit controls in the light of changing conditions of demand for and supply, of the relevant essential commodities. In September, 1958 the Bank tightened somewhat the restrictions on advances against wheat following a sharp rise in bank advances against this commodity in certain areas and the continued rise in wheat prices. In December, 1958, another directive was issued, which while continuing generally the existing structure of control on advances against all foodgrains, made a change in the method of calculating the ceiling limits on advances against them. Following the introduction of a limited programme of State Trading in foodgrains by different State Governments, the Bank modified the existing directives in order to regulate credit to the trade in accordance with the differing needs of the situation obtaining in the major States and also in conformity with seasonal changes in the demand for credit.

Selective credit controls, according to the Report, are not designed to correct the general inflationary pressures within the economy nor is their success to be judged precisely by the extent to which the prices of the relevant commodities have fallen; prices are dependent on various other factors bearing on the demand and supply position of the commodities. The controls, by arresting an undue expansion of credit in the busy season and accelerating its reduction in the slack season, may be expected to exercise only a limited, perhaps a marginal effect on prices, more particularly when banks have large liquid resources.

The selective credit control system as is exercised in this country has totally failed in its purpose. Several years ago, the Reserve Bank was much enthusiastic about this new type of credit control following the coming into force of the Banking Companies Act. It was held at that time that the general credit control system in an under-developed economy had only marginal importance in view of the abolition of the gold standard. The selective credit control system was adopted in India with the hope that by following qualitative system of credit control, the Reserve Bank would be able to control the volume of bank credit in this country. But notwithstanding resort to this weapon for the purpose of credit control, it is now well recognised that the selective credit control has belied the hopes once raised as to its efficacy. The main reason is that the volume of bank credit increases at a much faster rate than what can be controlled by the selective credit control.

The other drawback in the use of the selective credit control is that banks resort to the practice of dodging the nature of their loan operations so as to defeat the purpose of the selective credit control. Moreover, for the las several years while speculation has been wide spread among the dealers and as a result price are going up not so much due to the impact o demand but on account of the speculative pric increases by dealers, the repeated use o selective credit control has failed to retriev the position. Even the commercial banks coul not be controlled in the expansion of thei credit activities. Now it is quite disappointin to learn from the Central Board of Director that the selective credit control has only limite or marginal effect on prices. The traditiona weapons of credit control have now fallen int disuse because their effect on credit was re garded to be limited and marginal. But now to say the same thing about the selective credi control is to denounce the effectiveness of th selective credit control and to put it on th same category with that of the general credi control. In a backward economy where a great number of transactions takes place in non-

monetary ways, it is quite probable that any system of credit control, whether general or selective, is bound to result in a failure. But the Reserve Bank is no less responsible for such failure, in so far as it did not pursue with vigour its credit control policy. There must be some defect in the machinery of examining the accounts of the member-banks, otherwise the Reserve Bank could have detected the activities of the recalcitrant banks and disciplinary measures should have been adopted against them.

The Report refers to the emergence, in the course of the year, of a clearer prospect of the Second Plan which a year ago was rather obscure; the prospects of implementing the revised Second Plan in financial terms are now more assured. It would not seem, however, that the 25-27 per cent increase in national income that was expected on the Second Five-Year Plan is likely to be achieved. The Report, however, points out that the economy is likely to be subject to further strains and the problem of resources for the Plan continues to be a source of concern. An effort to secure even the rate of growth projected for the Second Plan would involve during the Third Plan period a high order of investment. While this conclusion seems to find ready and general acceptance, there appears to be insufficient appreciation of its implications in terms of the measure of internal effort and external assistance required for its successful accomplishment. Unless the requisite internal resources and foreign aid are forthcoming, much larger expenditure programmes are likely to jeopardise economic and monetary stability to the point of endangering their very fulfilment.

With rising national income, it should be possible to direct a progressively larger proportion of it into investment, but the task of mobilisation of resources is made difficult by the wide dispersion of new incomes of the mass of the population. Success in this task is conditioned on the one hand, but the organisational and administrative difficulties of the authorities and on the other, by the extent to which the constructive energies and enthusiasm of the people can be released and channelled into the service of development.

Even with the utmost intensification of domestic effort and improvement of exports, the country would have to depend, for some years to come, on foreign assistance on a substantial scale, until the economy reaches the stage of self-sustaining growth. In this context, the Report stresses the need for assessment from time to time, of policies and procedures with a view to stimulating the flow of private capital from abroad. The Report further observes that in the task of ensuring development with stability the keynote of the monetary policy would have to continue to be one of general restraint simultaneously with expansion of institutional facilities for provision of credit to specific sectors, in particular agriculture and small-scale industry.

India's coming need for further external monetary aid on a grand scale was stressed at the recent meeting of the Commonwealth Finance Ministers in London. The *Economist* says that financing India is likely to dominate Commonwealth finance and world finance still more in the sixties than it has done in the past few years.

New Pattern of Monetary Control

A thorough and impartial examination of the working of Britain's monetary system and of the complex issues of monetary policy has been made by the Radcliffe Committee whose report is recently published. The Committee was presided over by Lord Radcliffe. The last authoritative exposition of the monetary management was made by the Macmillan Committee in 1931. The Radcliffe Committee finds that the aims of economic policy are various and complex, but they mainly include a high and stable level of employment, stability of currency, economic growth, a contribution to oversea development, and improvement of international reserves. It considers that none of these aims has such pre-eminence that it can be pursued in isolation from others. There is, therefore, no single aim of policy by which all monetary policy can be conditioned, and a balance may have to be struck between them. Responsibility for striking the balance must lie, in the Committee's view, with the Government of the day.

The Government must also, for similar reasons, be responsible for the choice of the measures by which to pursue the aims of policy. These measures may be of three different kinds—direct controls, fiscal measures, and monetary measures. The Committee has not considered an examination of direct controls and fiscal measures as being within its terms of reference. It however makes it clear that all these three kinds of measures have their own advantages and disadvantages.

In the monetary field, the Committee thinks that the authorities must try to work primarily through the structure of interest rate rather than by quantitative controls, either of supply of money or of particular forms of credit. The main opportunity in this direction lies, the Committee thinks, in the management of the national debt, which the Committee sees as the chief domestic task of the central bank today.

Changes in interest rates do not, in the view of the Committee, have significant short-run effects on spenders and lenders and, particularly, on financial institutions. The Committee says that "the authorities should think of rates of interest—and particularly of long rates—as relevant to the domestic economic situation. The authorities should not aim at complete stability of interest rates. . . ." The Committee, however, adds that now that the economy has returned to a more normal level of monetary supply, the general effect of interest rate changes may be greater in the 1960s than in the previous decade.

The Committee goes on to say that "the authorities should be taking a view on long rates rather than on short, and should be using their power as managers of the national debt deliberately to forward an interest rate policy." The principle of debt management is to push the rate of interest to a level that is high enough to attract sufficient firm holders of the debt and is yet consistent with a balance between demand in the public and private sectors and available resources of the economy.

As regards the relations between external and domestic affairs, the Committee recognises that monetary policy in the 1950s has generally been dictated by the needs of the external situation. This points to the need to keep a surplus on current balance of payments sufficiently large to enable not only a higher rate of oversea investment but also an improvement of the reserve position. It should also be the aim of United Kingdom policy to strengthen the capacity of the International Monetary Fund to perform its task. The Committee believes that convertibility of the pound sterling should have been a main aim of post-war United Kingdom policy. On the functioning of the Sterling Areas, it says that in the interest of the United Kingdom it is necessary to maintain the existing arrangements.

In reviewing the position of the Bank of England, the Committee thinks that while the choice as to a balance among the aims of economic policy must rest with the Government of the day, the advice of the Bank of England is entitled to a very great weight. The Committee believes this to be, in substance, the present position, but thinks it should be made explicit. It therefore recommends that Bank Rate changes should be announced in the name, and on the authority, of the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

The Committee also recommends that the Chancellor should look for advice on monetary questions to a standing committee on monetary policy, on which the Treasury, the Bank of England, and the Board of Trade should be represented. And the Committee sees advantage in retaining the office of part-time director of the Bank of England. The Committee also makes recommendations of a largely technical character on the working of the monetary system. As for example, it recommends that it should be an aim of policy to reopen the London Issue Market to subordinate authorities in the Commonwealth as well as to Commonwealth Governments. It further states that in financing exports, the maximum period of cover of the Export Credit Guarantee Department should not be considered as unalterable and that the Government should consider setting

up an industrial guarantee corporation to guarantee loans for the commercial development of technical innovations. In its view there is no case for retaining a qualitative capital issue control of the kind operated in the 1950s.

The Radcliffe Committee seems to have struck a new note about the apparatus of control to be exercised by the Government. With the end of gold standard, it is quite perceivable that the volume of money today has an unlimited potentiality of expansion either by credit expansion by banks or by rapidity of its circulation or by both. Under the impact of these two influences and also on account of national projects for economic expansion, the State is called upon to create money for its own needs. Thus there is practically no limit to the expansion of volume of money and both the quantitative controls and the qualitative controls have failed to exercise any effective control over the state of monetary economy in a country.

The Radcliffe Committee therefore suggests that effective control can come only through varying the cost of borrowing whether by the banks or by the public. In the post-war period this point also was suggested by the U.S. Federal Reserve System and the two Committees appointed in the U.S.A. to go through the question of devising means for exercising effective control over the monetary system of the country. It is now fully realised that the traditional methods, like, open market operations or the Discount Rate policy of the Central Bank have marginal influence in exercising control over the monetary affairs of a country. Similarly, the qualitative control or the selective credit control has failed to bring about the desired result. The experience of the authorities in India will testify that neither the quantitative nor the qualitative method provides any real answer to monetary disequilibrium caused either by a resort to a deliberate inflationary policy on the part of the Government or by the speculative deals of the banking system and the public.

The higher cost of borrowing in the short-run period is only a stop-gap arrangement and it does not bring about a condition of long-period equlibrium. However, in order to control monetary upheavals during the short period, the Bank Rate policy still provides an effective machinery and this was shown in England by raising the Bank Rate to the high level of 8 per cent a few years ago. But the effect of a high Bank Rate can be sustained only for a short period and when the market rate comes down or the market borrowing falls, the Bank Rate must also be lowered. This system does not therefore eliminate the seasonal ups and downs in the economy of the country.

It is however certain that in a growing and developing economy, like that of India, monetary disequilibrium is bound to occur until and unless a state of comparatively full employment is reached. Therefore the suggestion of the Radcliffe Committee can be applied in India as regards the control of monetary disequilibrium in the country, but it has its own limitations. In an underdeveloped country consumer goods are in short supply owing to the rapid rise in the purchasing power of the people in the short period and as a result speculation becomes rampant and hoarding is encouraged with the help of bank credit. In an underdeveloped economy, therefore, both the cost of borrowing in the short period as well as in the long period should be higher. The excess purchasing power of the people can be channelled into investment in longperiod public debt, provided the rate of interest is much higher than the short-period rate. In India both the short-period rate and the long-period rate are almost on the same level and as a result money moves more in the short period having the benefit of liquidity as well as profitability. The Radcliffe Committee has hit the nail right by saying that through the management of public debt and its interest rate structures, the Government can wield an effective influence over the monetary system of the country.

Selling Justice

An example of how the democratic processes are being lowered in the public esteem by those who are in authority is provided by the recent amendment of the Court Fees Act by the Government of Bombay enhancing the court fees levied upon various types of civil suits and extending the scope of the operation of the law to hitherto unaffected matters such as constiutional writs, misfeasance summonses, etc. The Law Commission in its report has definitely come out against the practice of imposing court fees upon civil suits because it militates against one of the primary duties of the state which is to ensure justice and equality to all. As a measure of concession to the demand of the State Governments for revenue the Commission has suggested that if it is unavoidable in the interest of public administration to impose court fees the same should not exceed the amount which is just enough to meet the cost of judicial administration. It is common knowledge that in most States court fees levied are much in excess of this proportion. Just as the Parliament was considering the report of the Law Commission, the Bombay Government was quietly proceeding with the legislation for higher court fees. The Bombay Government's action raises the following questions among others: What is the utility of appointing national commissions of enquiry (such as the Law Commission), at the cost of the public exchequer if there is no desire to consider the formulation of national policies? If on the other hand, the formulation of a national policy is under consideration was it not wrong on the part of a State Government to take an action which contradicts the major recommendations of a national commission? The commissions of enquiry are a major democratic process to ascertain public opinion on important matters and their findings are accorded the greatest of respect in all democratic countries. The cavalier way in which major commissions and their recommendations are treated by the Central and State Governments indicate that either they do not always appoint the right men on right commissions so that the findings are inherently defective making their acceptance impossible or that while the commissions are right the Governments do not want to act upon their advice for political or economic reasons favouring the vested interests. In either case it is a dangerous attitude to take.

Void Elections

The unseating of Shri Devakanta Barua, Speaker of the Assam Legislative Assembly, because the nomination paper of Shri Khrushram Nath, who also wanted to contest that election, had been improperly rejected focusses attention on a qusetion which has all along been there namely, is there no way of preventing elections from being declared as void after years because of technical breaches on the part of the scrutinising authority? It is pertinent to ask why should a candidate, who has successfully contested an election at a great cost in money and physical effort, be put to the harassment of going through the process again when there has been no failure on his part? The usual answer, of course, is that the fellow who has been unfairly excluded from the contest must also have his legitimate chance. There is much weight behind this argument but it does not fully meet the question why a fellow should be punished because of another man's failure. Elections have been held in the United States of America and the United Kingdom for over a century almost at regular intervals. But cases of elections having been declared as void have been few, if at all., In India most of the cases of void elections arise out of the failure of the officials to handle the technicalities efficiently. In other words the failure is largely administrative which can be tackled by streamlining either the law or the administration or both.

Bhakra Tragedy and After

The accident on August 21, when the joint of a wall in the hoist chamber of the right diversion tunnel at the Bhakra Dam through which the Sutlej was flowing gave away, resulting in the flooding of the hoist chamber, the galleries and the power-house where the erection of turbines and generators—the biggest of their type in Asia—was in progress, has turned out to be of a far more serious nature than had originally been thought of. The power-house remains inundated with equipment worth Rs. 2.5 crores lying submerged even twenty days after the mishap—though the experts had declared a seven-day time-limit as the safe period for

some of the highly sensitive machinery. The Union Minister for Irrigation and Power, Shri Hafiz Mohammad Ibrahim told the Lok Sabha on August 23 that the loss would not exceed Rs. 55 lakhs. He reiterated this assurance on the floor of the House again on September 2. However, apart from the direct loss caused to the Project it may also prove a set-back to the supply of about 40,000 killowatts of electricity to Delhi from Bhakra-Nangal system between December, 1960 and March, 1961. Further, it may entail a loss of Rs. 1 lakh a day to the Nangal fertilizer factory unless the left bank power-plant is commissioned according to schedule.

Until the hoist chamber is dried up the causes of the accidents, to ascertain which an Expert Committee has been appointed, cannot be known. Meanwhile, the country is eager to be assured that no effort is being spared to get the task of repair done at the speediest and the most economical manner. The unfortunate controversy between the American expert, Mr. Harvey Slocum and the authorities has been a mystery to the lay public who fail to understand what could have led to the sudden eruption of such temperamental difference between the engineer and the Project Administration on the resolution of which much valuable time has been wasted.

It is, however, heartening to know that the Bhakra Control Board, which is vested the supreme powers for the construction of the Project, has finalised measures to restore normal conditions at the dam and satisfactory arrangements have been made for starting the "operation repair" without further delay. The measures envisage, among other things, the closure of the right diversion tunnel to achieve which foreign exchange worth Rs. 45 lakhs will be placed at the disposal of the Bhakra Dam Administration to buy essential equipment and material and the administration has been released from the obligation to follow normal procedures for making purchases, etc. The General Manager has been given wider financial powers and has also been authorized to pay bonus or cash rewards to the workmen employed on the jobs connected with the emergency. Mr. Slocum is hopeful without being complacent. Let us also hope for the best.

Bifurcation of Bombay

The Indian National Congress has almost made up its mind over the division of Bombay into two States: Maharashtra and Gujerat with the city of Bombay going to Maharashtra. Some had predicted that the division would take place even before the new year the only difficulty being a consideration of the proposal for the creation of a separate State of Vidarbha with the former Madhya Pradesh areas of Bombay. Opinion is still in favour of one Maharastra State including Vidarbha and Bombay. The unwisdom of tagging of Maharashtra and Gujerat into an enforced unity was freely commented upon at the time of reorganization of States in 1956, but the Congress leaders did not consider it necessary to pay any heed to the wise counsel of dispassionate public leaders and went on with their scheme of a united State of Gujerat and Maharashtra which in turn resulted in the spilling of much innocent blood. The increasing unpopularity of the Congress in both Gujerat and Maharashtra none of whom is happy at this unwanted union has at last forced the Congress to see reason. It is nevertheless better late than never and the bifurcation by removing an absurdity would be highly welcome to all Indians.

Dentists and Democracy

The victory of the American dentists in the tussle between the American Dental Association and the Mayor (and indirectly, the State Government) of New York over the right of use of the ball-room of the Waldorf Astoria Hotel in the city on Thursday is a reaffirmation of the democratic rights of the American citizens. The American Dental Association had booked the ball-room four years in advance to hold its centennial convention there on September 17, 1959. When it was agreed that M. Khruschev, the Soviet Prime Minister and Party leader, would come to the USA the Mayor of the City of New York decided, as was only to be expected on such occasions, to hold a reception

luncheon in honour of the Soviet dignitary. Invitation cards were issued apparently without having any consultation with either the hotel authorities or the managers of the American Dental Association. Soon it was found that the two programmes clashed. Then pressure was brought to bear upon the Association through the Mayor, the State Department and even through Vice-Prsiedent Nixon to agree to shift meeting to some other place. But the Association, secure in the belief of the strength of its democratic rights no less than in consideration of the inconvenience of hundreds of its members who would be coming from all parts of the country and all of whom might not get the intimation of the change of the venue in time, refused to budge from its stand and insisted upon its right to use the ball-room. We do not see in this episode any disrespect to Mr. Khruschev but only a rebuff to those who have taken upon themselves the task of arranging the reception for their incompetence. In India where people are put to inconvenience almost daily at one place or another for no other earthly reason than the convenience of a VIP (incredible as it may appear—the convocation of jute technology students has been held over for six years on this very ground), the conduct of the American Dental Association may appear as a revolt but it would give pleasure to all genuine democrats throughout the world as a firm rebuff to bureaucratic incompetence.

India and China

The seriousness of the deterioration of India-China relationship came to the fore over the exchanges between the Governments of the two countries over the determination of the boundary line between them. The dispute involves about 40,000 square miles of Indian territory which China claims to be her own. This development has come as a great shock to the people of India who have all along looked upon the people of China as their friends. Legalistically speaking China may be right in claiming that she had never recognised the MacMahon line, but as the Indian Prime Minister has so ably pointed out, China's unwillingness to ratify the Simla Convention between India, China and Tibet did not rest upon her objection to the drawing of the boundary between Tibet and India along what is known as the MacMahon line, but upon her objection to the line of demarcation between inner Tibet and outer Tibet as drawn up by the convention. Moreover the Simla Convention took place nearly forty-six years ago. During these forty-six years India has unquestionably been in possession of the territory south of MacMahon line. If China now lays a claim to the ownership of this territory it is not only against International morality but definitely smacks of an evil design. This does not mean that India should be unwilling to discuss minor adjustments of the boundary line between the two countries and we are glad to note that the Government of India has unmistakably indicated its readiness to do so.

Chinese Cabinet Reshuffle

The Cabinet reshuffle in China which was announced on September 17, closely following upon the extended plenum of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party may have a special significance though its character is not very clear to the outsiders. The major changes affect the defence and public security forces. Marshal Peng Teh-huai, once described as the "brain" behind Chu Teh and undoubtedly one of the most remarkable generals of the People's Liberation Army of China, has been relieved of his duties as Defence Minister—the post having gone to Marshal Lin Piao, the "one-eyed" general who is stated to have never lost a battle in his career. In the other case Lo Jui-Chiang, Vice-Premier and Minister for Public Security, has been asked to take up the position of the Chief of Staff of the Chinese Army in the place of Mr. Huang Ke-Cheng. The new Minister for Public Security is Mr. Hsieh Fu-chih. That this sudden reshuffle of the Cabinet cannot be without particular reasons would be apparent if it is recalled that it was only about four months ago that the newly elected Chinese Parliament (The National Peoples' Congress) had approved

of the ministerial nominations. The communique issued at the end of the recent session of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party mentioned some criticisms about the economic affairs and the management of Communes, but there was no criticism of the army or the public security organs. The appointment of Lo Ju-ching, a top party organizer, as Chief of Army Staff is however, undoubtedly symbolic of the party's decision to tighten party control and discipline within the army.

The Other Face of China

For some time now there has been a new and aggressive mood in China's dealings with her neighbours. *The New York Times* of August 30, had given a summary which we think would be useful to put before our readers now, and therefore, we append extracts below:

Periodically throughout the post-war era, Chinese Communist expansionist pressures have precipitated armed conflict in the Far East and raised the threat of a major war. The three principal arenas of conflict have been Korea, Vietnam, and the Taiwan Strait. In the first two, military truces brought fighting to a standstill. In the Taiwan Strait, an uneasy and undeclared truce, broken by intermittent shelling from the China mainland, has prevailed for almost a year.

Last week there were mounting signs that the Communists were planning new probing ventures—and possibly aggressions—at widely scattered points in Asia. Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru announced that Chinese troops had penetrated the Indian border at two points more than a thousand miles apart. In the South-east Asian kingdom of Laos, Communist guerrillas pressed their offensive against the Government and the United States responded with emergency aid to Laos. The Chinese Communists renewed their shelling in the Taiwan Strait.

Peiping's intentions, and the reason for the timing of the new incidents, remained a mystery. The conflict with India was especially perplexing in view of Mr. Nehru's attempts to avoid antagonizing Communist China and to keep clear of alliance with the West. Some observers thought the incidents might represent an attempt to stir up trouble on the eve of the talks between President Eisenhower and Premier Khrushchev. But among the unknown factors was whether Peiping was acting in defiance of Moscow. Announcement by Peiping of a drastic downward revision in earlier published figures of its economic achievements raised questions about a possible connection between internal pressures and the border ventures.

In any event, a new period of tension seemed to have opened in the Far East.

We find in the same issue the summary, of which part is quoted below, of the Indo-Chinese relations:

India's Prime Minister Jawarharlal Nehru once expressed his attitude towards Communist China thus: "I am convinced that the only thing the people of China want is peace. . . . There is only one thing right and practical, which is to recognize co-existence. . . . . We can only hope that the people of China will co-operate in this objective."

In the ten years since the Communists overran the Chinese mainland, Mr. Nehru has worked hard to win Chinese co-operation. He was among the first to recognize Communist China and to champion Peiping's claim to a seat in the United Nations. He feted Chinese Communist leaders at New Delhi and was feted in return at Peiping. He used his influence at the Afro-Asian conference at Bandung, Indonesia, in 1955 to have Communist China accepted as a respectable member of international society. He shunned regional military alliances and deplored the division of the world into two power blocs.

Despite professions of friendship and good-will on both sides, and undeclared rivalry for the leadership of Asia has existed between the world's two most populous nations. Each has sought to achieve dominant influence in Asia.

In recent months, Sino-Indian relations have cooled perceptibly. Peiping's supression of the Tibetan revolt last spring produced a wave of protest throughout

India—and the rest of non-Communist Asia. Indians called Tibet "Asia's Hungary." Peiping denounced the Indian protests as "imperialist" and Mr. Nehru accused Communist China of using "the language of the cold war."

Soon thereafter, the Prime Minister found himself in trouble at home with the Indian Communist movement. Last month Mr. Nehru acted to put a halt to Communist excesses in the state of Kerala. He dissolved the local Communist government there to avoid "a holocaust" and denounced India's Communists as lackeys of the international Communist movement.

In recent weeks attention in India has focused on another from of Communist pressure—this time along the 2,500-mile Sino-Indian frontier in the Himalayas. The mountain barrier, sometimes called "India's northern wall," is dotted with small border states, some independent, others semi-independent or disputed territories. Indians have been incensed by the fact that Communist China has circulated maps in Asia showing sections of the border states of Nepal, Bhutan, Sikkim, the North-East Frontier and Ladakh as part of China proper.

The Indian press for some time also has reported armed Chinese incursions at scattered points along the "northern wall." Unofficially it was known that India had protested these incidents to Peiping. New Delhi, however, tended to minimize the incidents on the ground that the areas were wild and untracked and that the incursions may have been made in error. But recently Delhi has grown concerned at the increasing border pressure.

Two weeks ago Peiping hinted that Bhutan and Sikkim were part of Tibet and therefore Chinese. Bhutan reported that the Chinese Communists were massing military forces along the Bhutan-Tibetan frontier.

Last Tuesday Mr. Nehru said in Parliament, "I cannot imagine any foreign authority doing anything (to) infringe (the) sovereignity of . . . . Sikkim and Bhutan. . . . . We shall certainly defend them against intrusion." The Parliament thundered approval.

Then, on Friday, Mr. Nehru stunned India with the announcement that Chinese troops had penetrated the Indian border in the north-east frontier area. Mr. Nehru gave this account of the incident.

The Trouble in Laos

There is a U.N. delegation in Laos, on a "fact-finding" mission, but as yet we have no definite news about the situation in the forest-girt frontier regions. The position at the beginning of September was summed up as follows by *The New York Times* on September 6:

Fighting in the Laotian provinces along the border of Communist North Vietnam intensified last week. The hostilities appeared to be building toward the most serious armed conflict on the Asian mainland since the Indo-China war ended in a truce five years ago. Laos proclaimed a state of emergency and appealed to the United Nations to intervene—raising the spectre of another Korea with similar international implications.

These are thumbnail sketches of the two countries directly involved:

Laos: A kingdom of 89,000 square miles in the heart of South-east Asia dotted with jungle-covered gorges and peaks. Buddhist temples and villages of thatched-roofed, bamboo houses. Laos has about 3,000,000 people. The Royal Laotian Army is composed of 25,000 men and 16,000 village guards. Non-Communist Asia and the West have high stakes in Laos. Its fall to the Communists would shatter South-east Asian security and put new Communist pressure on Laos' neighbors, neutralist Burma and Cambodia and pro-Western Thailand and South Vietnam. Although the U. S. has no formal military alliance with Laos, Washington is all but committed to the kingdom's defense through the South-east Asia Collective Defense Treaty, known as SEATO, which carries a protocol implying protection of Laos, Cambodia, and South Vietnam against "armed aggression." The U. S. has been providing Laos with about $30,000,000 annually in military aid, and the week before last Washington announced an "emergency" airlift of small arms to Laos.

North Vietnam: A "Democratic Republic" on the Chinese Communist model, of 62,000 square miles and 13,000,000 people. North Vietnam was forged in the crucible of the Indo-China war which ended with the partition of the country into North and South Vietnam. The North Vietnamese Army is believed to consist of 150,000 regular troops and 150,000 auxiliaries—the force, trained and equiped by Communist China, which defeated the French at Dienbienphu five years ago. The country is tied to the Communist bloc by ideology, backed by the Communist propaganda apparatus and the recipient of heavy Chinese Communist military aid.

Fighting erupted on the Laotian-North Vietnam frontier on last July. It began when Laotian Communists, armed and led by North Vietnamese officers and operating under the cover of the monsoon rains, moved across the border into the Laotian provinces of Samneua and Phongsaly. The assault units, totalling about 3,500 guerrillas, staged hit-and-run attacks on Government posts.

Khruschev and Eisenhower's Communique

The text of the communique is:

"The Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R., Mr. N. S. Khrushchev, and President Eisenhower have had a frank exchange of opinions at Camp David.

"In some of these conversations the U.S. Secretary of State, Mr. Herter, and the Soviet Foreign Minister, Mr. Gromyko, as well as other officials from both countries, participated.

"The Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R., and the President have agreed that these discussions have been useful in clarifying each other's position on a number of subjects. The talks were not undertaken to negotiate issues.

"It is hoped, however, that their exchanges of views will contribute to a better understanding of the motives and position of each, and thus to the achievement of a just and lasting peace.

"The Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R., and the President of the U.S.A., agreed that the question of general disarmament is the most important one facing the world today. Both Governments will make every effort to achieve a constructive solution of this problem.

"In the course of the conversations, an exchange of views took place on the question of Germany, including the question of a peace treaty with Germany, in which the positions of both sides were expounded.

"With respect to the specific Berlin question, an understanding was reached, subject to the approval of the other parties directly concerned, that negotiations would be reopened with a view to achieving a solution which would be in accordance with the interests of all concerned and in the interests of the maintenance of peace.

"In addition to these matters, useful conversations were held on a number of questions affecting the relations between the U.S.S.R., and the U.S.A. The subjects included the question of trade between the two countries. With respect to an increase in exchanges of persons and ideas, substantial progress was made in discussions between officials and it is expected that certain agreements will be reached in the near future.

"The Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R., and the President of the U.S.A., agreed that all outstanding international questions should be settled, not by the application of force, but by peaceful means through negotiation.

"Finally, it was agreed that an exact date for the return visit of the President to the Soviet Union next spring would be arranged through diplomatic channels."

Post-Meeting Messages

London, Sept. 28.—Mr. Khrushchev said today the present time could become a time of peace and progress provided outstanding issues were solved on the basis of peaceful co-existence. "There is no other solution", he told a Moscow rally.

Mr. Khrushchev, quoted by Moscow Radio, was speaking shortly after his return from a 13-day visit to the U.S.A.

He told workers gathered at Moscow's Palace of Sports that there was no place in the 20th century for international relations more fitted to the times when man was not far removed from animals.

The Soviet Government had realized this a long time ago and therefore had suggested summit meetings for settling international questions.

Before leaving Washington Mr. Khrushchev, in a farewell message, said: "There are many outstanding issues between us but let us rather not return to the past, but do all we can for the future.

"I hope that in the relationship between our two countries we will be able to use more and more often that good, short American word okay."

Mr. Khrushchev also sent a message to President Eisenhower thanking him and the Americans for their "warm reception" in the U.S.A.

The Soviet Prime Minister sent the message from his airliner carrying him from Washington to Moscow.

The message, quoted by *Tass*, said: "Crossing the boundary of the U.S.A. I beg you, Mr. President, to accept on behalf of my family and persons accompanying me, also on my own behalf, cordial gratitude for the invitation to visit your country and for the warm reception extended to us by you personally and by the American people.

"Our acquaintance with the life of American people was highly interesting and useful.

"The exchange of opinions on the most important international problems and on questions of Soviet-American relations has shown that the trend towards undertaking the efforts required to call off the cold war, the creation of a climate of confidence, mutual understanding between our countries is on the ascendency. Our meetings will definitely help to ease international tension, to strengthen the cause of universal peace.

"I thank you sincerely once more, Mr. President, and the American people for your hospitally.

"We assure you that the Soviet people and the Soviet Government in their turn will extend to you as hospitable a reception when you come to the Soviet Union.

"I wish you, Mr. President, your wife, your son, your wonderful grand-children, with whom it was so easy for me to agree on the time of your visit to the U.S.S.R., to all of your family, happiness and well-being. I wish happiness and prosperity to the entire American people."—*Reuter*.

C.P.I. Calcutta Resolution

We give the following report from *The Statesman*:

The Communist Party's Central Executive on Saturday advised China not to insist on its own map and India not to insist on the McMahon Line in determining Sino-Indian border.

While the Executive emphasized the necessity for negotiation for a settlement of the dispute, it has failed to define the basis for such negotiation.

The resolution, adopted after five days' sitting in Calcutta, mentioned, however, that the basis "already exists in the statements made by representatives of the two countries." It referred to Mr. Nehru's letter to Mr. Chou En-lai on March 22 and the Chinese National People's Congress Resolution adopted on September 13.

The Executive Committee's attitude may be interpreted as a compromise between the two conflicting opinions in the committee over Sino-Indian border disputes.

The importance of the situation in Indian politics, particularly in view of the impending elections in Kerala, is understood to have persuaded the extreme section to relent to a compromise which was reached on the last day.

Some members held the view that the situation in Indian politics needed a categorical declaration from the Indian Communist Party over India's territorial integrity and the party's attitude to the question. This section wanted to support more or less the stand taken by Mr. Nehru. The other section held that the party need not declare the McMahon Line to be the border between India and China because its acceptance would immediately indict China as an aggressor.

The final resolution, it seems, has sought to accommodate the two views. It says: "The Central Executive Committee takes the opportunity to reiterate emphatically that our Party stands with the rest of the people for the territorial integrity

of India and it shall be second to none in safeguarding it."

It adds: "But the Committee is confident that Socialist China can never commit aggression against India just as our country has no intention of agression against China."

The Committee has not defined the Sino-Indian border because "certain admittedly vital differences" arose from the fact that the "areas involved have never been properly surveyed or delineated."

The Committee appreciated Mr. Nehru's constructive approach and also the Chinese National People's Congress' attitude. It was confident that the situation was bound to improve, leading to a solution of the border problems, if negotiations started.

Deploring the recent border incidents and disputes between the two countries, the resolution stated that these were a matter of serious concern not only for India's people but for all peace-loving Asians. Any weakening of Sino-Indian friendship, which was a cornerstone of Afro-Asian solidarity, would be a serious blow to the forces of world peace.

The Executive Committee noted that the "unfortunate situation" was being exploited by the U.S.A., other imperialist circles and extreme reactionaries in India. While the imperialists wanted to draw India into their net, the "inveterate enemies of the country's foreign policy," among whom were leaders of the P.S.P., the Jan Sangh and the Swatantra Party, were trying to wreck the Panch Sheel and India's foreign policy of non-alignment.

Moreover, interested people were attempting to magnify the border incidents to divert people's attention from the problems of their life, to disrupt and suppress the country's democratic movement and to incite people against the Communist Party.

The Executive considered that Sino-Indian relations had begun deteriorating after recent events in Tibet. The Dalai Lama's activities "in utter defiance of all established international usages and through gross abuse of the situation."

The resolution warned the people against attempts to "whip up war hysteria" by exaggerating border incidents and endorsed Mr. Nehru's appeal to fight the "war psychosis" in the country.

Labor Bill in the U. S. Senate

Organised Labour, if led by unscrupulous persons, can become a major menace to the fundamental rights of the common citizen. If given sufficient scope it can curtail the liberties of all, and become a power for evil as the following extract from the September 6, issue of *The New York Times* shows:

Last Wednesday afternoon the House was debating a minor bill when Rep. Graham A. Barden, North Carolina Democrat, rushed in and announced, "I take this moment to inform the House, believe it or not, that we have agreed on a labor bill; and, may I add, all of the conferees survived." There were loud cheers from both sides of the aisle.

The new bill—the first major labor legislation since the Taft-Hartley Act in 1947, the second since the National Labor Relations (Wagner) Act in 1935—was achieved after a twelve-day bargaining struggle in a Senate-House conference committee. Pressure for a labor-reform bill had been mounting ever since the McClellan committee began disclosing evidence of union corruption more than two years ago. In April, the Senate had passed a labor bill sponsored by Senator John F. Kennedy, Massachusetts Democrat; last month the House approved a tougher version sponsored by Representative Phil Landrum, Georgia Democrat, and Robert Griffin, Michigan Republican.

The conferees' problem was to compromise the differences between the two bills. In the end they adopted most of the provisions of the Landrum-Griffin bill, but largely at the behest of Senator Kennedy and the other Northern Democrats, they incorporated modifying provisions from the Kennedy bill. Thursday the Senate passed the bill 95 to 2; Friday the House approved it 352 to 52. In Scotland, President Eisenhower said he was "very pleased."

These are the major areas of union and management affairs with which the bill deals and labor's main criticism:

Union reform: Unions must file regular financial reports, disclose administrative pro-

dures, bar former convicts from office. Rank-and-file members are protected against leadership abuses through a "bill of rights" guaranteeing freedom of speech, periodic secret elections and similar rights. Criminal penalties for violations are provided. The unions maintain the bill of rights opens the way for employer stooges, crackpots or Communists to disrupt union processes.

No-man's land: There are many labor disputes over which the National Labor Relations Board has jurisdiction but which it will not handle because the number of workers involved is too small. Since the states have been barred from handling such cases, they have fallen into a kind of "no-man's land" of law. The new bill permits state labor agencies and state courts to take jurisdiction over "no-man's land" cases and apply state law to them. The unions oppose this provision because state labor laws are not uniform—which means unions will be subject to a variety of conflicting regulations, and because state courts generally have wider injunctive powers in labor disputes than Federal courts.

Secondary boycotts: The secondary boycott is an effort by a union to put pressure on one employer by action against another with whom he deals. The Taft-Hartley Act bars the secondary boycott but there are loopholes in the law. Under one loophole, the International Brotherhood of Teamsters refuses to handle cargoes to or from firms involved in labor disputes; this is embodied in Teamster contracts as the "hot cargo" clause. The new bill outlaws the hot cargo clause with certain exceptions for the garment and construction industries. The bill also closes other secondary boycott loopholes.

Labor feels in some cases the secondary boycott should be legal. For example, a group of workers might want to write in their contract a clause preventing management from purchasing anything from a supplier who refuses to hire union labor. Under the new bill, this is illegal.

Picketing: The bill outlaws organizational and recognition picketing (1) if the employer has validly recognized another union, (2) if the employer has held an N.L.R.B. election within the preceding twelve months. But such picketing might be considered legal if the employer had engaged in unfair labor practices during the election or in the process of recognizing the other union.

How much will the new bill actually hurt the unions? The consensus of labor observers is that it will make new organizing far more difficult, which will hit weak unions like the textile, chemical and white collar groups. But, it was noted, these groups have been making almost no headway so the effect of the bill on them is expected to be somewhat academic. Strong unions, according to these observers, will scarcely be affected by the bill. This includes the Teamsters, which Congress was most anxious to shackle. The Teamsters' economic power is so great that many employers are believed likely to knuckle under rather than try to use the new law to frustrate the Teamsters.

The Passing of Bandaranaike

Another patriot and sincere adherent of true democracy has fallen to the assassim's bullet. We quote the following from *The Statesman*:

Colombo, Sept. 26.—Mr. Bandaranaike, who was shot in the abdomen by a Buddhist monk at his residence yesterday, died peacefully in his sleep, induced by sedatives, at 8 a.m. today,

He woke thrice during the night. Once he asked for water. The second time he asked about the condition of his assailant.

Mrs. Bandaranaike and their three children were at his bedside in the General Hospital when he died. It was earlier reported that the Premier's pulse and blood pressure were improving, this giving cause for hope, according to hospital sources. But the end came suddenly.

Mr. Bandaranaike was cheerful to the very end. When the Governor-General visited him at 7 this morning, the Premier told him he would not be able to make his trip to the U.N. and asked him to cancel it.

His doctors said he was very brave and courageous. At 7-35 a.m. he asked his wife: "Sirima, why did that fellow shoot me? Was he really a Buddhist monk?"

Mr. Bandaranaike's body will be in-

terred at his ancestral home in Horogolle, 20 miles from Colombo on Thursday. His remains will lie in State in the House of Representatives from Monday to Wednesday.

P.T.I. adds: Milling crowds wended slowly their way this afternoon to Rosemead Place where the body of Mr. Bandaranaike lay in State for his countrymen to pay their last homage.

According to hospital sources, the Prime Minister had the following wounds:

A bullet wound in the left wrist; an entry wound in the right side of the body below the armpit, and an exit wound on the left side near the ninth rib (the bullet is stated to have pierced the liver and spleen and to have perforated the stomach and the intestine in three places); a wound in the chest; an entry wound just below the navel (this bullet perforated the caecum, the junction of the large and small intestines in about four or five places.)

It is thought that the Premier, who recently got rid of the Marxist elements in his Government, was not assassinated for personal motives. His assassin, who was identified as a Lecturer in Indigenous Medicine at the Government Hospital, had boasted that there would soon be a new Government. The monk had often been associated with politically inspired acts of rowdyism.

Simultaneously with the broad-cast by Mr. Dahanayake, appealing to the nation to "do whatever little they could to protect our country," a *Gazette Extraordinary* was issued empowering the security forces to arrest any person without a warrant, search any premises and take into custody any article or person in the public interest.

The Moon and Lunik II

The following news is put on record.

Moscow, Sept. 14.—The Soviet rocket Lunik II has hit the moon, according to officials of the Moscow Planetarium.

The giant radio-telescope at Jodrell Bank, Cheshire, tonight heard the end of signals from Lunik II, suggesting it had hit the moon.

The time was 2½ minutes past 22.00 hours (British summer time).

There was wild excitement in the radio telescope station as the signals stopped and Pressmen raced to give the first news to the world.

The high-pitched signals had come through loudly and clearly since 18-00 G.M.T., when the tracking of Lunik II had been resumed.

The news was given to a cheering crowd outside the Moscow Planetarium shortly after mid-night.

For 20 minutes before the rocket hit the moon radio receivers at the Planetarium had failed to register signals of any strength.

The signals then began to fade badly and shortly afterwards were inaudible altogether. From then on all that could be heard was a lashing noise like an express train.

The Hirakud Project

The Statesman gives the following report:

New Delhi, Sept. 25.—At a high-level meeting here today, the Centre persuaded the Orissa Government to take over the control of the Hirakud project from April 1, next year.

Today's conference was attended by the Orissa Chief Minister, Dr. Mahatab, the Union Minister for Irrigation and Power, Hafiz Mohammed Ibrahim, his Deputy, Mr. Jaisukhlal Hathi and a large number of Union and State officials.

Hirakud is the only multi-purpose project in India built entirely by the Centre. Now that it is almost complete, the Irrigation and Power Ministry has been anxious that Orissa should accept the responsibility of its administration.

The main dam and the power house at Hirakud are ready but the Orissa Government, it is understood, wants to accept the charge only after a second power house at Chhiplima has been completed. This would have spared it the problem of immediately raising finances for Chhiplima and deferred the transfer by at least two years.

NOTICE

On account of the Durga Puja Holidays The Modern Review Office and Press will remain closed from 8th October to 21st, October, both days included. All business accumulating during the period will be transacted after the holidays.

Kedarnath Chatterji,
Editor

ANCIENT INDIAN REPUBLICS

A Study in Retrospect

By Prof. C. V. R. RAO, M.A.

The decade with which the latter half of the twentieth century begins may rightly be called the Age of Republics in that it has seen the dissolution of many monarchies and imperialisms, mainly on the continents of Asia and Africa, resulting in the set up of democratic Governments. The tradition which Megasthenes, in the fourth century B.C., records of the Ancient Indian States that 'Sovereignty was dissolved and democratic Government set up in the cities',[1] rightly applies to the modern nations of the world. The recent Middle-East crisis also originated in the effort of a people to displace the monarchic form of Government that has been there for a long time, with a republican one. It is indisputable that India, by winning her independence and declaring herself a republic after a heroic struggle with the British imperialism for well-nigh a century, gave a lead in rousing this spirit of republicanism among the Asian and the African peoples; and this is in fitness with her ancient republican traditions.

An account of Ancient Indian Republics constitutes an interesting chapter in the Constitutional History of Ancient India. A knowledge of the history of these republics will certainly convince one that the republican or democratic tradition is not alien to the genius of Indian polity. Of course, in Ancient India, this republican tradition did not express itself in such clear terms as it did in the West, in Ancient Greece or Italy. One serious handicap that confronts a student of these Ancient Indian Republics is the paucity of historical material which when compared with the abundance of authentic information that their counterparts in the West possess will be all the more glaring. All that we know about the Indian Republican states is gleaned indirectly from the scrappy references made to them by Greek historians, from certain grammatical rules we find in Panini and his commentators, from religious literature, mainly Jain and Buddhist, and from certain seals and coins available to us and issued by these states. With all the short comings that the subject has the research during the past fifty years of scholars and Indologists like Dr. Jayaswal, D. R. Bhandarkar, Dr. R. C. Majumdar, Dr. U. N. Ghoshal, Dr. A. S. Altekar and a host of others has given us enough material for a connected and presentable history of these ancient institutions.

A note of caution before we take up the history of these ancient institutions: we cannot expect to read into the constitutions and structures of these ancient republics many of the political and legal principles which a modern republic such as our own connotes; if one does the only justification of it will be one's love to give one's own past an added glory in terms of the present. But with the theoretic background and historical evidence we have at our disposal we can certainly describe these ancient Indian states as republics in the same sense in which the ancient states of Greece and Italy were given that designation. At best they were non-monarchical or kingless states (Virats) with a varying degree of sovereign power vested in the popular element, be it the people, representatives of the people, heads of families or guilds or clans, to be brief, with the sovereign power vested not in a single person as in a monarchy, but in a group of persons, more or less numerous.

Ancient Indian Republics definitely came into existence in the post-Vedic period (1000 B.C.). The Vedic form of Government was normally monarchical. But in the Rigveda we come across terms, for example *gana* and *ganapuraka*, which in later times were undoubtedly applied to non-monarchical constitutions; and 'it is not impossible that there were even in this early period the germs of the republican states of the type we meet with in early Buddhist times'.[2]

'Gana' and 'Samgha' are the technical names by which the Hindus designated their republics. At one time the view was expressed that these terms did not indicate a form of Government, but a tribe. But this view is no longer tenable and 'there is ample evidence to

1. *Arian*, Chap. IX.

2. V. M. Apte: *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, Vol. I, p. 352.

show that even if we grant the Malavas and the Yaudheyas (two republican peoples) were tribes they had also a republican form of Government'.[3] Panini (500 or 700 B.C.) differentiating between the meanings of the words 'Samgha' and 'Samghata' says that the word 'Samgha' is in the meaning of 'gana'. In the *Avadanasataka* we have the story that to a query from a ruler of Dakshinapatha, merchants from Madhyadesa reply that 'some countries are under kingly auhority and some under the republican authority.' (*Deva kechiddesa ganadhinah kechidrajadhinah*). The Jaina work *Acharanga Sutra* mentions the republican State (*gana rayani*) as one of the states which a Jaina monk should try to avoid. In Santiparvan, Chapter 107, of the Mahabharata there is an interesting discussion between Yudhishthira and Bhishma as to the respective causes which contribute to the welfare or downfall of the republics. (*Ganah pravardhante na bhidyante*). Thus there are numerous instances in our ancient literature where *Samgha* and *gana* definitely refer to a non-monarchical form of government. This is also corroborated by the Greek historians on Alexander's campaigns, who refer to many forms of non-monarchical states in Ancient India and the care with which they distinguish between non-monarchical and monarchical states makes quite untenable the view held by some scholars that the high imagination of the Greeks made them to see Hellenistic forms of government in the institutions of this country.

Kautilya in his Arthasastra divides the *Samghas* into two classes. 1. Rajasabdopajivin Samghas and 2. Vartasastropajivin Samghas, (same as the *Audhajivi Samghas* of Panini). There is a difference of opinion among scholars on the exact connotation of this nomenclature. After a thorough discussion of the different opinions, Dr. Ghoshal suggests that Vartasastropajivin Samgha signifies 'an organised body of men combining the arts of peace and war' and that Rajasabdopajivin Samgha signifies 'a political community applying the royal title to its single (or multiple) executive head'.[4]

In narrating the history of the various republics it is convenient to start from North-western India and come to North-eastern India, as these were the zones in which republics flourished in historic times. The Punjab and the Indus Valley were pre-eminently the land of republics from 500 B.C. to 400 A.D. Unfortunately in the case of some of these republics we know nothing beyond their names luckily preserved in the rules of some grammarians. To this category belong the Vrikas, the Damani, the Parsva, the Kamboja and a confederation of six states known as Trigartashashta, all of which are mentioned by Panini. The Kasika, composed about a thousand years after Panini, gives these six states of the Trigartashastha as (1) Kaundoparatha, (2) Dandaki, (3) Kraushtaki, (4) Jalamani, (5) Brahmagupta and (6) Janaki. Certain coins of the first century B.C. with the legend *trakata-janapadasa* in Brahmi and Kharoshti have been attributed to Trigartas.

Among those republics left with a tangible history the Arjunayanas flourished in the region lying West of Agra and Mathura about the Bharatpur and Alwar states of Rajputana from C. 200 B.C. to C. 400 A.D. Their coins, belonging to the closing decades of the first century B.C., bear the legend '*arjunayananam jayah*', in Brahmi script. The Arjunayanas seem to have grown powerful with the graduai decline of the Indo-Greek power about the middle of the first century B.C. They were subdued by the Sakas about the end of the same century. They recovered their independence after the decline of the Kushanas. They were the subordinate allies of the Guptas and are mentioned in the Gupta records of the fourth century A.D. as forming one of their boundary states. The ruling class of the Arjunayanas believed that it is descended from Arjuna, the epic hero. They were on intimate terms with their northerly neighbours the Yaudheyas, who prided themselves as the descendants of Yudhisthira. In the sixth century, Varahamihira refers to the Arjunayanas as an important people of the Northern or North-western division of India.

The Yaudheyas are mentioned in Panini's Ashtadhyayi and are classed with the Trigartas and other peoples amongst the *ayudhajivi* Kshatriyas. From the evidence of coins and seals the Yaudheya state appears to be a fairly extensive one. It extended from Saharanpur in the east to Bhawalpur in the west and from Ludhiyana in the north-west to Delhi in the south-east. Yaudheya coins have also been found, recently, in the Dehradun District. An inscription of this people has been found at Bijayagarh lying about two miles to the south-west of Bayana in the Bharatpur State of Rajputana.

The Yaudheyas survived the Maurya and Sunga empires as well as the Satraps and the Kushans. Rudradaman, the most famous among the Satraps, says of them in his Junagadh inscription (A.D. 150), that they grew insubordinate owing to their pride in their valour, respected by all the Kshatriyas. (*Sarvakshatra vishkrita virasabdajatoste kavidheyanam yaudheyanam*). In the third century A.D., when the Kushanas lost effective control over Western India, the Yaudheyas grew still more powerful. Some scholars hold the opinion that the Yaudheyas were chiefly responsible for destroying Kushana rule from the Punjab. In the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta (C. 350 A.D.) they are mentioned, along with the Arjunayanas, as one of the boundary states and subordinate allies of the Gupta Emperor. The Yaudheyas are mentioned in the *Puranas*. A later reference to the Yaudheyas is found in the *Brihat-Samhita* which locates them in the North-Western Division of India along with the Arjunayanas.

The tutelary deity of the Yaudheyas was Brahmanyadeva or Karttikeya. It is after the name *mayura* (peacock), the vehicle of Karttikeya, that they were also called Mattamayurakas, (the Mattamayuraka people of Rohitaka or Rohtak). The Yaudheyas are identified with the Johiya Rajputs inhabiting the tract of land called Johiyabar along both banks of the Sutlej on the borders of the Bhawalpur State.

The earliest Yaudheya coins attributed to the first century B.C. bear the legend *bahudhanake yodheyanam*, 'the *yodheya* people of Bahudhanyaka.' Another type of Yaudheya coins, both in silver and copper and belonging to the second or third century A.D., was issued in the name of the Brahmanyadeva Kumara, and the legend on them is read as *bhagavatah svamino brahmanyadevasya kumarasya yaudheyanam*. Some of the coins bear the representation of the six-headed god Skanda. On some of the coins the god Skanda is found on the obverse while a goddess with six heads, identified with Devasena, the wife of Skanda, is represented on the reverse. A third class of Yaudheya coins in copper, assigned to the third and fourth centuries A.D., bear the legend *Yaudheya ganasya jayah*, 'victory to the republic of the Yaudheyas,' but in some cases we have either *dvi* or *tri* in addition. It is suggested that *dvi* and *tri* are contractions respectively of *dvitiya* and *tritiya* indicating the second and third sections of the Yaudheya tribe. Rohatak or Rohitaka and Bahudhanyaka might have been the centres of administration of two sections of these people. The Bijayagarh inscription of the third century A.D. speaks of a Maharaja Mahasenapati who was placed at the head of the Yaudheya republic. It appears that the head of the Yaudheya State, like that of the Licchavis of earlier times, assumed an unpretentious viceregal title. A large Yaudheya clay seal of about the fourth century A.D., from Ludhiyana, bears the representation of a bull and the legend *yaudheyanam jayamantra dharanam*, 'Yaudheyas who were in possession of a victory charm.'

Some scholars identify the powerful trans-Beas state, referred to by Greek historians, as possessing a fertile land, sound administration and virile subjects, with the Yaudheya republic.[5] According to this identification the Yaudheyas possessed an aristocratic form of government, consisting of five hundred members, each of whom had to supply an elephant to the state. With their reputation for bravery and rich resources they struck a terror into the hearts of Alexander's soldiers with the result the latter refused to advance any further.

The Madras or Madrakas are mentioned

3. A. S. Altekar: *State and Government in Ancient India*, Chap. VI, p. 109; Ed. 1958.

4. U. N. Ghoshal: *Studies in Indian History and Culture* (1957), pp. 363-364.

5. A. S. Altekar: *State and Government in Ancient India*, Chap. VI, p. 119; K. P. Jayaswal: *Hindu Polity* (1923), Third Edition, p. 57.

in the Gupta records of the fourth century A.D., along with the Arjunayanas and Yaudheyas as forming one of the subordinate allies of the Gupta Emperor. A branch of the Madrakas known as uttara-Madras, were the neighbours of uttara-Kurus and lived in the Himalayan region. Both the Madrakas and the Kurus are listed by Kautilya, under the Rajasabdopajivin Samghas. The Madras are mentioned by Panini also. The Madras proper had their capital at Sakala (modern Sialkot in the Punjab), which later became the capital of the Indo-Greek Empire under Menander. Some scholars identify them with the Kathas whose republic is mentioned by Alexander's historians with its capital at Sankala. No coins of these people have so far been discovered.

The Malavas (Gk. 'Malloi') and the Kshudrakas (Gk. 'Oxydrakai') stand foremost among the republics that offered a formidable resistance to the Greek invader. In the fourth century B.C., the Malavas lived in the land lying north of the confluence of the Ravi and the Chenab and to their south was the territory of the Khudrakas (Montgomery District of the Punjab). They formed a confederation to resist the foreigner. The association of the Malavas and the Kshudrakas is known to the Mahabharata and to the early grammarians, who class these tribes amongst the ayudha-jivins. The army of the two peoples consisted of 90,000 foot-soldiers, 10,000 cavalry and 900 chariots. Before their armies could come together Alexander invaded the Malavas. Eventually both the Malavas and the Kshudrakas were forced to submit to Alexander. The Greek writers tell us that these two nations sent a hundred ambassadors to Alexander to offer terms of peace. Again the same source informs us that after the defeat of the 'Malloi', there came to Alexander from the 'Oxydrakai', the leading men of their cities and the provincial governors besides a hundred and fifty of their most eminent men with full power of concluding a treaty. From this it is inferred that 'the constitutions of the Kshudrakas and the Malavas were both aristocracies of the usual Sangha type with a sovereign assembly limited to the ruling Kshatriya class or caste.'[6] In capturing one of the forts of Malavas, Alexander met with a grave danger. Alexander was wounded in the breast and was on the point of losing his life, but for the timely rescue by three of his companions. The Kshudrakas were later fully amalgamated with the Malavas. The Malavas migrated to Eastern Rajputana in C. 100 B.C., and to the province of Malava in C. 300 A.D. For a time they were subjugated by the Scythians in the second century A.D., but they reasserted their independence, in the first quarter of the third century. According to the Nandsa (Udaipur) Inscriptions of 226 A.D., freedom and prosperity had returned to the country of the Malavas before that date owing to the brilliant achievements of a Malava chief whose name has not been fully deciphered. The reference seems to be to the success of the Malava people chiefly against the Sakas. The Maukhari Mahasenapati Bala, known from the Badva inscriptions of 238 A.D., probably owed allegiance to the Malava republic.[7] In Rajpuatana the capital of the Malava republic was Malavanagara identified with modern Nagar or Karkatanagar in Jaipur State. The Malavas are mentioned in the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta as one of the subordinate allies of the Gupta Emperor. The Malavas are the earliest people to use an era which has been identified with the so-called Vikrama Samvat of 58 B.C. According to some scholars the Malavas themselves started the era to commemorate some important event in their history, probably the foundation of their republic in Rajputana.[8]

The Malavas have left a very copious copper currency. Some of the Malava coins may be assigned to the first century B.C., but most of them are later. One class of coins bear the legend 'jayo malava-

6. U. N. Ghoshal: *Studies in Indian History and Culture*, X, p. 404.

7. *The Age of Imperial Unity*, Chap. XI, p. 163.

8. For a full discussion on the Malava era, *Cf. The Age of Imperial Unity*, pp. 163-165; p. 125; note-1; Chap. X.

nam' or 'malavanam jayah.' A second class bear short legends such as Bhapaniyana, Majupa, Yama, Pachha, Jamaku, etc., the real significance of which is unknown.[9] At Rairh in the Jaipur state some Malava coins have been found together with a lead stamp seal with the legend 'malava-janapadasa.'

At the time of Alexander's invasion, the Sibi people (Gk. 'Siboi'), probably the same as the Sivas of Rigveda, had their capital at Sibipura, modern Shorkot in the Jhang district of the Punjab. Originally they appear to have a monarchical form of government. Their army consisted of 40,000 foot soldiers. They were said to have dressed themselves with the skins of wild beasts and had clubs for their weapons. By C. 100 B.C., the Sibis migrated to Eastern Rajputana, and settled in the district around Madhyamika (Nagari near Chitor), an ancient city known to Patanjali's *Mahabhashya*. A large number of their coins bearing the legend 'Majhamikaya Sibi-janapadasa,' 'of the Sibi commonwealth of Madhyamika' are available.

The Andhaka-Vrishni republic is famous both in history and legend. The Mahabharata tells us that the Andhaka-Vrishnis, the Kukuras, the Yadavas and the Bhojas formed a confederation and accepted the hegemony of Lord Sri Krishna, the Vrishni chief, *yadavaha kukura bhoja sarvechandhakavrishnayah trayyasakta mahabaho lokalokesvarascha*). The Andhaka-Vrishni league had two parties in it, each headed by a chief, called Rajanya, with full powers of sovereignty. Ancient literature furnishes us with the names of several of these dual groups of rulers. Kasika speaks of the 'Rajanya' groups of Sini and Vasudeva, Svaphalka and Chitraka. Katyayana in his Varttika mentions the Vargas of Akrura and Vasudeva. Vasudeva and Ugrasena Bhabru are mentioned in the Mahabharata as leading their parties. There is an interesting discussion in the *Santiparvan*, Chapter 81 of the Mahabharata between Krishna and Narada, as related by Bhishma, over the affairs of the Andhaka-Vrishni league. From this discussion we learn that even so astute and tactful a politician like Sri Krishna finds it beyond him to find out a golden mean which would satisfy both the parties. He feels himself like a slave to both the parties (*dasyamaisvaryavadena jnatinam vai karomyaham*) and compares himself to a mother of two gamblers, who can neither wish the victory of the one nor the defeat of the other. (*Soham kitavama-teva dvayorapi Mahamune, naiksya jayamasmse dvitiyasya parajyam*). A few *Vrishni* coins are found with the legend *'Vrishni-rajanyaganasya'*, of the *Vrishni Rajanya* and *gana*, in *Brahmi* script.

The *Rajanyas* are mentioned by *Panini*. They probably lived somewhere in Northern or North-Western Rajputana. *Brihat Samhita* places them in the North along with the *Yaudheyas* and the *Trigartas*. Coins of the *Rajanya janapada* with legends either in Brahmi or Kharoshti are assigned to the latter half of the first century B.C.

The *Ambashtas* (Gk. *Sambastoi* or *Abastanoi*) are mentioned as a political community by Patanjali and the Mahabharata. Curtius, the Greek writer, expressly describes the form of government *Ambashtas* as a democracy. They had an army of 60,000 foot, 6,000 cavalry and 500 chariots, and they elected three generals to oppose Alexander. Eventually they decided to submit to Alexander on the advice of their elders. A later reference is made of *Ambashtas* by Varahamihira in his *Brihat Samhita*.

The Greek historians mention many other republics, *viz.*, *Astakenoi* (*Hastinayana*), *Parikanioi* (*prakanva*), *Aparytai* (*apritas*), *Ossadioi* (*Vasati*), *Aspasioi* (*Asvayana*), *Assakenoi* (*Asvakayana*) with their capital at Massaga (*Masakavati*). *Agasinae* (*Agra-srenis*), *Xatri* (*Kshatriyas* mentioned by Kautilya), Adraistai (Adhristas ? or Arattas, or Arashtrakas), and *Glauganikai* (*Glachu kayanaka* mentioned by Kasika). Glauganikai consisted of 37 towns each of which had a population between 5,000 and 10,000. Not much is known of the history of these free people except that some of them gave a stout

9. *The Age of Imperial Unity*, p. 165.

resistance to Alexander and had considerable armies. Diodorus speaks of the city of Patala with a political constitution drawn on the same lines as the Spartan. In this community the command in war was vested in two hereditary kings and a Council of Elders ruled the whole state with paramount authority. We also hear of the territories of Brachmanoi and Musiciani, the exact political nature of which cannot be known.

Coming to the North-eastern zone, we learn from the Buddhist and the Jain texts that numerous republican states existed in North Bihar and the Gorakpur district of Uttar Pradesh. The Buddist texts speak of the Sakyas of Kapilavastu, the Mallas of Pava and Kusinara, Lichhavis of Vesali (Vaisali), the Videhas of Mithila, the Koliyas of Ramagrama, the Bulis of Alakappa, the Kalamas of Kesaputta, the Moriyas of Pipphalivana, and the Bhaggas with their capital on Sumsumara Hill. All these republics were strongholds of heterodox religious tenets like Buddhism and Jainism and were connected, in one way or another, with the lives of the great teachers of these religions.

Of the republics mentioned above, excepting the first four in order, what we know of the history of the others is not much. The Koliyas of Ramagrama were the eastern neighbours of the Sakyas, whose territory was bound on the east by the River Rohini. A Buddhist text records in detail a quarrel between the Koliyas and the Sakyas over the use of the waters of Rohini, in the course of which the former taunted the latter with the custom prevalent among them, of marriage with sisters. According to certain texts the Koliyas were closely related to the Sakyas by blood. The police force of the Koliyas had a special head-dress as a distinctive uniform and were notorious for extortion and violence. Like 'Gautama' of the Sakyas the Koliyas had a common surname, Vyagghapajja.

The Bhargas are mentioned in the Ashtadhyayi of Panini. The Moriyas are identified with the imperial Mauryas and little is known of their history in the sixth century B.C. Their capital Pipphalivana probably lay about 50 miles to the west of Kusinagara.

The Mallas are mentioned with such peoples of Eastern India as the Angas, Vangas and Kalingas. We learn from the Jain Kalpasutra that the kingdom of the Mallas consisted of nine territories, each being a member of the confederate state. At the time of the rise of Buddhism, two of these territories were prominent, one with its headquarters at Kusinara and the other with Pava as its chief town. The River Kakustha formed the boundary between these two territories. According to tradition Kusinara was built on the site of the ancient city of Kusavati. Of the two cities Pava and Kusinara, the second has been identified, with reasonable certainty, with Kasia on the smaller Gandak about 35 miles to the East of Gorakhpur, and the first, doubtfully, with the village Padaraona, 12 miles to the North-east of Kasia.

The Mallas and the Lichhavis are mentioned by Manu as Vratya Kshatriyas. The 'Mahaparinibbana Suttanta' calls them Vasetthas (or Vasistas). The Mallas had originally a monarchical form of government, as Okkaka is mentioned in the Kusajataka as a Malla King. The members of the Malla republican assembly called themselves rajas, and Buddhaghosha, also calls them rajas. The Mallas joined hands with the Lichhavis, though the Bhaddasala Jataka gives an account of a conflict between them. Jainism and Buddhism found many followers among the Mallas. From the Jain Kalpasutra we learn that the nine Mallakis were among those that instituted an illumination on the day of the new moon saying 'since the light of intelligence is gone, let us make an illumination of material matter.' The Mallas retained their independence till the death of Buddha for we find both the main sections of the Mallas claiming a share of his bodily remains. They lost their independence not long after Buddha's death and their dominions were annexed to the Magadhan Empire.

Politically the Sakyas were no great power. They derive their great importance

from the fact that Gautama Buddha was a Sakya by birth. They acknowledged the suzerainty of Kosala in the latter half of the sixth century B.C., and were later practically exterminated by the Kosala King, Vidudabha, son of Prasenajit. The Sakyas, like many other republican peoples, originally appear to be a monarchy. They claimed to belong to the solar race and regarded themselves as people of Kosala. The great king Prasenajit took pride in describing himself as a fellow-citizen of Gautama Buddha. But at the time of Buddha they were a Samgha. Their state was bounded on the North by the Himalayas, on the East by the River Rohini and on the West and the South by the Rapti. Their capital Kapilavastu is identified by some with Piprahwa, by others with the ruins at Tilaura Kot about 10 miles North-west of Piprahwa.

There is difference of opinion among scholars as to the exact nature of the Sakyan constitution. Of the Sakyan administration Rhys Davids writes in words that have become classic: The administration and judicial business of the clan was carried in public assembly at which young and old were alike present in their common Mote Hall (Santhagara) at Kapilavastu. It was at such a parliament, or palaver, that King Pasendi's proposition was discussed. When Ambattha goes to Kapilavastu on business, he goes to the Mote Hall, where the Sakiyas were then in session. And it is to the Mote Hall of the Mallas that Ananda goes to announce the death of the Buddha they being then in session there to consider that very matter.

A single chief—how, and for what period chosen, we do not know—was elected as office-holder, presiding over the sessions, and if no sessions were sitting, over the State. He bore the title of raja, which must have meant something like Roman Consul or the Greek archon. We hear nowhere of such a triumvirate as bore corresponding office among he Lichhavis, nor of such acts of kingly sovereignty as are ascribed to the real kings mentioned above. But we hear at one time that Bhaddiya, a young cousin of the Buddha's, was the raja; and in another passage, Suddhodana, the Buddha's father (who is elsewhere spoken of as a simple citizen, Suddhodana, the Sakiyan), is called the raja.[10] Dr. Jayaswal and Dr. R. C. Majumdar support the view of Rhys Davids. Dr. A. S. Altekar includes the Sakyas in his discussion on 'Republics,' and takes the title raja in the restricted sense, where each member of the Kshatriya aristocracy which ruled these Eastern states was entitled to the title. On the other hand D. R. Bhandarkar strongly feels that the Sakyas were a hereditary monarchy. Dr. U. N. Ghoshal after a thorough survey of the different opinions mentioned above pronounces that the Sakyas had 'a mixed constitution combining monarchic with aristocratic elements' or in other words they had a hereditary ruler as well as an assembly.

The Sakyas possessed a number of towns besides the capital. The Sakiyas are said to have comprised 80,000 families, which probably means half a million people.

Of the various republics mentioned by the Buddhist and Jain texts the Lichhavis of Vaisali, and the Videhas of Mithila historically occupy the foremost place. The Vrijian (Vajjian) confederacy consisted of eight or nine clans of which the Videhas, the Lichhavis, the Jantrikas and the Vajjis were the most prominent. This confederation seems to have been formed to resist the onslaughts of the monarchies of Magadha and Kosala. Videha (modern Tirhut) was once a powerful monarchy with Mithila as its capital. It was bounded by the Kausiki in the East, the Ganga in the South, the Sadanira in the West and the Himalayas in the North. Cunningham, identifies Mithila with Janakapura, a small town within the Nepal border. Nothing is known of the history of the Videhas after they were conquered by Magadha in 500 B.C.

Some scholars are of the opinion that

10. Rhys Davids: *Buddhist India*, pp. 14-15, Susil Gupta (India) Ltd.

the Lichhavis are of foreign origin, but the Indian tradition represents them as Kshatriyas. The Vajjian confederacy of which the Lichhavis form the most important and powerful confederate member, was an object of special love for Siddartha. He had great admiration for their unity, strength, noble bearing and republican constitution. He asked the Buddhist monastic assemblies to conduct their affairs on the lines of Vijjain assembly. In a remarkable passage in the Mahaparinibbana Suttra, Buddha states the seven conditions of Vajjian prosperity. 'So long Ananda,' said he 'as the Vajjians hold these full and frequent public assemblies, meet together in concord and carry out their undertaking in concord . . . . and act in accordance with the ancient institutions of the Vajjians.....so long as they know and esteem and revere and support, the Vajjian elders and hold it a point of duty to hearken to their words.....so long may the Vajjians be expected not to decline but to prosper,' and these very seven conditions, he repeats *mutatis mutandis* to the Buddhist Sanghas for their welfare.

The capital of the Lichhavis was Vaisali. It was also the headquarters of the powerful Vrijian confederacy. It seems to have been formerly under a monarchical form of government. Visala mentioned in the Ramayana was an excellent town (Uttamapuri). The city was rich, prosperous and populous being surrounded by three walls at a distance of a 'gavuta' from one another, each provided with gates and watch towers. It had high buildings, pinnacled houses, lotus ponds, etc.

The Lichhavis were on amicable terms with King Prasenajit of Kosala, and maintained a friendly relationship with their neighbours the Mallas. The Jain books speak of the nine Lichhavis forming a confederacy with the nine Mallas and eighteen ganarajas of Kasi-Kosala. According to tradition, the Vaisalians sent an army to attack Magadha at the time of Bimbisara. (H. T. B. II 66). The Nirayavali Sutra informs us that Bimbisara married a Lichhavi princess named Chellana, daughter of King Chetaka of Vaisali, whose sister was mother of Mahavira. This matrimonial alliance was according to D. R. Bhandarkar, the result of the peace concluded after the war between Bimbisara and the Lichhavis.

The rivalry between the two states continued in the time of Bimbisara's son, Ajatasatru. The Jain texts present Ajatasatru as the conqueror of the powerful political confederacy which dominated Eastern India and comprised 36 republican states, *viz.*, 9 *Mallaki*, 9 *Lichhavi*, and 18 gana rajyas of Kasi and Kosala. The overthrow of this confederacy could be achieved only through the conquest of its most powerful member, the Lichchavi republic. The cause of the conflict between the two is differently stated in different texts. According to the Buddhists (Buddhaghosha) a jewel mine was discovered at a sub-montane fort on the Ganga, on which it was agreed that Ajatasatru and the Lichchhavis should have an equal share of the gems. The Lichchhavis repudiated this agreement, and so rose a feud. According to Jain version, the subject of dispute was the Magadha state elephant, 'Seyanaga' and a huge necklace of 18 strings of pearls which were given by Bimbisara to his sons Hall and Vehala, by Chellana. They carried off the elephant and the necklace to Vaisali and sought the protection of their grandfather, against Ajatasatru, claiming them. Kunika Ajatasatru, having failed to obtain the extradition of the fugitives peacefully, declared war on Chetaka (*no dadyastada yuddhasajjo bhavamiti*). It is further stated that his wife Padmavati incited Ajatasatru to this struggle.

It was not easy to conquer the Lichchhavis, who were then at the height of their power as the head of a vast confederacy and could draw upon its collective resources. In fact, King Chetaka, actually called for an assembly of this confederation, including the gana-rajyas (republican chiefs) of Kasi and Kosala to discuss whether they should surrender to Ajatasatru or fight him. On the eve of this great conflict, which created a first class political sensation in the country, even the Buddha detatched as he was in his religious eminence from all worldly affairs, felt it is duty to take his proper part in the larger politics of the country. A born democrat and a champion of republican interests he assured the Lichchhavis, the leading democratic state in the country, that it could not be defeated even by a mighty king like Ajatasatru provided it maintained unimpaired all its strong points and factors of national efficiency, mentioned above.

Ajatasatru realised that the only way was by which he could conquer the Lichchhavis was by destroying their inner unity. For this purpose he deputed his minister Vassakara on the iniquitous mission of sowing seeds of disunion among the Lichhavis at Vaisali. Infected by jealousy between different classes, the Lichhavis became a changed people lacking their old social cohesion. Thus the stage was prepared for Ajatasatru's operations against the Lichhavis. The King declared: 'I will root out and destroy these Vajjians mighty and powerful though they be and bring them to utter ruin.' And it was to bring about this utter ruin of the Lichhavis that Ajatasatru built the famour Pataliputra, as Rajagriha was too far interior and remote to be an efficient base of operations against the republic, which was on the other side of the Ganga. After the construction was completed Sunidha and Vassakara invited the Buddha to dinner at their house and named the gate through which Buddha went out of the city as the Gotama Gate and the Ghat from which he was ferried across the Ganga was commemorated as the Gotama Ferry. And it was on this unique occassion that the Lord prophesied that Pataliputra would one day grow to be the chief city of Aryan India and the centre of trade, business and economic prosperity.

In his expedition, Ajatasatru for the first time made use of such strange and secret weapons of war as the Mahasilakantaka 'a kind of catapult hurling heavy pieces of stone' and Rathamusala, 'a chariot which created havoc by wheeling about and hurling destruction by its attached rods and comparable to the tanks used in the two Great World Wars.' These elaborate military preparations show that the war between Magadha and the Lichhavi republic was a protracted one. The Jain texts indicate a period of more than 16 years for this war. The war which must therefore have lasted from at least 484 to 468 B.C. ended in an outright victory for Ajatasatru and he destroyed the freedom of the city-state of Vaisali, which had given birth to his mother.

The Lichhavis reasserted their independence in C. 300 B.C., during the time of the Nandas, and appear to have maintained their independent status till the advent of the Guptas, and for sometime even afterwards. The marriage of Chandragupta I with the Lichhavi Kumaradevi laid the foundation of the greatness of the imperial Gupta dynasty. We have Gupta gold coins in the joint names of Chandragupta, his queen Kumaradevi and the Lichhavi nation. Chandragupta's son and successor Samudragupta was always careful to describe himself as being the 'son of the daughter of the Lichhavi,' a formula implying the acknowledgment that his royal authority was derived from his mother.

We learn from the Ekapanna Jataka that the Lichhavi assembly had 7707 members on its rolls. The relevant passage in the Ekapanna Jataka is 'tatta nichchakalam rajjam karetva vasantanam yeva rajunam sattasahassani sattasatani satta cha rajano honti, tattaka eva uparajano tattaka senapatino tattaka bhandagarika' which Fausboll, in his standard English version, renders as 'in that city there were always seven thousand seven hundred and seven kings to govern the kingdom and a like number of viceroys, generals and treasurers.' Scholars read different meanings into the passage and the number 7707 is differently explained by them, thus giving different interpretations of the Lichhavi state and constitution. Dr. Jayaswals's rendering of the passage that 'the rule vested in the inhabitants, 7707 in number, all of whom were entitled to

rule.' They became presidents vice-presidents, commanders-in-chief and chancellors of the Exchequer,[11] makes the Lichhavi state 'a unitary republican state ruled by a select body of hereditary nobles who formed the supreme executive'.[12] Dr. R. C. Majumdar takes these 7707 members as heads of the administrative units into which the Lichhavi state was divided, each of these units being a state in miniature by itself,[13] and thus making it 'a republic of a complex type with each member of the ruling assembly forming a State in miniature and with the assembly itself ruling the whole state under an elected president.[14] Each of these heads had a viceroy, a general and a treasurer. R. C. Majumdar finds in the Lichhavi constitution a strong resemblance to the Cleisthenian constitution of Athens. D. R. Bhandarkar takes these 7707 members as heads of tribal clan and the Lichhavi gana accordingly, 'federation of chiefs of different tribal clans,' and thus makes it 'a federal state with autonomy for each constituent principality, and supreme control belonging to the Samgha'.[15] Bhandarkar suggests some points of resemblance between the constitution of the Lichhavi Samgha and the confederation of the German states called the German Empire. Dr. A. S. Altekar is of the opinion that 'the Central Assembly of 7707 members of the Lichhavis or 5,000 of the Yaudheyas probably consisted of the descendants of the founder members of the privileged aristocracy, who were all entitled to the honorific title raja. Some of them stayed at the capital and some were scattered in moffusil or serving there as important government officers'.[16] Dr. Ghoshal takes the passage as suggesting that '7707 nobles lived at the capital exercising sovereign authority for life' and that 7707 was 'the number of foundation families of nobles taking up their residence at the capital'. In the passage 'Vasaliani kira Lichhavi rajunam sattasahassani satta satani satta ca lichhavi vasimsu', found in the preamble to the Chullakalinga jataka, he finds a partial corroboration of this explanation.[17]

Individual liberty was held in high esteem among the Vijjis. There was a parody in *Lalita Vistara* that among the Vaisalians each one feels himself a raja and that the difference in age and rank was not respected (nochcha madhya vriddha jyeshtanupalita, ekaika eva manyate aham raja aham rajeti). Buddhaghosha's commentary on Mahapaninibbana Sutta gives us an unique account of Vijjian judicial administration. The veracity of Buddhagosha's account is doubted by some scholars as Buddhaghosha wrote the account eight centuries after the fall of the Vajjis and as the account is not testified by any other extant source Buddhaghosha calls his account 'porana vajjidhamma.' According to this account, among the Vajjis an accused could obtain his freedom by proving his innocence in any of the seven judicial tribunals, namely, Vinichchayamahamattas, Voharikas, Suttadharas, Atthakulakas, Senapati, Uparaja and the raja, each of a higher and appellate authority over the preceding one.

We know of certain political and social conventions that were then in vogue among the Lichhavis from the stories of 'Senapati Khanda' and the Courtesan 'Amrapali' found in the Vinaya book called *Chivarivastu*. At that time Vaisali was divided into three wards—the good, the intermediate and the bad. There was a rule governing the matrimonial relations among these wards. A girl of the first ward could be given in marriage only in first ward and not in any other, and one born in the second ward could be given in that ward and the first, and a girl

11. K. P. Jayaswal: *Hindu Polity* (1923), Third Edition, p. 45.

12. U. N. Ghoshal: *Studies in Indian History and Culture*, p. 383.

13. R. C. Majumdar: *The Age of Imperial Unity*, p. 332: *Corporate Life in Ancient India*, pp. 93-94.

14. A. S. Altekar: *State and Government in Ancient India*, Ch. VI, p. 125. Ed. 1958.

15. U. N. Ghoshal: *Studies in Indian History and Culture*, p. 384.

16. V. A. Smith: *Ancient and Hindu India*, p. 47; (Oxford, 1923.)

17. K. P. Jayaswal: *Hindu Polity*, Ch. XXI.

born in the third ward could be given away in any of the three wards. A gem of a girl born in any ward became the property of the gana. In connection with the last clause we are told that Mahanama, a Vaisalian, had an exceptionally beautiful daughter by name Amrapali. He asked the permission of the gana to allow him to give her in marriage to a young man of his own social status. But the gana reminded him of the rule and insisted upon its observance and Amrapali submitted to its decision.

Coming to the story of Khanda, Khanda had been the Chief Minister of the King of Videha. He was driven by the unjust suspicion of his master to seek political asylum at Vaisali. The Lichhavi gana permitted him to reside in the first ward of the city in view of his high birth. Eventually, recognising the outstanding ability and long experience of Khanda in matters of State, the Vaisali gana sought his advice in matters of the gana and finally elected him as its Senapati. After Khanda's death, his younger son, Simha was elected as Senapati in preference to the elder son Gopa, in recognition of the former's superior abilities.

In the same *Chivarivastu* we have the following story: The king of Kosala besieged, Kapilavastu, the capital city of the Sakyas, and sent a messenger asking for its surrender. Then the Sakyas said 'let us all assemble and deliberate whether we shall open the gates.' When they had assembled some said, 'open them' others advised not doing so. Some said, 'as there were various opinions we will find out the opinion of the majority.' So they set about voting on the subject. This story together with that of Senapati Khanda, narrated above, gives an inkling of the deliberative procedure of the ganas. The ganas had a full and free discussion over critical and important issues that affected the state or the society. In case of difference of opinion they resorted to voting to find out the opinion of the majority. The gana had the full right to elect its office-bearers.

We lack authentic historical material to know about the deliberative procedure of the ganas. But in Buddhist religious texts we have a copious mass of literature describing about the deliberative procedure of the Buddhist Samghas. Scholars surmise that Buddhist Samgha is a replica of the political Samgha and the regulations of the democratic government of the Samghas are identical with the democratic constitution of the republican states. We have a striking confirmation of this presumption in a famous passage of the Pali canon, where the Buddha, after specifying seven conditions of welfare of the Vajji republican Samgha, proceeds immediately to apply them *mutatis mutandis* to his own Samgha. On this surmise is based the following brief account of the deliberative procedure of the ganas.

As we find in the legislative assemblies of today the gana assemblies followed the rule of quorum. For any act (kamma) to be valid not less than a certain number of the members (4, 5, 10, 20 or more according to the nature of the acts) should be present. It was the duty of the 'ganapuraka,' who acted as the whip of the assembly to see to the completion of the quorum. There was another officer by name Asanapannapaka (Sergeant-at-arms) to regulate the seats of the members. The proposed act went by the name 'kamma vacha' and putting it in the form of a resolution before the assembly 'natti' or 'jnapti,' and reading it before the assembly for discussion 'Anusravana.' When the reading was made, before the act passed the assembly, only once, it was called 'nattidutiya' and when read thrice it was called 'natti chatuttha kamma.' Any deviation from this procedure invalidated the act. Those members who agreed with the resolution remained silent and those who disagreed made speeches opposing it.

Vote was called 'chhanda.' In case of difference of opinion the assembly resorted to voting, provision being made for the absentee members to vote. The opinion of the majority known as 'yebhuyyasikam' was respected. The voting was carried on with the help of voting tickets called 'Salakas' and the voting was called 'Salakagrahana.' There was a teller, 'Salakagrahaka,' appointed by the whole samgha. There were three methods of voting. (1)

Gulhaka or vote by ballot. (2) Vivataka or open method. (3) Sakanna jappaka or the whispering method in which the Salaka-grahaka went to every member and recorded his opinion. Critical issues were referred to committees known as 'ubbahika' and the decision of the committees went by the name 'Adhikaranasamata.' Thus the deliberative procedure in these ancient assemblies, with its precisely defined technical terms, resembled in many ways the one followed in our modern legislative assemblies.

After the glorius age of the Guptas, we no more hear of the republics. To any student of the history of these republics the question is apt to arise, what were the causes that led to the complete decay of the republican tradition, in Northern India? Vincent Smith held the opinion that republican tradition was alien to the genius of Indian polity, and propounded his theory of the Mongolian origin of the Ancient Indian peoples. According to this theory these peoples were 'hillmen of the Mongolian type akin to the Tibetans,' who 'formed a large percentage in the population of Northern India during the centuries immediately preceding and following the Christian Era', and that 'Gautama Buddha the sage of the Sakyas and the founder of the historical Buddhism, was a Mongolian by birth, that is to say a hill-man like a Gurkha with Mongolian features and akin to the Tibetans.' But this Mongolian theory, Dr. Jayaswal has conclusively proved, rests on a series of far-fetched arguments and is contradicted by authentic texts. Historical facts are not lacking to explain the downfall and decay of these ancient Indian republics, and may be treated under the heads (1) Internal dissensions, (2) Agression by other states, (3) Foreign invasions and (4) Tradition and development of polity before and after the existence of the republics.

Internal dissensions which have always been a sufficient cause for the downfall of many a kingdom and dynasty that made the history of India, seems to have had a large hand in seeing to the end of these republics. This is testified by various references in our literature. After the demise of Lord Krishna, we learn the Andhaka-Vrishni federation saw its end mainly on account of internal feuds, lack of proper leadership and want of respect to elders. Even Buddha while convinced of the inherent strength of a democratic constitution was not obivious of its two chief dangers, *viz.*, disunion and the tendency of the younger section to disregard the elders and established usages and favour sweeping changes of a radical character. These dangers of the republican states are given a more eloquent expression in Ch. 107 of Santiparvan in the Mahabharata which offers suggestions for remedying them. The Mahabharata warns the ganas against internal dissensions compared with which external fear is nothing ("abhyantharabhyam rakshyamasaram bahyato bhayam; abhayantaram bhayam rajan' sadyo mulani krintati"). Hence it recommends forbearance and toleration as the guiding principles of members, and the formation of a small cabinet of select leaders for the preservation of secrecy. 'The gana leaders,' it says, 'should be respected as the worldly affairs depend to a great extent upon them. The spy and the secrecy of counsel should be left to the chiefs, for it is not fit that the entire body of the gana should hear those secret matters.' The ganas are torn asunder by the enemies . . . by creating dissensions and offering bribes; so it is said that unity is the chief refuge of the ganas,. The passage shows a profound comprehension of the essential features of a democratic constitution. As we have already seen, the Lichhavis, at a time when they should have given an active and united resistence to Ajatasatru, were torn into two parties, and gave themselves to a wordy warfare as to which of the parties should go first and strike the enemy. We have also seen the efforts made by Ajatasatru to sow the seeds of disunion among the Lichhavis, a policy later advocated by Kautilya, and followed by the Mauryas. Kautilya gives a lurid account of the means, fair or foul, by which destruction of the republics can be wrought.

Aggression by the neighbouring monarchical states, contributed not in a little way to the extirpation of the republics. We have seen how Ajatasatru gave a deadly blow to the power of the Lichhavis, after which the latter could not revive for a long time to come. Videhas and the Mallas also were victims of Magadhan imperialism and they were completely incorporated in the Magadhan Empire. We learn that Vidudabha who succeeded Prasenajit as the king of Kosala, learning of the fraud practised by the Sakyas in respect of his mother, who was really a slave girl, but offered to Prasenajit as the legitimate daughter of the Sakya race, invaded Sakya country and massacred the Sakya clan, which virtually brought about the end of the famous autonomous people. In later times we learn that the Yaudheyas were subjugated, though temporarily, by the Kushans and Western Kshatraps, and later along with Arjunayanas and the other republican people had to yield to the Gupta Emperor.

The Macedonian invasion caused much havoc among the republics of the North-West, while some of the requblics like the Malavas, Kshudarakas and Sibis, after being defeated by Alexander, migrated to new homes in search of independence, many others succumbed to the ruthless invasion.

Another important factor for the disappearance of the republics may be observed in the tradition and development of Hindu polity. Even before republics came into existence, from the oldest Vedic times, monarchy had been fixed as the ideal type of polity in the ideas and institutions of the Hindu people. This tradition in subsequent times gathered an additional strength in the authoritative works of 'Arthasastrakaras' and 'Smritikaras,' with their views of the triple basis of king's authority in his origin, his office and his functions and the king as the apex of the state structure. In the centuries immediately before and after Christ there is noticeable in the contemporary literature and inscriptions a general tendency of the republics towards concentration of political authority in the hands of a select few, or even of an individual military leader. The Nandsa Inscriptions show that early in the third century the leadership of the Malavas had already begun to pass into hereditary families, which were claiming to be as respectable as the Ikshvaku race. The leaders of the Yaudheyas had assumed the titles of Maharajas and Mahasenapatis in the fourth century A.D. The Lichhavis, who were powerful in the fourth century A.D., formed matrimonial alliances with the Gupta Kings, and seem to have slowly yielded to the monarchical tradition. Moreover, in Ancient India, the instances where kings did not act up to the high ideals in which the people conceived them, in a fixed setting of society were very few; and one need not wonder that after a line of benevolent monarchs as the Guptas, the republican tradition was lost and forgotten among the Indian people. In this respect we may profitably compare the fortunes of the Ancient Indian republics with those of their European counteraparts. After the downfull of the republican constitution, till the formation of the French revolutionary republic towards the end of the eighteenth century, the main political tradition of Europe was monarchical. And the record of the Ancient Indian monarchies does not suffer greatly in comparision with that of their western counterparts. It may not be wide of the mark to suppose that the republican tradition, which might have started in the wake of a new religious tradition, in the sixth century B.C., opposed to the old Vedic authority, should have met with natural disappearance when the old tradition and authority once again reasserted with a new vitality, in the Gupta age. Republican form of Government could function only when the state was small and frequent meetings of the assembly consisting practically of all the senior members of the state were possible. But with the growing size of the states and with the principle of representation unknown, the republican form as in Greece and Italy, had to be naturally replaced by the monarchical one. It is clear that the com-

plete replacement of the republics by monarchies, resulting in the complete decay of republican tradition in Northern India, was purely due to a train of historical circumstances, as was the case in the west.

THE STORY OF BANDE MATARAM SEDITION TRIAL (1907)

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The year 1907 witnessed in India a fierce battle between the people on the one hand and the bureaucracy on the other. At the Calcutta Congress of 1906 the Moderates were put on the defensive and the Extremists came out triumphant. Although no open split between the two wings of the Congress had taken place, the inner differences between them were rapidly increasing. The Moderates had accepted at Calcutta the revolutionary resolutions passed under Extremist pressure with great mental reservation and only wished to get them cancelled at the first suitable opportunity. And this inspired their whole course of policy and action during the year 1907 when both the Moderates and the Extremists were busy in organising forces in their favour. Apart from this internal division in the Congress, there were looming on the horizon two other grave dangers. The bureaucracy was out to crush by every possible means the nationalist movement of India. The Moderates were pampered and sought to be rallied to the Crown, while the Muslims were promised extra-ordinary things and set against the Hindus, for the Hindus at that time stood in the vanguard of the national movement. Under these circumstances the Extremist need for more thorough-going and effective propagandism in the country was realised greater than ever. *Bande Mataram* and other Extremist organs, consequently, undertook this task as a sacred religious duty. The policy of the bureaucracy constantly came in for sharp criticism in these Extremist papers. To counteract this menacing development every possible point in the existing laws was pressed to the utmost and new "repressive measures of considerable potency" were hurried through the Imperial Legislative Council.

From the middle of 1907 severe press prosecutions were set on foot by the Government, to which *Yugantar* fell the first notable victim in Bengal and *Bande Mataram* the second. Brought into being in early August, 1906, through the creative enthusiasm of Bipin Chandra Pal, it soon passed into the hands of Aurobindo Ghosh from the middle of December of the same year. Under Aurobindo's control and guidance *Bande Mataram* soon became the mightiest mouthpiece of Indian nationalism in its broadest sense. It not merely preached patriotism as supreme religion and the cult of "complete independence" outside the orbit of British imperialism but also developed a new technique of political struggle known as "passive resistance." Its merciless exposure of the alien bureaucracy and its vigorous dissemination of radical ideologies alarmed the Government out of all proportion to the situation. On 8th June, 1907 the Government warned the Eeditor of *Bande Mataram* "for using language which is a direct incentive to violence and lawlessness." Sj. Hemendra Prasad Ghosh records that on July 30 the *Bande Mataram* office was searched by the Police Superintendent Elis. This was followed on the same date by the issue of a warrant of arrest against Aurobindo Ghosh, supposed to be the Editor of *Bande Mataram*, for reproducing the translations of certain articles (July 26) for which *Yugantar* was prosecuted and for publishing the alleged article "India for the Indians" (June 27). On the same charges two other warrants were also issued on

August 17 against Hemendra Prasad Bagchi and Apurba Krishna Bose, the Manager and the Printer and Publisher of the paper respectively. It may be noted here that one of the charges, *viz.*, the publication of the article "India for the Indians" was wrongly stated. The actual name of the article was "Politics for Indians" which was a mere communication from a correspondent, and the mistake was rectified by the Court on August 23.

Aurobindo was arrested on August 16 and the Manager and the Printer on August 19 and August 21 respectively. From the reports of the *Bengalee* (August 18, 1907) we learn that at about 11 A.M. on August 16 a Detective Officer went to the *Bande Mataram* office and informed it that a warrant had been issued for the arrest of Aurobindo Ghose. On receiving the information at his residence, Aurobindo voluntarily presented himself before the Detective Police Office at Royd Street at about 9-30 P. M. He was at once arrested by Inspector Purna Chandra Lahiri and taken to the Poddapukur Thana. On the following day (August 17) Aurobindo was released on bail. Principal Girish Chandra Bose and Sj. Nirode Chandra Mallick stood sureties for him Rs. 2,500 each.

The chief object of the bureaucracy in undertaking this case was to silence the voice of Aurobindo, the real controlling spirit behind *Bande Mataram*, and to remove the man who had been preaching discontent and sedition against the Government with unflinching candour, from the political arena. In the prosecution thus started, Bipinchandra was summoned as a witness to the Court of Mr. Kingsford, the Chief Presidency Magistrate, for identifying a letter under his signature written on May 26, 1907 to Aurobindo Ghose. But in the Court before the trying Magistrate Bipinchandra stoutly refused to answer any question put to him on the simple ground that the prosecution was "unjust and injurious to the cause of popular freedom" (August 26 and 29, 1907). For his conscientious objections to swear or take any part in these proceedings he fell a victim to the charge of Contempt of Court and he was consequently sentenced to six months' simple imprisonment (September 10, 1907—March 9, 1908).

The *Bande Mataram* prosecution of which Bipinchandra's incarceration was merely a side issue, dragged on for some time until it "ended in the most complete and dismal fiasco such as no Indian Governnment has ever had to experience before in a sedition case." Every possible point as well as scrap of evidence against Aurobindo was pressed to the utmost alike by the Police and the Standing Counsel; "yet with all this they were unable to bring forward a single scrap of convincing evidence to prove that the particular man they were bent on running down was the Editor." Consequently Aurobindo was acquitted. On September 23, 1907 the judgement of the trying Magistrate was announced. The Magistrate, in his judgment, observed that *Bande Mataram* was not habitually seditious. 'There is no evidence before me,' said he, 'to indicate that the *Bande Mataram* habitually publishes seditious matter and I must therefore assume that the articles charged form an exception to its general tone.'

The Magistrate further observed that the evidence against Mr. Ghose was to the effect that "Aurobindo is a share-holder in the paper, that he took the chair at a preliminary meeting held in October, the minutes of which show that he and Bepin Chandra Pal were appointed Joint Editors, and that a notice was printed in the issue of the paper of 12th December to the effect that Aurobindo was the Editor, that this was followed on the 17th December by another notice announcing that Bepin Chandra Pal had terminated his connection with the paper, that Aurobindo was in Calcutta from April to July and was attending the *Bande Mataram* office, that his name was entered at the head of the Editorial staff in the pay Register for January, February, March, which entries were subsequently erased and that he received a sum of Rs. 50 in payment for services in July. There is further the evidence of Anukul who was a member of

Editorial staff to the efect that Aurobindo was the Editor." Every bit of this evidence was put to minutest examination and found to be "inconclusive," either consisting of "a vague assertion" or supporting "the defence contention that Aurobindo is only a member of the editorial staff." Consequently the Magistrate announced the acquittal of Aurobindo, but declared at the same time that "the case affords a curious instance of the inadequacy of the existing law to deal with sedition." There was also no convincing evidence against the Manager that he was aware of the contents of the charged articles, and so, he also was acquitted. But as against the Printer and Publisher Apurba Krishna Bose the evidence was regarded as clear and conclusive. "Publication of the articles," said the trying Magistrate, "has been proved and under the Press Act there is a statutory liability which amounts to this that Apurba having declared himself under the provisions of the Press Act to be the Printer and Publisher of this paper he is to be held to have printed and published every portion of the same. . . . The provisions of the Press Act were designed in order to place the responsibility upon the declarant and it must therefore be held that it is his duty to know what is passing through his hands and the presumption is that the duty is performed. Apurba must accordingly be convicted." Thus the Printer Apurba was sentenced to three monthes' rigorous imprisonment.

After his acquittal Aurobindo in a brilliant editorial in *Bande Mataram* (B.M., W.E. September 29, 1907) sarcastically commented: "Their prey escaped them; the Manager who seems to have been arrested on spec., and tried without even any pretence that there was any evidence against him was acquitted, and only an unfortunate Printer who knew no English and had no notion what all the pother was about, was sent to prison for a few months to vindicate the much-damaged majesty of the almighty bureaucracy."

The complete collapse of the *Bande Mataram* prosecution as well as the acquittal of Aurobindo Ghose, while immeasurably disgracing the bureaucracy, filled the people with immense joy and imparted a new impetus to the nationalist movement everywhere in India. The *Punjabee* in an article on "Moral of the 'Bande Mataram' Prosecution" observed that "as in Bipin Babu's case, so in this, the punishment will be associated in the public mind not with criminality of the accused, but with their unpopularity with the Government. Such prosecutions defeat their own purpose, and aggravate disaffection against the Government instead of allaying it."

In connection with Aurobindo's acquittal there was a *Harir loot* at the *Sandhya* office in Calcutta. Sweetmeats were distributed among all present there. "In some Journals," wrote Upadhyaya Brahmanbandhab in *Sandhya* (September 25, 1907), "Kazi Kingsford has been praised on account of the acquittal of Arabindo. . . . . But this acquittal is not due to the claims of justice; pressure was put from above, and therefore there was no other alternative than to cry *bap* and to acquit. . . . . The wet cat of the *Statesman* is very indignant at the acquittal of Arabindo Babu. The wet cat goes the length of saying that it was very wrong to escape by such a policy of secrecy and concealment. Oh, Yes. indeed! the Feringhis are almost our father's *summundis* (wife's brothers—a vulgar terms of abuse) that we must tell them all our secrets. You *betas* (fellows), you have not yet known us well. You will see to what a plight we reduce you. We shall make you drink *ghol* (whey) in as many ways as we can (to make one drink *ghol* is to harass one). At one time we shall deal you direct blows (literally blows that cut to the root) and at others we shall kick you backwards and run away laughing merrily. The *Bande Mataram* newspaper has pulled you by both your ears, and slapped both your cheeks and made fools of you in the midst of the market place. And the *Sandhya* with a long bamboo will place you on the monument." (*Vide* our works on Sri Aurobindo's *Political Thought* and Bipin Chandra Pal and *India's Struggle for Swaraj* for a fuller discussion of the role played by *Bande Mataram* in the history of India's Freedom Movement).



General Ayub Khan, President of Pakistan with the Prime Minister, Sri Jawaharlal Nehru, at Palam Airport



The Prime Minister Nehru in conversation with the Iraqi Ministers and party in New Delhi



His Holiness the Dalai Lama when he visited India in 1956



Now an honoured guest (in 1959) the Dalai Lama is received by Sri G. B. Pant, Home Minister, in New Delhi

INDIAN BRAND OF SOCIALISM

Economic Aspect

By Prof. BHUBANESHWAR PRASAD, M.A.

To quote Ludwig Vonmises,' socialism is the watchward and the catchward of our day. It has set its seal upon our time. It is no longer confined to ideals of a few revolutionaries, it has already conquered half of the world. Soviet Russia, People's China, East European countries like Czechoslovakia, Poland, Hungary, Yugoslavia, etc., and now socialistic India together constitute **more than** half of the population of the world. In India, since the slogan "Socialistic pattern of society" uttered by our Prime Minister, the idea has caught our imagination and it now dominates our spirit and mind. The idea has three stages of its development: (a) first, socialism, (b) second socialist and then, (c) third, socialistic. Utopian socialists, Owen and Fourier, scientific socialists, Marx and Engels, Lenin and Stalin and a host of their followers all the world over used the words "Socialism" and "Socialist Society." Our Prime Minister, for the first time, coined the new words, "Socialistic pattern of Society"—a third dimunitive of "Socialism," the second being socialist. These words are significant in themselves, as they convey an idea of a society something like socialist but not a socialist cent per cent as is commonly understood in the west. It is therefore surely necessary to know what this third stage diminutive form "Socialistic Pattern" of Socialism means in India in her present economic, social and political background.

Doctrinaire Socialism

The first authoritative discussion of modern Socialism is to be found in the Communist Manifesto written and published by Marx and Engels in 1848. The foundation of Marxian Socialism lay in their concept of 'materialistic' interpretation of history, according to which (a) the history of all hitherto existing society was the history of class struggles, (b) the executive of modern state was but a committee for managing the common affairs of the whole bourgeoisie, (c) the proletariat alone was really a revolutionary class. Elements of socialism were regarded as completely absent in the personalities of capitalists and (c) the lower strata of the middle class—small traders, shopkeepers, and retired tradesmen generally, the handicraftsmen and peasants—all these sank gradually into the proletariat. To set up a socialist society, in which class antagonisms and class divisions will be conspicuous by their absence, measures prescribed were: (a) the forcible seizure and wielding of the state power, the shield of the bourgeoisie, by Proletarian Revolution and Dictatorship, (b) abolition of private property—its class character by its socialisation, and (c) abolition of capitalistic stagnation by socialistic dynamism in the form of change from chaotic and atomistic use of the means and instruments of production, motivated by personal and private profit, into a deliberately planned and purposeful use of means and instruments of production, motivated by social gain, in order to put an end for ever the exploitation of man by man to raise his standard of living. It will put an end to commodity production, and therewith to the domination of the product over the producer[1], (d) abolition of the anti-thesis between town and country and between mental labour and physical labour; and (e) replacement of the law of value by social demand as the regulator of the economy;

1. Engels wrote: 'The seizure of the means of prdouction by society puts an end to commodity production and therewith to the domination of the product over the producer.' —Stalin: *Economic Problem of Socialism*, p. 13.

(f) replacement of the old culture by a new culture in which 'labour' becomes not only a means of living, but itself the first necessity of life.[2]

Besides, there is a number of difinitions of Socialism given by different writers, viz., Morrison, Sweezy, Schumpeter, Ludwig, Vonmises, Emmile Burns, H. Smith, T. J. B. Hoff, etc.[3]

Morrison's definition is vague as it does not draw a line of demarcation between the big industries which are to be nationalised and the small which are not to be nationalised. Where to stop the process of Nationalisation? Sweezy's definition is more comprehensive but it conveys only the economic aspect of the socialist order. He has defined socialism as a social system which is differentiated from other social systems by the charter of its property relations which are expressed in terms of private ownership, of the means of consumption and social ownership of the means of production. Schumpeter's emphasis is on the state control over the means of production and over production. But socialisation of the means and instruments of production which includes both ownership and control is not the same thing as the state control of the means of production.

Whatever be the minor differences between the different definitions of socialism, there is no disagreement as regards the chief features of the socialist society. That is they are: (1) abolition of private property, (2) socialisation of the means and instruments of production, and (3) centralised planning which leads to the establishment of a classless society through violent Proletarian Revolution and dictatorship. From these features there arise some important questions: (a) Should the society seize all or only a part of the means of production? (b) Is socialism opposed to any and every kind of private property? (c) Should it be achieved only through violent proleterian revolution or through democratic and constitutional means? (d) Should there be only one road or many roads to Socialism?

Socialism in Practice

Russia was the first country to experience a socialist upheaval in 1917. From 1917 to 1926 several times she had to vary her economic position in regard to the private ownership of the means and instruments of production and the consequent socialisation thereof. During the first period, that is, the period of worker's control from November, 1917 to July, 1918, private ownership and control was put under state regulation. The producers were asked to produce what the country needed them to produce.

As a result of this policy production fell all round and indiscipline prevailed among the workers. To crown all, there were counter-revolutions and civil war directed to strangulate the newly-born baby of Soviet revolution. Hence from July 1918, to 1920 military necessity made it necessary to introduce the Economic Policy of War Communism which meant (a) nationalisation of large-scale as well as small-scale industries, (b) compulsory appropriation by state of agricultural surpluses from the peasantry and (c) introduction of universal labour service.[4] Thus political situation was at the bottom for the most part of nationalisation policy. War Communism was a set of urgency measures—a temporary deviation from National Course. It was an empirical creation not as a-priori product of theory; as an improvisation in face of economic necessity and military urgency in conditions of exhausting civil war.[5]

As it was a temporary measure,[6] the fast spreading tide of Nationalisation and Agricultural Appropriation Act was turned from left to right to the task of peaceful economic construction under the new economic policy in 1921, by which time the Red Army was a complete success in routing the counter-revolutionary forces. According to this policy, Agricultural Appropriation Act was replaced by Agricultural Grain Tax, after the payment of which the entire agricultural produce was to be at the full disposal of the peasantry, to sell freely if they choose.

This meant re-introduction of free trade in agriculture after the payment of Government's share in the form of Grain Tax. In the field of industries, money and banking systems were re-introduced and private initiative was encouraged. As many as 4,000 industrial concerns were denationalised and were either returned to their former owners or leased to co-operatives or private enterpreneurs. Only the large and important enterprises remained in the ownership and control of the state. Some of the existing enterprises were leased to foreign entrepreneurs and concessions were granted to them for certain new productions while others were organised as Mixed Enterprises with State and Private capital. The NEP was hailed in the bourgeoisie world as a retreat toward Capitalism. But as Lenin said, it was only one step backward for two steps forward, which were amply supported by its results. Although, 84½ per cent of the total enterprises came in the hands of private persons, yet they employed only 12 per cent of the total workers. State enterprises were, no doubt, only 8.5 per cent of the total, but the workers employed in them were 84.1 per cent of the total. 3.1 per cent were co-operatives. In 1929, in the F.F.Y.P. Russia embarked upon a policy of rapid industrialisation with special emphasis on the development of basic and defence industries. The natural corollary of this policy was the rapid collectivisation of agriculture with modern techiniques and machines.[7] This became the method to affect revolution in the social and economic basis of the Russian rural life. Rapid industrialisation[8] in its early stages was made possible only at the expense of the supplies available for consumption. In

2. Emile Burns: *What is Marxism?*, p. 63.

3. Morrison: 'The important essentials of Socialism are that all the great industries and the land should be owned publicly or collectively and that they should be conducted (in conformity with a national economic plan) for the common good instead of for profit.'—Pigou: *Socialism* vs. *Capitalism*, p. 7.

Sweezy: 'Socialism is a complete social system which differs from capitalism not only in the absence of private ownership in the means of production but also in its basic structure and mode of functioning.'—*Socialism*, p. 5.

Schumpeter: 'Socialist society is an institutional pattern in which the control over means of production and over production itself is vested with a central authority.—*Capitalism, Socialism, and Democracy*, p. 167.

Ludwig Vonmises: 'By socialism is understood the socialisation of the means of production with its corollary, the centralised control of the whole of production by one social or more accurately, state organ.'—*Socialism*, p. 15.

T. J. B. Hoff: 'A socialist society is one organised to avoid or minimise economic problems.'—*Economic Journal*, Sept., 1955, p. 416.

4. Article 1 of the 1918 Soviet Constitution declared that (a) all private property in land is abolished and the entire land is declared to be the national property and is to be apportioned among agriculturists without any compensation to the former owners in the measure of each one's ability to till it; (b) all forests, treasures of earth, and water of general public utility, all equipment, whether animate or inanimate are declared to be national property, (c) exploiters should not hold a position in any branch of Soviet Government and the power must belong to the toiling masses. Article 2 established the Proletatiat Dictatorship and the moto, He shall not eat who does not work.'—Laidler: *Social and Economic Movement*, p. 384.

5. Dobb: *Soviet Economy Since 1917.*

6. Lenin said: 'War Communism was thrust upon us by war and ruin. It was not nor could it be a policy that corresponded to the economic task of the Proletariat. It was a temporary measure.'—*Ibid.*

7. Dobb: 'But the corner-stone of this imposing arch was the policy with regard to agriculture. It consisted in nothing else than the transformation of peasant agriculture on to the basis of co-operative or collective farming in large units, on which up-to-date and mechanised methods of cultivation could be employed; a revolution in the social and economic basis of the village within space of half a decade.'—*Soviet Economy and the War*, p. 14.

8. The amount to be invested in the economy as a whole was set at the surprising figure of about 25 per cent of the national income.—*Ibid*, p. 16.

1930, a decree for the liquidation of the Kulaks as a class was formally issued, which involved the confiscation of their porperty and the banishment of forced labour. In thousands they marched under guards to the new settlements in the far-away steppes and Tundras.[9] Thus the Russian socialism took the form of collectivised and mechanised farming in the rural sector and large-scale centralised factory system production in the industrial sector of her economy.

As regards her capital requirements, Russia excluded the idea of raising loans abroad on principle.[10] She found her colonies in her own agriculture for the benefit of her socialist industrialisation.[11] Peasant agriculture of low productivity was transformed into co-operative or collective farming of high productivity in large units Of course, the cost of collectivisation was very high both in terms of man-power and animal-power.[12] The conditions for the accumulation of means for rapid industrialisation were as follows: (a) the conversion of the principal means of production and all of the country's resources into state property; (b) concentration in the hands of the state of all income from industry, from home and foreign trade and from other state enterprises, (c) utilisation by the state of the entire credit system (banks, internal loans, individual savings), (d) the absence of parasitical unproductive consumption and (e) the planned economic development.[13]

9. Laidler: *Economic and Social Movement*, p. 399.

10. Dobb: *Soviet Economy and the War*, p. 12.

11. *Ibid*, p. 12.

12. Jasny: 'Although the Kolkhosy were not intended to serve the interests of the collectivised peasantry, the unfortunate members of the new collective farms were called upon to surrender along with their productive livestock. Rather than comply, the peasants sold, consumed, or destroyed the livestock, even their horses, which in the Soviet Union as a whole, declined from 33.5 million in 1928 to 16.6 million in 1933.'—*The Socialised Agriculture of the U.S.S.R.*, p. 7.

Socialism in East Europe

After the second world war, the countries of East Europe have also undergone revolutions. The dominant leftwing political parties supported public ownership solution of their economic problems as a matter of socialist principle.[14] But unlike the Russian experiment, private ownership and enterprise have also been given a role to play.[15] The fundamental features of the new economy are: (a) the distribution of land to the peasant with a consequent destruction of the power of the old landlord class; (b) nationlisation of large-scale enterprises in the fields of industries, finance, transport and communication; (c) denationalisation of small-scale industries; (d) organisation of co-operatives of foodstuffs with state aid and encouragement; (e) the adoption of planning as a permanent principle of economic organisation; and (f) replacement of policies leading to political and economic antagonisms by policies of mutual conciliation and collaboration. These features indicate that the societies of these countries are mixed societies in transition to socialism. It should be noted from the investment pattern of their economic planning that they have not put the same emphasis on the development of their defence industries as Russia did, because of the changed situation. They could avoid huge military expenditure because they could count upon the Russian armed might, and also forced collectivisation in agriculture at break-neck speed. They believe in 'Revolution by consent in the countryside'.

13. E. Frolov: *Industrialisation without Foreign Loan*, p. 12.

14. Sweezy: *Socialism*, p. 64.

15. Sweezy: 'If industry can be built up to the point where agricultural machinery and consumer's goods are available, and if the State can demonstrate in a practical way, how the one can be used to acquire the other, there should be no insuperable obstacle on the way of a 'revolution by consent' in the countryside.' —*Socialism*, pp. 64-65.

Yugoslav experiment is still more different. In the words of Shri Jaiprakash Narayan: "People there are not embarrassed to talk about a stateless society. They talk about economic and political decentralisation as we do in the Gandhian sense. The farms there belong to the community. They are social farms. Participation in management as it is being tried out on a small-scale in India, is neither fish nor foul"[16]

Chinese Experiment

Still more different from Russian, is the Chinese Experiment. Here practical considerations are more important than doctrinaire ideological principles. China's new demoracy is a dictatorship, not of the proletariat alone as it is in Russia, or of the capitalists as it is in the west, but of all the revolutionary elements over the traitors and counter-revolutionaries with the ultimate aim of establishing a classless society. In the field of her economic reorganisation, China has also nationalised big banks, big industries, big businesses whether foreign or national having monopolistic character and which due to their big scale, are beyond the individual's power to set up. But the most important difference to be borne in mind in the case of China is that nationalisation of the aforesaid industries has been adopted not as a matter of socialist principle, as has been done elsewhere, but due to practical consideration. China has evolved a new principle—principle of 'Capital Restriction'[17]—which means that the state shall nationalise only those industries which are expected to manipulate the life of the people. The Government will not confiscate either capitalist private property, nor will it restrict the development of capitalist production, which cannot manipulate the life of the people, in view of the fact that the economy of China is still in a very backward state.[18] The communists in China have evolved a new approach to the capitalists in China. They recognised that many of the capitalists were patriots and hence tried to win over them and make use of their services instead of eliminating them.[19] Thus the transformed attitude of the capitalists has been more important to the growth of a socialist society in China than the fact of their ownership of the means of production. The capitalists were ready to convert their private enterprises into joint State-Private enterprises in which the Government would contribute some capital and appoint Manager or Assistant Manager, and the factory would be organised more or less on the lines of state factories. Besides, the Government is giving 5 per cent dividend on all private capital and investment (national) and 8 per cent dividend guranteed to the overseas Chinese on their investment. All that the capitalists wanted in China was not the strangulation of the Chinese Revolution as they did in Russia, but a phased transition to socialism with two or three plan-periods and they have got it.

In the field of agriculture, Chinese socialism speedily went through Land Reforms with emphasis on 'land for the tiller' with the idea of Maximising Production and Equalising Distribution. The whole scheme of Agrarian Reforms laws revolved round the central idea of Maximisation of Production, although they meant (a) an extraordinarily wide distribution of ownership in land; and (b) allotment of land to former landlords on the same basis as to the farmers and labourers.[20]

Rich peasants cultivating their own lands were not at this stage, disturbed.

16. J. P.: His speech published in the *Statesman* (Calcutta), dated 24.9.58.

17. Mao Tse-tung: *China's New Democracy*, p. 13.

18. *Ibid*, p. 13.

19. The report of the Indian delegation to China on Agriculture Planning and Techniques, p. 15.

20. Altogether about 118 million acres of land were distributed among 300 million peasants, men and women, an average of one-third of an acre per head.—*Ibid*, p. 108.

while a proportion of middle-class peasants actually obtained additional land in accordance with the scale of distribution adopted in each local area. Agricultural co-operation followed naturally from Land Reforms. This co-operation had to pass through various steps and every step was directed in perfect sequence of the previous ones towards the establishment of a socialist society. The first step was (a) Formation of Mutual Aid Teems, much alike to 'Jon-paincha system' in rural India; (b) the second, organisation of co-operatives of advanced types, which abolished the privilege of 5 p.c. dividend on land in private ownership. By the middle of 1956 92 per cent of all the peasant families joined co-operative farms and the methods used were those of persuation and education.[21]

It must be borne in mind that unlike Russian collectivised farms, Chinese co-operative farms are neither modernised, nor mechanised. For the time being, the Chinese have proposed to increase their agricultural production through better utilisation of man-power and animal-power. China has not nationalised lands, nor the private element has been eliminated cent per cent. Each farmer has been given a private garden plot of one-fifth to one-third acre approximately on which he can produce vegetables, keep poultry and pigs. Cattle and larger farm implements have been turned into common property, after payment of full compensation to the owners.

In China, the state control over agriculture is not so close and direct as it is in Russia where there are only a lakh and odd of big state and collective farms as against a million of relatively small co-operative farms besides an appreciable number of individual peasants in China. Basides, price policy and provisions of incentives play a much more important role in Chinese agriculture than in Russia.[22]

21. Report of the Indian Delegation to China on *Agricultural Planning and Techniques*, p. 60.

22. *Ibid*, p. 7.

The aforesaid study of the different forms which Socialism has taken in practice in different countries throws important light on the ways and means to be adopted in different countries with different backgrounds of their economic, social and cultural problems and international, political and economic situations. Russian pattern of socialism was determined under the stress and strain of war, civil war, sabotage and conspiracy.

East European pattern was the result of Post World War II revolutions with Russian armed might to defend them from foreign aggression. China's pattern has been determined more by the character of China's underdeveloped economy than by any other factor. But the ultimate aims of these countries are the same: (a) classless society, (b) dictatorship of the revolutionary masses and (c) socialist methods of production and distribution.

India's Case

Before we discuss the various features of Indian socialistic pattern of society, we must note that (a) in the first place, Indian freedom is the result of Bapu's non-violent and peaceful struggle; (b) India has in both the camps of the world a big reservoir of good-will and sympathy resulting out of her national and international policies based on non-violence and truth; (c) India stands today in a completely different background, economic and political, from what Russia had to face and (d) lastly, India's freedom is the result of the co-operative peaceful struggle of all the sections of the Indian people, and not that of the violent efforts of only one class of people. Powers of the world are more balanced today than what they were in 1917 or 1918. Besides the elements of world co-operation have increased and are materialising themselves in the forms of international forums, like U.N.O. and its different organisations.

Foundations of the socialistic pattern of society have already been laid down in the Preamble of the Indian Constitution, its chapters on Fundamental Rights and on the Directive Principles of State Policy.

Later on, chapters of the 2nd. F.Y.P. on 'approach to the plan' and 'its objectives' explain the salient features of the socialistic society India is going to have after the completion of the 3rd. F.Y.P.

The first feature of India's socialistic society is that India is a sovereign democratic Republic of the Indian people comprising of all the sections, rich and poor, and 'haves' and 'have-nots'. All the words sovereign, democratic and republic are significant as they tell us everything about our political status (free from foreign rule), our method (constitutional) and organs to change our society (through press, propaganda, radio, cinema, newspapers, meetings, etc.) and the nature of government which is of the people, by the people, and for the people (parliamentary democracy). The meaning of these words would be clear still if we compare it with that of the words used for Russia. Russia is called the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. Russia was not a dependent nation, whereas we were and that's why the absence of the word sovereign. Russia is a socialist state of peasants and workers which means the dictatorship of the Proletariat for affecting the transition to a socialist state. Thus ours is not a sectional approach for the benefit of one particular class, may be the class of workers and peasants, but all comprehensive approach which seeks the benefit of all (Sarvodaya) comprising the Indian people as a whole. The Indian constitution solemnly resolves to secure to all its citizens, justice, social, economic and political; liberty of thought, expression of belief, faith, and worship; equality of status and of opportunity and to promote them among all; fraternity assuring the dignity of the individual and the unity of the nation.

In the second place, the constitution also says that there can be no discrimination against any citizen on grounds only of religion, race, caste, sex, place of birth, or any of them. Only on these grounds, no citizen can be subject to any disability, liability, restriction or condition with regard to (a) access to shops, public restaurants, hotels, and places of public entertainment, or (b) the use of wells, tanks, bathing ghats, roads, and places of public resort. There are also special provisions for women and children, for the advancement of any socially and educationally backward classes of citizens and for the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes. Besides, equality of opportunity in matter of public employment has been assured to all with particular provision of the reservation of appointment or posts in favour of any backward class of citizens which in the opinion of the state is not adequately represented in the services.

As regards the ending of exploitation of man by man—the most important feature of socialism—the Indian constitution is not as much vocal as the Russian constitution is. Rights against exploitation in India simply consist of (a) prohibition of traffic in human beings and forced labour, (b) imposition of compulsory services for public purposes and (c) prohibition of employment of children below the age of 14 in factories, etc. But these children have not been guaranteed proper and balanced diets, adequate clothings, adequate housing, etc. They are not the responsibilities of the state as they are either in Russia or in China. Compulsory education up to the age of 14 has been provided for in the constitution, but empty stomach, naked body and uncared for mind will simply make the efforts unfruitful. Free provision of pure milk at the rate of ½lb., and two slices of bread with a little quantity of butter per student up to the secondary standard would surely satisfy their hunger to some extent.

Indian constitution has also guaranteed to her citizens the right to acquire, hold and dispose of property. No property moveable or unmoveable shall be taken possession of or acquired for public purposes without compensation. Its amount and the manner in which it will be paid are to be determined by the law of the legislature, which shall not be called in question in any court on the ground that the compensation provided for by that law is not adequate.

Under the Directive Principles of State policy, the State shall strive to promote the welfare of the people by securing and protecting as effectively as it may a social order in which justice, social, economic and political shall inform all the institutions of the national life. The State shall direct its policy towards securing that (a) the citizens, men and women, equally have the right to an adequate means of livelihood; (b) the ownership and control of the material resources of the community are so distributed as best to subserve the common good; (c) the operation of the economic system does not result in the concentration of wealth and means of production to the common detriment; (d) there is equal pay for equal work for both men and women; and (e) childhood and youth are protected against exploitation and against moral and material abandonment. The State shall take steps to organise village Panchayats to function as units of self-government, and within the limits of its economic capacity and development, make effective provision for securing public assistance in cases of unemployment due to old age, sickness and disablement. The state shall also endeavour to secure to all workers agricultural, industrial, or otherwise, work, a living wage, condition of work, ensuring a decent standard of life and full enjoyment of leisure, and in portion shall strive to promote cottage industries on an individual or co-operative basis in rural areas.

The Second Five-Year Plan and the Industrial Policy Act of 1948 as amended later on embody the concretised form of the aforesaid approach. The Second Five-Year Plan has four objectives: (a) a rise in national income by 25 per cent by 1961; (b) rapid industrialisation with particular emphasis on the development of basic and heavy industries; (c) a large expansion of employment opportunities; and (d) reduction of inequalities in income and wealth and a more even distribution of economic power.[23]

23. 1948 Industrial Policy; Industries (Development and Regulation) Act of 1951; New Industrial Policy, 1956.

To solve the problems of low standards of living, under-employment and unemployment and to some extent, unequal distribution of income, the agricultural character of our economy has to be transformed into an industrial one with particular emphasis on the development of basic and heavy industries. As these industries are greatly capital-intensive, the problem of unemployment and supply of consumption goods will have to be solved by industries which are labour-intensive. Thus Indian emphasis is both on centralisation and decentralisation—centralisation of the heavy and basic industries in the hands of the Government and decentralisation of consumers' goods industries to be privately owned and managed. Of course, they will be under the general control of the Government as regards their conforming to the General Economic Policy of the Government of India.

Property Relation under the Second Five-Year Plan

The co-existence of public and private sectors is the chief feature of our 2nd Five-Year Plan. Public sector will expand and Private sector has a role to play in developing our economy. In other words, we are not going to apply the principle of Universal Nationalisation as it was done in Russia. All industries in India have been divided into three categories. The first list provides scope for competition between the private units and the state units to ensure the highest degree of productive efficiency. It contains a list of strategic and basic industries (17 in number)[24] whose existing units owned and manned by Private enterprise are not to be nationalised but whose future development will be the exclusive responsibility of the State. The second list consists of 12 industries,[25] which will be progressively state-owned and in which the State will, therefore, generally take initiative in establishing new undertakings but in which private enterprise will also be expected to supplement the efforts of the State. This provides scope for State private enterprise—co-partnership. This list ensures the simultaneous expansion of public and private sectors.

24. These 17 industries are arms and ammunitions, atomic energy, iron and steel, heavy machinery, coal mineral oils, aircraft manufacture, air and railway transport, ship-building, telephone and telegram and generation and distribution of electricity.

The third category is the list of residual industries whose future development will be left to the initiative and enterprise of the private sector, but the state will have the power to start any new undertaking which is necessary in public interest and for the successful execution of Five-Year Plans. This category envisages the scope for mutual co-operation between the state and the private sector which will be helped by the state's appropriate financial and fiscal policies and will be expected to comply with the programmes formulated in the Five-Year Plan.

In the field of agriculture, policy of land nationalisation is not envisaged. Land ceiling will have to be fixed, and the surplus land so obtained will be distributed among the landless agricultural labourers and Harijans.[26] As against the collectivised farming in Russia and co-operative in China, in India, the chief method of rural reconstruction are the community project and National Extention services. Co-operative farming and development of co-operative life will be the main planks of rural re-construction.

The Principle Behind such Property Relations

We have seen that nationalisation in Russia was adopted as a matter of socialist principle; in China, the principle of capital restriction was adopted as a matter of practical consideration; in India, the adoption of the policy of public ownership patrial or complete, and of public control or participation has been envisaged as a matter of technological consideration tending towards a concentration of economic power and of wealth.[27] Only those industries whose technology tends towards concentration of economic power and of wealth will be publicly owned, partially or completely and publicly managed or participated in the management. The rest will have either the planned support and assistance of the state or have fullest scope for private initiative and enterprise either on individual or on co-operative basis.

Thus Indian socialistic society will not be a society ruled by the capitalist as in the west nor by the proletariat (workers and peasants) as in Russia, nor by the alliance of all the revolutionery classes as in China but by the working masses consisting of all the elements of Indian society not in the interest of one particular class (of workers and peasants) but in the interest of the common good, i.e., Sarvodaya.

25. 12 industries are aluminium, ferro-alloys, machine tools, anti-biotics, fertilisers; synthetic rubber, chemical pulp, and road and sea transport.

26. Since the Nagpur session of the I.N. Congress in January, 1959, the surplus land is now to be distributed among the co-operatives.

27. Public ownership partial or complete and public control or participation in management are specially required in these fields which technological consideration tend towards concentration.



THE B. B. C. AND INDIAN FILM LUMINARIES

By "ONLOOKER"

INDIAN film stars and producers have been going abroad for some time, on business and on pleasure bound. But very little notice was taken of them, or voluntary publicity given abroad. Of course, occasional snatches of publicity were given to some, and great splashes were made in Indian film journals out of them, as if earth-shaking furore was caused by their celebrities abroad.



The famous singer Kumar Sachin Deb Burman is seen at the mike

Recently, however, India seems to have "arrived" where films and film celebrities are concerned. Satyajit Roy and his famous production *Father Panchali*, being responsible largely for this change.

The British Broadcasting Corporation of London is now broadcasting more frequently, in their Indian Programmes, interviews given by Indian film celebrities. We append herein three photographs, received by courtesy the B.B.C., London, of three well-known film celebrities.

The first is of the famous singer and Music Director, S. D. Burman, who is at the mike, his son Rahul being face to face with him and Dr. Gyan Kansill, the interviewer being in between the father and the son. Sri S. D. Burman, of course, is, better known and remembered in Calcutta as Kumar Sachin Dev Burman, a scion of the princely house of Tippera, who gave up all in order to take up music as a passion and a profession.

The second is of Sreemati Suchitra Sen, the top-ranking film-star of Bengal, now mostly in Bombay, being interviewed by Sree S. L. Sinha.

The third is of Sri Bimal Roy, the Bombay film Director-*cum*-Producer, with his wife Sreemati Manobina Roy. Bimal Roy gave this interview at the B.B.C. after his recent visit to the Moscow Film Festival. His interviewer is S. L. Sinha.



Mrs. Suchitra Sen one of the popular film stars of Bengal



Mr. Bimal Roy, the well known Indian Film Director and his wife Mrs. Manobina Roy are seen sitting side by side

Bimal Roy though not of the younger generation of directors who form the *avante garde* of the Indian cinema world, is still one of the top rankers who have established themselves through their devotion to their cho art. He is one of the very few of the old gu of the Indian film world, who have not mo gaged their art and soul to the cash register.

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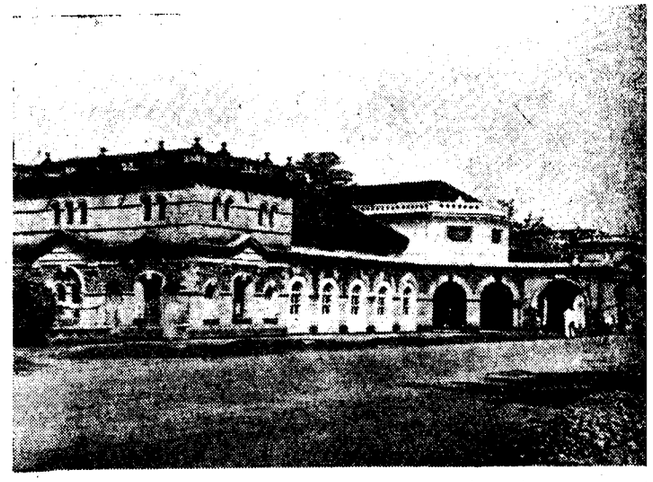
CENTRAL MUSEUM, NAGPUR

Established in 1863, the Central Museum, Nagpur, is housed in a spacious building. The collections, mainly provincial, are divided into four main sections: (1) Art; (2) Anthropology; (3) Natural History, and (4) Archaeology.

The Art Section is devoted to the display of selected specimens of industrial arts and crafts of India. It includes decorated pottery, metal ware, stone and wood carving, inlaid work and textile fabrics.

A Picture Gallery, displaying old and some modern Indian paintings, is a new extension. Illuminated and profusely illustrated manuscripts from the heirloom of the Bhonsla family of Nagpur are of special interest in this section.

For students of anthropology and tribal lore the anthro- the Museum offers rich material. On d play are a variety of material used by t local aborigines like the Gonds and Kork



The front view of the building of the Central Museum of Nagpur.



A stone image of Padmaprabha from Jabalpur belonging to the 9th century A.D.



A stone image of Lakshmi-Narayan belonging to the 10th century A.D.



One of the carved memorial stones depicting a Royal party at pig-hunt (Bundelkhand)

There are also musical instruments, ornaments, costumes, traps and snares, arms, armour and, most interesting of all, the elaborately carved memorial stones. On these stones the subjects attempted include ruling chiefs in procession, pig-hunting, war scenes and victory parades.

The Natural History Section includes a fairly representative collection of the fauna of the State which is very rich. Bird, reptile, mammal and insect galleries are very attractively arranged. Exhibits are arranged in their natural surroundings.

Coloured drawings and charts and a number of illuminated dioramas add to the visitor's interest and knowledge.

The Archaeological Section of the Museum exhibits pre-historic antiquities, sculptures, stone and copper plate inscriptions and coins. Among the pre-historic antiquities, the most interesting are those copper implements and silver ornaments which form a part of the famous find at Gujeria in the Balaghat district.

Metal and Stone Images

The Sculpture Gallery of the Museum mainly contains stone and metal images of the mediaeval period. There are some beautiful images of Shiva and Vishnu, Bodhisatvas and Jain Tirthankaras. Of these, the images of Shiva from Bhandara, the Vishnu image from Nimar Distric the metal images of Buddha and Bodh satva from Sirpur, stone images of Jai Tirthankar from Jabalpur and met images of Jain goddes Sarasvati and Ti thankars from Rajnapur Kinkini deserv special attention.

There are a number of very importar and interesting inscriptions of variou ruling dynasties in the Museum. Th Deotek stone bearing two inscriptions, on of the time of Asoka and the other of th Vakataka King Rudrasena is perhaps th most significant. A Sanskrit inscriptio of the time of Sultan Muhammad o Yoginipura is dated Vikram year 1385 o 1328 A.D. and another records, written i Bundelkhandi Hindi dated Vikram Samva 1826, the period of Raja Aniruddhasingh o the ruling family of Chanderi.

Ancient and medieval coins mainl represent the pre-Muslim dynasties o India, especially the Kalachuri dynasty o Madhya Pradesh. A Babylonian seal abou 4,000 years old is a unique possession o the Museum.

The coin cabinet of the Museum i especially rich in Muslim coins. Thes coins belong to the Sultans of Delhi an their contemporaries in Gujerat, Malva an Bahamani kingdoms. Mughal coins rang from Akbar's period to that of the la Mughal emperor.—*PIB*

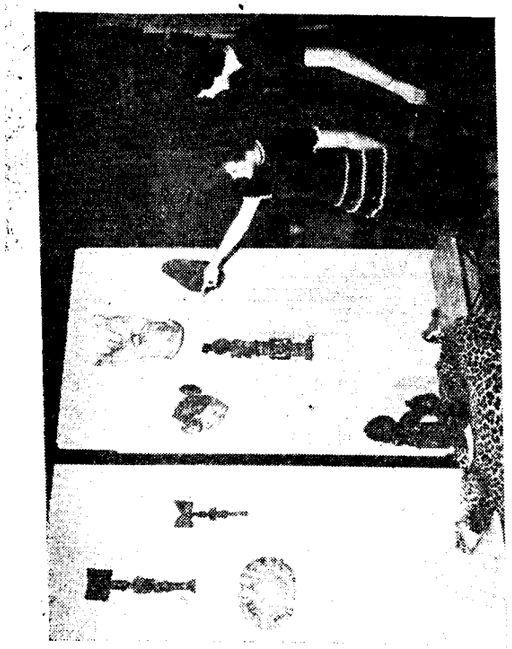
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NIGERIAN ART AND CULTURAL EXHIBIT

American labor, civic, art and education leaders joined in welcoming the Nigerian art and cultural exhibit which opened some time ago at the Carnegie Endowment International Center in New York.

Nigerian students studying in the United States instigated the entire show in response to growing American interest in African culture and assembled more than 150 objects of Nigerian art. Supporting the project are various church groups, labor unions and many prominent American including Mayor Wagner of New York City, U.S. Senator Lehman and Mr Franklin D. Roosevelt, wife of the late U.S President.

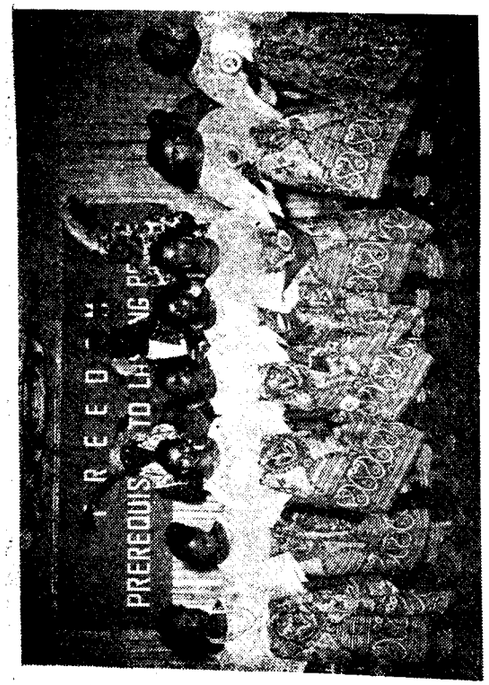
Preview ceremonies featured authenti tribal dances performed in masks an costumes worn outside Africa for the firs time. The performance was interprete by Nigerian students and United Nation employees to the accompaniment o African drums. Other events schedule during the entire month-long exhibit wil be evening programs of dances, films an lectures on African cultural life. U.S. trad



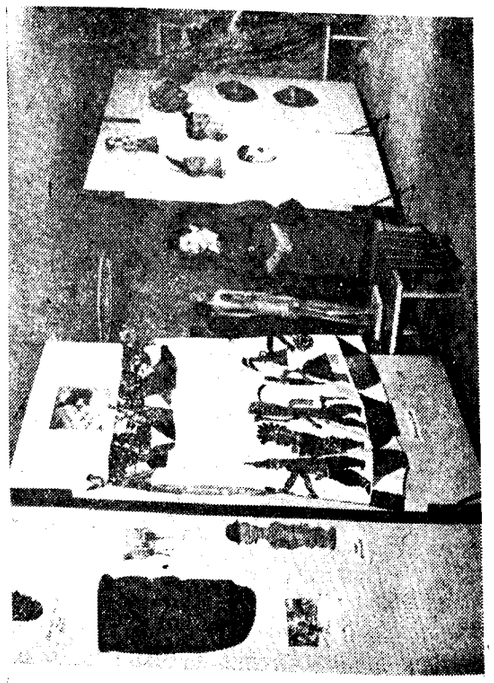
Visitors discuss among themselves the masks and carvings on display



Visitors to the Nigerian art and cultural exhibit in New York



Authentic tribal dance performance as part of the ceremonies during the month-long exhibit



A feature of the exhibit consists of wood-carved secret society masks, photographs and cloth



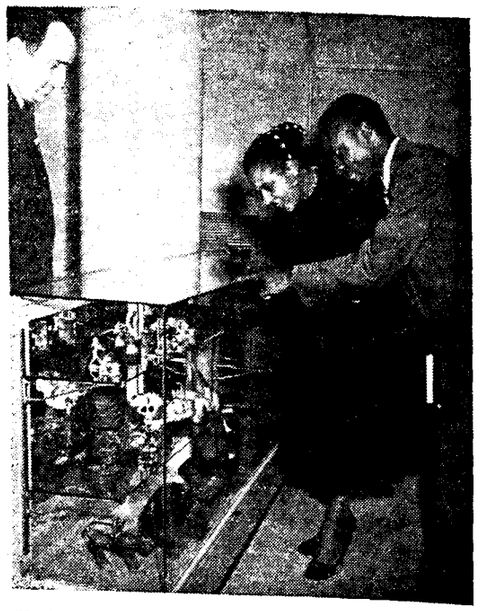
Three guest-speakers sitting left in the opening ceremony of the art exhibit are introduced



Miss Africa of 1954, Maric Lee (Left) at the art exhibit



The characteristic of a small statuette is described by the director of hostesses



Visitors are very much interested in the Nigerian wood carvings



Some art figures are described to a group of interested visitors

unions and civic groups have subscribed to several of these programs in advance to make tickets available to their members.

Featured in the exhibit are musical instruments, textiles and bowls carved of calabosh. One section is devoted entirely to panels of photographs showing various phases of African culture. Other features of the exhibit are carvings in wood, ivory, bronze and other metals representative of both traditional and modern art.

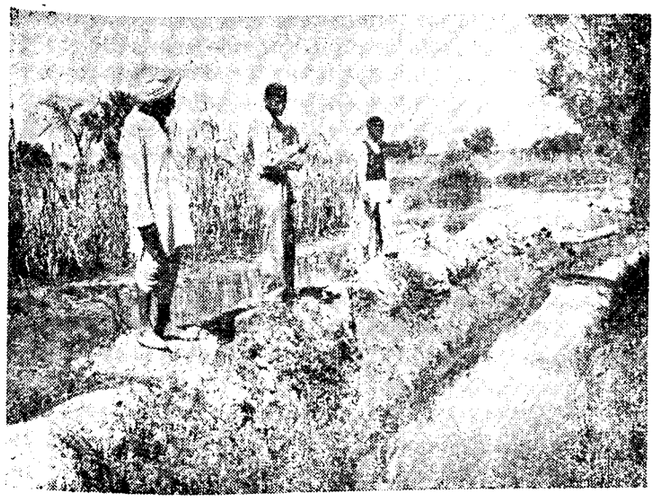
Among the prominent speakers opening night were: Julius Hoffman, vice-president of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, Nigerian affairs expert Dr. Emory Ross, and A. Philip Randolph, international president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.—*USIS*

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TWELVE-FURLONG DRAIN CHANNEL THROUGH SHRAMDAN

Kheragarh Block

This is the saga of the heroic struggle of five villages in Kheragarh C.D. block, in Agra district, against the ravages of torrential rains, which continued intermittently for three and a half months. The deluge totalled over 70 inches, the rainfall on a single day rising as high as 18 inches, as against the annual rainfall of 24 inches.



A section of the Channel built by the villagers of Khergarh Community Development Block

The five villages—Chit, Son, Burehra, Bhilaoli and Bhakar—form a circular ring with a big depression, normally covering nearly 600 acres of submerged land, at the Centre. At the beginning of December, over 4,000 acres of land were still submerged, a sheet of water 2 to 11 feet deep isolating each village, and flooding valuable crops.

It all started mid-July when it rained incessantly for 27 days, submerging 2,000 acres of land, a large part of which had been ploughed for hot-weather cultivation.

The people of the five villages saw that nearly one half of the entire cultivable land of the five villages was already under water. They got perturbed. "If this is the amount of rain at the beginning of the monsoon, what will it lead to? Indeed, most of the houses had been damaged, fodder destroyed and there was danger to the *kharif* crop. "Save the crop" was, therefore, the cry.

Groups of farmers in the five villages separately thought of measures to drain off the water. "Why depend on Government help?" they said, "let us help ourselves."

The youth of Chit took the initiative and dug a 4-furlong long channel through Shramdan to drain off the water. But the water kept standing. The elderly people of the villages warned the youthful enthusiasts that the only precedent of such heavy rain was a great deluge some 85 years ago, and that they remembered having heard, as children, stories of the water having been drained through an escape channel near Bhakar village, situated at

the South Eastern extremity of the depression, into the Van-Ganga.

The people of badly affected Son now decided to give the lead. They conferred with the Block staff. An ad hoc committee consisting of the Panchayat Pradhans, the Gram Sevak of the circle, and the Block Overseer, was appointed. This led to work on digging a channel starting at Bhakar.

Village Pradhan's Donation

The Village Pradhan of Son donated Rs. 1,500 and the adult population under his leadership engaged in Shramdan. The opposition of two villagers of Bhakar, through whose field the channel was to pass, had to be surmounted, because they were adamant and yielded ground only when an assurance was given to them that this drainage channel was only a temporary measure and that their fields would be restored when a permanent channel was constructed by the Irrigation Department. By the end of August a 12-furlong long channel, 6′ wide 6′ deep, was dug. Lal Singh, one of the two who had opposed it, is now proud of the fact that he "sacrificed his fields for the greater good of the five villages."

The flow of the water was very slow, and before draining of water could get into stride, rains again refilled the depression and submerged more land. The picture became grimmer.

Gram Sahayaks' Camp

Just then, on September 25, a Gram Sahayak camp was held at village Son. Some 50 people of the five villages, some of whom waded through breast-deep water to collect there for learning extension techniques, reviewed the situation and concluded that the challenge of nature must be met by widening and deepening the channel to drain off the water. They formed a deputation and went to Bhilaoli whose Pradhan Hakim Singh offered the help of the adult population of his village for Shramdan. The people of Burehra also joined. So did those of Chit.

But nature was relentless. Before the villagers could start the work of widening and deepening the channel, it rained for a week from September 27 to October 3, submerging in all nearly four-fifths of the 7,511 acres of land. The huge sheet of water covered an area 4½ miles long and 3½ miles wide.

The Irrigation Department, according to the village leaders, surveyed the situation and calculated that to drain off the bulk of the flood water it would require at least Rs. 43,000 if labour could be procured at the rate of Re. 1 per day. But landless labourers by this time had deserted their damaged houses and gone away, with their cattle, to seek uncertain shelter as against the certain doom in their damaged houses. The only way open was Shramdan.

The Pradhans of the five villages, led by the Pradhan of Son, gave an assurance that if the district authorities provided some help, they would marshall the entire available adult population of the five villages for Shramdan. The district authorities at this point assured a provision of Rs. 5,000 out of the scheme for a permanent drain which the Department had prepared three years ago and is to be implemented next year.

Ultimately, Shramdan work was started on October 26. For nearly 20 days, 100 people drawn from the five villages worked voluntarily every day, digging a total of 360,000 c. ft. of earth, including the removal of earth dug earlier, in order to widen and deepen the channel. The channel, which, at places, is 11 feet deep, was opened on November 15 with great enthusiasm, the Yuvak Mandals of the five villages taking active part. The water started draining. It is estimated that within another fortnight the cultivable fields would be rid of water.

Plans for Rabi Crop

The money and labour invested in ploughing and sowing for kharif have been carried away by the flood water. But the deluge has left a gift: the discovery by the villagers of their own initiative and what it can achieve. The people are now planning for the Rabi crop and have already drawn up plans for late sowing of wheat which could ripen early with the help of chemical fertilizers, and of the Darjeeling 'out' potato which, when harvested, would be kept at a cold storage at Agra. This will fetch them higher prices at seed-rate at the time of potato sowing next year.—*PIB.*

FLOOD PROBLEM IN KASHMIR

By P. N. K. BAMZAI

THERE is a tradition that the Kashmir valley was, aeons ago, a vast mountain-lake called Satisar. That some volcanic action had a share either in the formation of the original lake or its subsequent desiccation is very probable. The soil contains remains of fish and fossil oysters and the black shells of the water chestnut may be found in layers embedded in the sides of the mountain at a height of 1,500 feet above the level of the valley. The flat and uniformly even surface of the plateaux can only be attributed to their having been submerged for ages beneath the still, calm waters of a deep lake.

No wonder that this desiccated lake shaped like an oval wash-basin, has suffered heavily from floods. The local history, the *Rajatarangini* of Kalhana (12th Century A.D.) gives accounts of the terrible havoc caused by floods and mentions the anti-flood works undertaken by various rulers at different times. During the last thirty years there have been no less than seven major floods causing enormous destruction to life, property and crops. Famines and epidemics have followed in their trail and this year's flood has given a serious set-back to the development projects undertaken as a result of the First and Second Five-Year Plans. Unless flood-protection measures are quickly and boldly executed, the people of the valley can never hope to banish poverty and want from the land.

A cursory look at the contour of the valley will, however, show that the problem is not an easy one.

The mountain ranges surrounding it rise to a height of 18,000 feet on the north-east, dipping down to something over 9,000 feet in the south, where the Banihal pass affords an exit. The catchment area has been calculated to be 116 miles long with a width that varies from 40 to 75 miles. So the Jhelum, the main river which takes its source from the foot of the Banihal pass in the south, receives the rainfall of some 3,900 square miles.

The only outlet for this is the narrow gorge at Baramula where the placid river leaves the smooth grassy banks, and hurries headlong down its rocky course to the plains of the Punjab.

With its normal average rainfall, however, there could be no serious threat of a flood to the valley. But during the long winter months when the western monsoon is active, Kashmir experiences a heavy snowfall which remains accumulated on the higher reaches of the mountains far into the summer. Though one is charmed to view, from a point of vantage, the beautiful glittering circles of lofty snow-capped mountains surrounding the valley and to watch the glorious sunset transmute their snowy crests to a golden rose, one cannot but shudder at the thought of the catastrophe this snow causes to the valley after a heavy rainfall in summer. For, it is then that enormous quantities of melted snow rush down the mountain sides, quickly filling the basin of the valley and the outlet being too narrow for the flood waters to escape, inundate extensive areas.

The founders of Srinagar have bequeathed a serious engineering problem, for all the flood waters of the south must pass the city in their course to the outlet at Baramula. The more, therefore, Srinagar is protected, the more obstruction will there be to the passage of waters through the city.

With the passing of time the problem is getting more difficult. Huge quantities of rubble, sand and soil, washed down the surrounding mountains, are silting up the river bed and the Wular lake which acts as a natural Delta of the Jhelum. In its course from Khanabal to the Wular, the fall of the river is only 165 feet in the first 30 miles, and 55 feet in the next 24 miles. From the Wular to Baramula the fall is very slight. The backflow

from the Wular in this year's flood shows that the lake is dangerously filling up from silt. And with the building of artificial embankments the silting process is further speeded up, so much so that below Srinagar the river bed is now above the level of the country on its left bank, with the result that there is a series of swamps into which the drainage from the mountains on the west pours with no outlet to the Jhelum.

In the 8th century A.D., Lalitaditya had with great exertions, drained out some water from the valley but after him the drainage operations had been neglected with the result that floods were devastating the country with as much force as ever. In Avantivarman's time (854-883 A.D.) floods and the resulting famines had put the king and the people in despair. There appeared a man, named Suyya, who asserted that he could relieve the land of the curse of floods, if he was given the means to do so. He would not, however, explain his scheme, and the courtiers declared him to be mad; yet the king wanted to test him and placed his treasures at his disposal. Suyya took many pots full of money in a boat and started towards Madavarajya (south of the valley). He threw a pot at a village called Nandaka (Nandi on the Veshau river) which was submerged in the flood and then hastily dashed to Yaksha-dara (Dyara-gul near Khadanyar below Baramula) and there threw handfuls of money into the river. The famine-stricken people jumped into the river and began to excavate its bed to find out the precious coins. Rocks had rolled down the river from the adjacent hills choking up the outlet and these the people removed. In two or three days the river bed was thus cleared. Suyya then had embankments raised on either side of the river and had the bed further deepened and cleared of rocks. This accelerated the flow of the river and the flood-water speedily ran out. The submerged land reappeared. The pot full of money which he had dropped at Nandaka emerged from the waters, demonstrating that by deepening the river bed at Baramula, low-lying swamps 80 miles away in the south could be reclaimed.

Previously the Jhelum and the Sindh met at Parihasapura (Paraspor) but Suyya planned their confluence at the place where it is at present. The course of the river was regulated by him in such a manner that it flowed out right through the Wular lake. Suyya had many villages reclaimed from marshy tracts by having embankments raised all round them to keep out the water, so that they looked like round bowls (*kundal*) and the people hence called them Kundala. Even to this day some villages, Utsa-kundal and Mara-kundal, for instance, retain this designation.

Political uncertainty and invasions of ruthless hordes from across the borders prevented the people from maintaing these works and the floods took the usual toll of life and property.

In the time of Zain-ul-Abidin (1420-70 A.D.) however flood protection works on the lines indicated by Suyya, were again taken in hand. But his reign was followed by chaotic conditions and Kashmir had to suffer for a long time not only from the miseries inflicted by man but also by natural calamities in the shape of floods, famines and epidemics.

In recent times the serious floods of 1893 and 1903 caused enormous damage to life and property. In 1903 five inches of rain fell between 11th and 17th July and eight inches from 21st to 23rd. The river rose to a maximum of R.L. 5,200.37 on the 24th. The whole valley became one vast expanse of water causing a fearful loss of life, property and crops.

In Srinagar the Civil Lines and the European Quarters which had expanded without proper planning towards the low-lying areas, were the worst-hit parts. This set the State administration to some hard thinking. The State Engineer, Mr. Field, in collaboration with Major A. de Lotbiniere, R.E., prepared a comprehensive flood protection scheme after a survey of the valley. Their recommendations followed the line taken by Suyya 1100 years ago. They recommended that to give a quicker and wider outlet to the flood waters, the bed of the river from Wular to Baramula be deepened and widened. This would help in a quicker drainage of flood waters and also in reclaiming large swamps in the valley. The dredgers required for this operation were to be run by electric power, which the engineers proposed to generate at Mohora 17 miles away. It is interesting to note that originally this power-house which has been washed away by this year's floods was meant for the dredging operations at Baramula.

Another important recommendation of the engineers was to dig a spill channel from above Srinagar to be extended to the Wular lake by lowering the beds of the Jhelum tributaries on the western side. This they thought would carry a large proportion of flood waters and would definitely help in saving the city from the fury of the floods.

In 1905-6 the machinery required for the hydro-electric generating plant at Mohora and the dredgers for deepening the bed of the river at Baramula were ordered from America. The Mohora power-house was completed by the end of 1907 and the dredging operations began in 1908. By 1912 an area of 6,100 acres was reclaimed from round the Wular lake and allotted to cultivators for growing paddy.

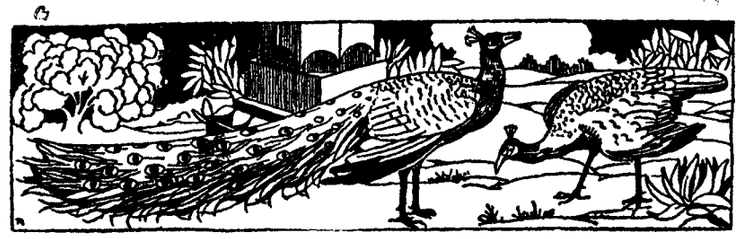
Fortunately for the valley there were no major floods for a quarter of a century. The dredging operations were considered by the State as useless expenditure and in 1917 the dredgers were sold as scrap. The excavated sand and silt deposited by the dredgers was washed back by rain into the river and the spill channel was slowly brought by greedy cultivators under the plough. In 1928, however, a serious flood towards the end of August gave a rude shock to the complacent administration. The lowlying parts of the city which had by then extended to a bigger area were inundated and destruction was caused to the standing crops. The State Government undertook some half-hearted protection measures, by building artificial embankments round the low-lying parts of Srinagar —the chief aim being to save the city at the cost of the rest of the valley.

The Central Water and Power Commission has now prepared a Master Plan for protecting the valley from recurring floods. From the outline of the plan, it appears that it is fundamentally on the lines of Maj. Lotbiniere's Scheme, though more comprehensive.

The chief remedy, however, lies in deepening the bed of the river not only below the Wular but also from Shadipur (the confluence of the Sindh and the Jhelum) to the mouth of the lake. With modern heavy dredgers it is not a difficult job. The Mohora Power House shall have to be rebuilt with more powerful generators, to supply power to the dredgers and to relieve the load that Gandarbal Power House is carrying at present.

Side by side with dredging operations it is also imperative that the waters of the Jhelum be taken direct from above Srinagar to the Wular over the low-lying swamps towards the west of the valley. Many engineering problems will arise here because the bed of the Dudhganga, an important tributary of the Jhelum on the west, is higher than the main river. The course of the tributaries like Veshau, Lidder, Sindh and Pohru shall have to be regulated.

Above all, sustained effort and constant vigilance are to be maintained to save this beautiful land from the ravages of flood and famine.



CHANGING THE MAP OF THE MONGOLIAN PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC

By SATYABRATA GOSWAMI, M.A.
Lecturer in Geography, Presidency College, Calcutta

THE recent visit of Mr. Tsedenbal, the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Mongolian People's Republic (MPR) or commonly known Outer Mongolia, to our country in September last is an occasion to renew and strengthen the age-old contacts between the two countries. India is the only non-communist country with which MPR has been in diplomatic relation since 1956 and trade relation since early 1959. Both the countries have been passing through a phase of transition to socialism based on planned economy and the cultural and linguistic links between the two extend back to dim antiquity. In a joint press communique issued in New Delhi on September 15, 1959, the Prime Minister, Mr. Nehru, and the Mongolian Chairman, Mr. Tsedenbal reaffirmed their strong belief in the principles of peaceful co-existence and solution of all international problems by peaceful means and the spirit of mutual understanding. Both the countries stand for strengthening the Afro-Asian solidarity and peace throughout the world. The present essay gives a rapid view of Outer Mongolia's changing face with particular stress on the strategic value and socio-economic transformation of the country which lies in a delicate buffer zone between two great powers, the Soviet Union on the north and the Chinese People's Republic on the South.

Politically oriented to the Soviet Union and economically to both the neighbours, modern Outer Mongolia is constitutionally an independent sovereign republic in contrast to Inner Mongolia which forms an autonomous region of the Chinese territory. Notwithstanding the full Chinese control, a strong nationalist sentiment survives in Inner Mongolia as in Tibet for separation from the Chinese People's Republic and union with MPR, to form what is known as the "Greater Mongolia" in which the Mongols and not the Hans constitute the predominant ethnic stock. Mongolia conceived as such is more of a physical and cultural expression than a well-defined political area. The expression is applied to the seemingly limitless land of the blue sky, of pastoral nomadism and camel caravan, of the desert riddle of the Gobi and the encircling steppe, which extends northward from the Chinese Great Wall to the southern frontier of Siberia. From this arid core have started time after time waves of migrations to the farthest limits of Eurasia.

During the 13th century, the Mongols under Genghis Khan built up a vast empire stretching from the Pacific Coast of China westward to the Mediterranean. But owing to difficulties of transport, the Mongol Empire began to disintegrate as soon as it was built, so that under his grandson, Kublai Khan and later successors, it shrank to what is now MPR and China without Tibet. The Yuan or Mongol Dynasty ruled China for over one hundred years and it was to the court of Kublai Khan that the great explorer Marco Polo came in the last quarter of the 13th century. Ultimately the Mongols were driven out to their original desert and steppe homeland north of the Great Wall by a revitalized Chinese nation. Meanwhile, the military spirit of the Mongols was softened by the spread of Lamaist Buddhism from Tibet and the Chinese control was gradually extended by the Manchu emperors to inner Asian lands of Mongolia, Sinkiang and, for the first time, the entire Tibetan plateau. Since the beginning of the 20th century, the subjugated Mongols felt a strong resentment against the exploitation of their best land by the Chinese farmers and colonists and the monopolization of the major part of their trade by the Chinese merchants. Naturally, a widespread demand arose for separation from Imperial China. After the overthrow of the Manchu dynasty by the Revolution of 1911, the Chinese control and supremacy declined very rapidly in Outer Mongolia which then for the first time showed signs of an opposite swing toward the Russian sphere of influence. After the Russian Revolution of 1917, the Khalka tribe of Northern Mongolia received active support and help from the new Soviet regime to get back their independence. After a series of uprisings, they finally broke with China in 1921 and declared their newly organized country of Outer Mongolia as the Mongolian People's Republic (MPR) in 1924. However, China did not give official recognition to this new sovereign State until January 5, 1946, when as a result of Soviet pressure and Sino-Soviet Yalta Agreement of 1945, followed by a plebiscite in Outer Mongolia, the Chinese Nationalist Government recognized the independence of MPR "in her existing boundaries." The political future of MPR is thus assured by eliminating a source of fanciful Chinese irredentism. Curiously enough, although the agreement was ratified by the Chinese Communist Government, the formal recognition of Outer Mongolia's independence was withdrawn in 1953 by the Nationalist Government of Taiwan.

In spite of the existing agreements, there are considerable disputes between MPR and the Chinese People's Republic with regard to the fixation of the Altai Mountain border between western Outer Mongolia and China's Sinkiang Province as well as the boundary between Outer and Inner Mongolia. Although the 2,700-mile long border of MPR with China is very neatly defined on Soviet maps, based on intensive survey, it is drawn very roughly on Chinese maps, claiming a good chunk of the border lands of MPR as their own. The significance of the border disputes lies in the existence of several gaps across the 13,000 feet high Altai Range, marking the strategic routes from the Soviet Union and MPR to the lowlands of Dzungaria and the Tarim basin in Sinkiang. Such conflicting claims on an uneconomic desert and mountain frontier fail to conceal a deep-seated suspicion of each other in spite of their recent ideological alliance. The boundaries next to the Soviet Union have also moved, as in 1945, when Tannu Tuva, a part of Mongolia, was incorporated within the U.S.S.R. Soviet interest in MPR is evident for several reasons. Firstly, the northern border of Outer Mongolia is very close to the vital trans-Siberian railway, while its southern border holds the key to Sinkiang through Altai gateways and to Inner Mongolia and Manchuria across the plateau of Gobi and steppe grasslands. Moreover, the vast stretches of the Mongolian plains are not only suitable for the movement of troops, tanks and trucks but they also provide ideal sites for the building of air bases. The strategic value of Outer Mongolia's position was clearly shown during the last Great War when the Soviet-Mongol motorized forces advanced from their mobilizing bases in inner Asia against the retreating Japanese army in Manchuria and Korea. MPR is, therefore, destined to play a role in the history of modern Eurasia, contrary to its economic viability and who knows in future it will not become a bone of contention between China and the Soviet Union!

Apparently common Sino-Soviet interest in MPR is shown by the building of modern means of communications, automobile roads, railways and air lines, telephone and telegraph links to tap its resources and promote mutual trade for closer integration of the Communist world, but Russian control in defending and mobilizing this area is exclusive of the Chinese economic penetration. The political and economic ties with the Soviet Union have been strengthened by the completion in 1949 of a railroad between Ulan Bator, the capital of MPR, and Ulan Ude on the Trans-Siberian railway in the U.S.S.R. In late 1955, the Ulan Ude-Ulan Bator railway was extended southward beyond the frontier of Outer Mongolia to join the Chinese capital, Peking, *via* Tsining railhead in Inner Mongolia. This trans-Mongolian railroad is not only a vital link between MPR and its northern and southern neighbours, but it shortens the Moscow-Peking run *via* Ulan Bator by nearly 700 miles in comparison with the similar run *via* Manchouli on the Russo-Chinese border. A motorable highway parallels the Peking-Ulan Bator-Ulan Ude rail route. Several air lines also operate between the Soviet Union and MPR and it is only since December, 1958, that a regular air service has been started between Ulan Bator and Peking. These up-to-date means of communications tend to break the pattern of traditional camel and horse transport, while strengthening economic and cultural bonds with the neighbours.

Historically Outer Mongolia's foreign trade was for the most part oriented towards China; but since 1921 the direction of trade has been reversed to the Soviet Union. Since 1956

however, active trade with China has been revived and lately there has been a series of trade agreements between MPR and China for the reciprocal exchange of goods. According to 1956 agreement, MPR delivers to China horses, furs, wool, hides, and other livestock products in return for silk textiles, leather manufactures, tobacco, tea, rice, dried and fresh fruits and other consumer goods. In 1958, the MPR Government made a timely gift of 15,000 draught horses to help speed China's agricultural "Leap Forward." The recent resumption of the Chinese-Mongol trade is an indication of growing economic co-operation among MPR, China and the Soviet Union, although the political influence in MPR is exclusively a Russian reserve.

The socio-economic developments that have been taking place since the second quarter of this century have already altered the fundamental pattern of MPR. Before 1921, the social structure of the country was composed of three basic elements—the feudal lords, lama priests and common livestock herders, called arats. The present social complex bears very little semblance to the old one; the first and second elements have been virtually rooted out, while the third has undergone a drastic change in character. Feudalism is now a thing of the past, and the temporal control of Lamaism has already vanished from the land. Serfs working in lamaseries have now been made free. Arats are, however, still being won persuasively away from their private ownership of stock to co-operative herding, although individual ownership of cattle, equipment and dwelling places (camp sites) has been guaranteed by Article 6 of the 1940 Constitution. But Article 5 clearly states that "land, natural resources, factories, mines, metal working, communications, banks and the mechanized hay-making stations which are a key-modernizing factor in a nation of herdsmen are nationalized." In 1940, MPR announced the conclusion of the "democratic revolution and the opening of a new stage—the stage of socialist transformation and socialist construction." Under the leadership of the Mongolian Peoples's Revolutionary Party and Soviet direction, pastoral activities have largely been collectivized so that erstwhile nomads are gradually being drawn in fixed communities. By this spring (1959), practically all peasants and herdsmen have joined co-operatives. Greater use of the Mongolian grazing land has been made possible by digging several thousand wells as a part of the planned development of the country's economy. The total livestock population of all kinds in MPR is about 30 millions, while the human beings number only one million; so, there is an average of 30 head per capita—the highest in the world. The widespread application of modern technology and science to animal husbandry in the form of selective and stock breeding and the availability of free veterinary service have improved the pastoral wealth of MPR to a considerable extent. In contrast to pastoralism, cultivation of crops, like wheat, oats, barley, millet, and rye holds very little promise for further expansion owing to continental extremes and fluctuating marginal rain. Economic and technical aid agreement between the U.S.S.R. and MPR has been renewed on February 10, 1959, for Soviet assistance in the development of Mongolia's virgin lands, by providing the country during 1959-60 period with 550 combine harvestors and other farm machinery and making available the services of Russian agricultural engineers and specialists. Industrial and urban development under the Sino-Soviet economic and technical cooperation with MPR has already shaken the very foundation of the traditional Mongol life.

Transition to socialism continues to be the announced goal of the Mongolian development. MPR has already completed two Five-Year Plans (1948-52, 1953-57) and is now in the midst of a Three-Year Plan (1958-60). The 1948-52 Plan did not involve collectivization but laid stress on the formation of producers' stock-breeding associations and reorganization of the scattered and mobile herdsmen in fixed communities. Under the subsequent plans, peasants and herdsmen have been gathered in co-operatives which now co-exist with the farms owned by the State. Outer Mongolia's march towards socialism is now almost complete. Such is the changing face of the land under the blue sky which has witnsesed in course of a few decades a swiftly-moving drama of a nation's rise from the stage of the wandering herdsmen to a progressive twentieth-century State in the midst of the gathering "red clouds," continually drifted from its outer horizons.

TIBET AND BRITISH INDIA IN THE 18TH CENTURY

By KANCHAN MAJUMDAR, M.A.

Behind the icy ramparts of the Himalayas lies an undulating land of glaciers and eternal snow, of founded hills and perilous precipices, of swift-flowing torrents and shining streams, of patches of green, brown and yellow. This is Tibet in its majestic elevation, the forbidden land, the land of magic and mystery, of sorcery and superstition and consequently of abiding appeal to the adventurers. It is inhabited by a people, sunk in sullen indifference to the events happening elsewhere, wrapped up in their own world of necromancy, "of bewildering medley of gods and goddesses, Buddhas and Bodhisatvas, guardian deities and canonised saints, ghouls, goblins and demons, deified kings and spirits of every conceivable description, paradises, earths and hells." (Lord Ronaldshay: *Lands of the Thunderbolt, Sikkim, Chumbi and Bhutan*, p. 108). While kaleidoscopic changes have taken place in the neighbouring countries, the Tibetans seem to remain in the same old world, where Guru Padmasambhaba, the venerable 'Rimpoche', the founder of the strange religion of Lamaism, that baffling compound of demonology, magic and superstition, found them in the middle of the eighth century A.D. Guru Padmasambhaba, a priest of the Tantrik Yogachara School of Buddhism went to Tibet sometime in 747 A.D. at the invitation of King Thi-Sorn Detsan. He founded Lamaism under the title of Guru Rimpoche. (See L. A. Waddell: *The Buddhism of Tibet*). Today also with the first shaft of the sun falling on it, the Potala (Potala palace, the winter residence of the Dalai Lama) glitters, the weird prayer barrels rotate in their awful monotony, the Lamas and the incarnations sit in calm resignation before the Buddha images, the scores of lamaseries reverberate with chants and invocations lending the air an eerie ring, the people, a simple buoyant host enjoy the corybantic dramas with drums, conches, cymbals and trumpets, the shaggy yaks laden with musk, hide and wool wend their way to China, Bhutan, Sikkim and India. Nothing seems to have changed here. Science and technology, inventions and discoveries and all that goes by the name of modernism have failed to penetrate the veil of isolation, which shrouds the forbidden land. The exclusive temperament of the people has connived with the geographical factors in sealing Tibet hermetically from the rest of the world.

Early Commercial Relations

Long before the British set their feet on India, the latter had very close relation with Tibet—the relation being two-fold, religious and commercial. Trade between India and Tibet passed through Bhutan, which lay interposed between them. The sturdy folks inhabiting the foothills of the Himalayas, the terai region and the country now known as Assam plied brisk trade with their Tibetan counterparts. Chauna, in the Kairapur-duar (two months' journey from Lhasa), and Geegunsheer (four miles from Chauna) were two busy trade centres, where the Tibetans sold rock salt, gold dust, woollens, horses, Chinese silks and such other goods for coarse silk, dry fish, buffalo horns, pearls and corals, skins, iron and lac brought by the Assamese traders. Bhutan and Tibet were links in the Sino-Indian trade. Smoking pipes of Chinese make, Chinese silks, woollen stuff and rock salt were made available to Assam through the Tibetan and Bhutanese merchants. Besides, Assam depended on Tibet and China for silver. (Pemberton: *Report on Bhutan*, pp. 78-83).

In the first decade of the nineteenth century goods worth Rs. 2 lakhs were being traded every year in this quarter. About the year 1820, the Lhasa merchants brought with them Rs. 70,000 to purchase goods from the Assamese merchants. (See Mackenzie: *North East Frontier*, p. 15; Pemberton: *Report on Bhutan*, p. 151; S. K. Bhuyan: *Anglo-Assamese Relations*—1771-1826). This close commercial relationship of India with Tibet, Bhutan, Nepal, Sikkim and China could not be lost sight of by the British and the early British rulers strove to strengthen this tie.

Warren Hastings and Tibet

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Since 1765 Cooch Behar had been a dependency of the East India Company. The security and peace of Cooch Behar were threatened by the repeated predatory activities of the neighbourining Bhutanese. The matter came to a head when the Bhutanese under Deb Judhar, their king, harried the country in 1772, leaving a trail of utter destruction. The ruler of Cooch Behar, Raja Dharendra Narayan invoked British assistance (*Bengal Secret Letter to Court*, January 15, 1773) and the Government of Bengal sent Captain John Jones to expel the Bhutanese from Cooch Behar. The Bhutanese alarmed at the approach of the British forces sought help from the Tibetan Government. (Bhuyan: *Op. cit.*, p. 34). The Dalai Lama, the pontifical ruler being a minor at that time, Tesho Lama, the regent sent a deputation to Warren Hastings under Puran Gir Gosain, a Saivaite monk requesting cessation of hostilities. He wrote, "I now with my head uncovered entreat that you may cease all hostilities against the Deb in future." The letter of the Lama was received by the Governor-General on March 29, 1774. The letter was couched in a very conciliatory tone designed to assuage the wrath of the Governor-General caused by the provocative action of the Bhutan Raja. The Lama craved indulgence of the Governor-General for "the Deb's (the Raja of Bhutan) criminal misconduct in committing ravages and other outrages" on the Indian border in consideration of the fact that the Raja "is of a very rude and ignorant race." The Lama "reprimanded the Deb for his past misconduct" and "admonished him to desist from his evil practices in future and to be subservient to you (the Governor-General) in all matters." (*Mission of G. Bogle to Tibet*, edited by Markham, pp. 2-3; see also Pemberton: *Op. cit., Appendix*, p. 100). Hastings accepted this overture for peace and a treaty was concluded with Bhutan on April 25, 1774 at the intercession of the Tesho Lama. (Aitchison: *A Collection of Treaties, Engagements and Sanads*, Vol. 1, p. 142. Sikkim and Bhutan were tributory to Tibet). The friendly gesture of the Tibetan Government led Hastings to conceive the plan of establishing closer commercial relation with it. Besides, an amicable relation with Tibet brought in its train the prospect of trade relation with China through the good offices of the Teshu Lama who wielded great influence at the court of Chinese Emperor Kien Lung (1736-1796). Trade with China and Tibet through Bhutan was deemed more convenient since traders trading through Nepal were subjected to extortionate imposts levied on them by the Nepalese officers. (Bhuyan: *Op. cit.*, p. 79; Capt. S. Turner: *Account of an Embassy to the Court of Tesho Lama in Tibet*, pp. xii-xiii). Hence, it was decided by the Council at Calcutta to send a commercial mission to Tibet under George Bogle, a clerk of the Sadar Diwany Adalat. He was commissioned to ascertain the course of the river Brahmaputra (sometime before this Rennel had found out the source of the Brahmaputra river) and the state of the country through which it runs besides exploring the possibilities of commercial traffic to China through Tibet. He was asked to take samples of tradeable goods like gold, silver, precious stones, musk, salt, etc. Bogle was accorded a cordial reception by the Tesho Lama, who agreed to facilitate smooth intercourse of trade between India and Tibet. On 27th February, 1775, the Governor-General laid before the Board a letter from Bogle narrating his impression about the Tesho Lama and the prospect of trade with Tibet. Bogle wrote, "The principal articles of trade between Bengal and Tibet are broad cloth, *attar*, skins, *neel* (indigo), pearls, coral, ambar and other beads, *chauk*, spices, tobacco, sugar, malda-striped satins and a few white cloths, chiefly coarse; the return is made in gold dust, musk and cow-tails." (*Secret Select Committee Proceedings*, 24th February, 1775, Vol. I, p. 254). Bogle's description of Tibet, its government and sundry other details form a valuable source of information about the early British connection with Tibet. Considerable change had in the meantime taken

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Bogle was again asked on 9th April, 1779, to proceed to Bhutan and Tibet "for the purpose of cultivating and improving the good understanding subsisting between the chiefs of those countries and the government and to endeavour to establish a free and lasting intercourse of trade with the kingdom of Tibet and the other states to the northward of Bengal." (*Ibid*; see also Markham (Edited): *Mission of G. Bogle to Tibet*). But the death of the Tesho Lama in the meanwhile led Hastings to abandon the scheme till it was revived in 1784, when Captain Samuel Turner led a commercial mission to Tibet. Samuel Turner met the new Tesho Lama and reported to the Governor-General thus, "Tesho Lama is at this time about eighteen months of age. He did not speak a word but made most expressive signs and conducted himself with astonishing dignity and decorum. His feature good, small black eyes, an animated expression of countenance and altogether I thought him one of the handsomest children I had ever seen—" (*Secret Select Committee Proceedings*, 13th April, 1784, Vol. III, p. 1080). Turner had an interview with the little Tesho Lama in state. He reported: ". . . . The little creature turned looking steadfastly towards me with the appearance of much attention while I spoke and nodded with repeated but slow movement of the head as though he understood and approved every word but could not utter a reply . . . . he was silent and sedate . . . . I must own his behaviour on this occasion appeared perfectly natural and spontaneous and not directed by any action or sign of authority." (*Ibid*). Next day he met the Lama again and made him some presents, ". . . He (the Lama) was very much struck with a small clock . . . He admired it but with gravity and without any childish emotion." (*Ibid*. p. 1081; see also Capt. S. Turner: *Account of an Embassy to the Court of Tesho Lama in Tibet*). When Turner paid his last visit to the Lama, he "received (from the Lama) his despatches for the Governor-General and from his parents two pieces of satin for the Governor with many compliments . . ." (*Ibid*, p. 1081; see also Capt. S. Turner: *Account of an Embassy to the Court of Tesho Lama in Tibet*).

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Cornwallis and Tibet

This cordiality between the Tibetan and Indian governments was put to a test during the Governor-Generalship of Lord Cornwallis. The Raja of Nepal had strained relation with the Tibetan Government and consequently with the Chinese Government (China was the suzerain power of Tibet). The Raja of Nepal appealed to the Governor-General for help against the Tibetans, which, however, was turned down as that would have alienated the Tibetan and the Chinese governments alike. This would, besides, have had prejudicial effect on the Indo-Tibetan trade and commerce. Cornwallis was eager to boost up the flourishing Indo-Tibetan and Sino-Indian trade and one of the motives underlying his commercial treaty with the Nawab of Oudh in 1788 was ". . . to see new channels of wealth and com-

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The efforts of these early British rulers of India to establish and strengthen commercial relation with Tibet amounted to little more than a peep into the mysterious land. As yet no political relation worth the name had been forged. Tibetan exclusiveness stood in the way of closer nexus between the two countries.

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SOVIET ROCKETS PROBE THE STRATOSPHERE

By M. CHERNENKO

Soviet Meteorological Rockets

A column of bright flame rises from the ground, splashing patches of light on the ice lying around. It resembles the tail of the fairy-tale fire-bird. In an instant, the big projectile ejecting flame soars high in the sky, rapidly gaining speed in its flight to the unexplored expanses. Scientists gathered in a hut on the edge of an Arctic islet watch, and dozens of instruments track the flight of another Soviet meteorological rocket launched from Hayes Island lying almost in the centre of Franz Josef Land.

Those rockets are much smaller and less pretentious than their bigger counter parts, the geophysical rockets. They carry no passengers and they cannot boast of storming outer space. Their tasks are simpler and far more modest: to reach an altitude of 80 to 90 kilometres, reporting back the temperature and pressure, and upon reaching the upper stratosphere, shoot back to the earth the head or the fore-part, carrying various instruments.

The upward flight lasts several minutes, during which the transmitter of the rocket sends signals to the earth where they are recorded on the film. Their deciphering takes hours, for during ascent the rocket gets heated from friction, and this naturally affects the reading of the instruments.

The Return of the Rocket

The return is not so simple. At first, the parachute only stabilises the flight, for the air is still too thin to fill it. The filling begins only at an altitude of 60 kilometres. The "delayed opening jump" is over, and normal descent begins. Almost an hour passes before the head of the rocket touches the ground. Skiers rush to the place where it is going to land, and finally the parachute sprawls on the snow in a purple blotch.

The exploration of the stratosphere by means of meteorological rockets came to be undertaken on a particularly large scale in the USSR during the International Geophysical Year. According to the international programme in this period, 125 rockets were fired from Hayes Island (on the 80th parallel), from medium latitudes in the USSR, and from the Soviet diesel-electric ship the "Ob," then sailing in Antarctic waters.

Now, in keeping with the programme of international geophysical co-operation, more meteorological rockets are being launched for purposes of investigation.

Have these rockets added anything new to our store of knowledge about the envelope of air encasing our planet? What scientific and practical significance do the data, obtained with their help, possess? We asked these questions at the Central Aerological Observatory of the Central Weather Service Department.

Now before I go on any further, let me make this reservation. Even scientists know still far from everything about the perpetual circulation of matter in the

depths of the ocean of air. We were able to reach these places relatively not so long ago. Although every new rocket brings new data, which makes it possible sometimes to verify one or another hypothesis, they are still not enough. Nevertheless, man has already unravelled some of the mysteries.

Where the Weather is Made

We know that the atmosphere stretches up to hundreds of kilometres away from the surface of the Earth. Of particular interest though is the layer which is 80-90 kilometres from the Earth. It is here that more than 95 per cent of the atmosphere's entire mass is concentrated. And it is here that the layers of air are still relatively dense. Higher up, the air is rarefied to an extreme degree. Higher up lies the domain of the ionosphere, where complex processes take place inside atoms and molecules.

The movement of air masses and the distribution of density and temperature up to 80-90 km. have direct bearing on man's daily activities. It is here that the weather is made. Aircraft already fly here, and it is here that in the not-so-distant future the spaceships returning from distant voyages will come up against their greatest difficulty, for any material object entering the dense layers of the earth's atmosphere is liable to burn up. Another important thing is that this layer protects man and all animal life on earth from the sun's lethal short-wave radiation and its ultra-violet and X-rays.

Temperature and Composition of Air

After ten years of rocket exploration, it has been firmly established that the composition of the air all the way up to the lower boundary of the ionosphere is the same as at the surface of the Earth. Nitrogen and oxygen comprise more than 99 per cent of it. There is only the millionth fraction of a per cent of ozone, but it is this that absorbs the Sun's harmful radiation.

The temperature is also definitely known now. In moderate latitudes, up to altitudes of 10-11 km.—this is the lower part of the atmosphere, which is called the troposphere—the temperature of the air goes down by 6-6.5° C, at every kilometre. After that, up to the altitude of 35 km. and higher, the temperature rises, reaching at the height of about 50 km, a peak close to 0°. Higher than 50 km. and up to the upper boundary of the stratosphere, the temperature again drops, going down to an average of 60°C and sometimes even 90°C below zero, at the height of 80-90 km. This is already the cold of outer space.

Seasonal Changes in "Climate" of Stratosphere

One of the most interesting discoveries in recent years is that of seasonal changes in the "climate" of the stratosphere. It has been established that the stratosphere has its own winter, spring, summer and autumn. The geographical, latitudinal peculiarities in temperature and pressure distribution have also been ascertained; they are the more pronounced the further we get north and south of the Equator. This means that there is an equatorial zone at tremendous altitudes too.

It was thought but recently that invasions of air masses (polar or tropical) and cyclones and anti-cylones take place only in the troposphere, at a relatively low altitude. Now we know that these processes also take place in most of the stratosphere, setting enormous air masses into motion. The influence of the continental climate and of oceans is likewise felt up to great heights.

By far not everything that scientists have learnt has been given a clear physical explanation. Nor are they clear on the entire mechanism of the interaction of air masses deep in the atmosphere. The exploration of the stratosphere will therefore continue until we have a far clearer picture of it.

CREATIVE WRITING AND THE CRITICS

By AMARESH DATTA, M.A.,
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The creative writer working through a social medium is perhaps more directly concerned than other artists, with the whole of terrestrial life and its different manifestations on various levels of existence. His work therefore lends itself more easily to political, moral or philosophical consideration. Every age makes its own evaluation of his work in reference to its temper and endemic ideas. And what is known as literary epoch is not only marked by its characteristic art-form, but also by a criterion of judgment based on values from an exclusive sphere and sometimes even on a confusion of values. The writer may get influenced by the thought-habit and the technical innovations of his age or as a social being with his normal craving for security and fame may fume or cower under regimentation of ideas and ideals, but as an artist he cannot afford to be constantly disturbed by the neglect that his work meets or the violent enthusiasm that it creates. For his categories are different and he sees man not as a social and political animal or as a moral being, but simply as man, as a kind of embodiment of a life-force, that manifests itself in its bewildering variety on the physical plane and seeks its fulfilment in the quest for a higher order of reality. No true artist can accept a doctrinaire assessment of his works.

A great writer may force his readers to accept him on his own terms and may even endeavour to define canons by which he should like to get his works judged, but his ultimate responsibility is towards himself and his own vision of truth. Politics, ethics or philosophy provide him with situations and germinating thoughts but he has to eschew their specific implications in order to be able to deal with the fundamentally human reaction to them. For patterns of experience he would rather turn to anthropology or the anthropomorphic concept of religion than to the set and formulated views of life evolved through politics, ethics and philosophy. The great writer in discovering the vital rhythm of life has to work through certain archetype which neither the conventional morality nor political ideals can create or provide. As a rule the artist has little power over the political pride and prejudice of his environment and even when he accepts an attitude of commitment, his primary aim is to reveal the essential nature of life—its psyche, and its destiny—its conscious urge for self-realization, the one hidden under the debris of polemic thoughts and the other in the darkness of the Unknown. In his created world he therefore allows life to create its own morality which may sometimes go against the accepted codes of ethics or politics, but this does not make him anxious or diffident about the truth of experience. Under all circumstances his concern is always with the deeper truth. He may discover the ethos of human existence like Dante in the archetypal design of religious experience or like Shakespeare in the web and rhythm of the vast mass of unchartered life, or like Camus of *The Plague* or Ugo Betti of the *Queen and the Rebels* in a given political situation. It is, therefore, evident that political or moral consideration will only blur our understanding of a work of art. Artist's vision of design or chaos may give us jolts by disclosing unpleasant facts of experience, but it does not really disturb or confuse the goings-on of our everyday social life. On the contrary, by revealing new horizons and adding new dimensions to our perception, it widens our sensibility to truth. The society gradually gets adjusted to the significance of the artistic discovery and accommodates more and more of life by being forced to remove further its boundary lines. And since the artist's world is not one of assumptions, he is free to discover and assimilate new truths for his comprehension of the mystery of life. Politics or ethics, on the other hand, tend to codify and can seldom make any estimate beyond its basic assumptions. And though founded on empirical knowledge, these assumptions acquire in course of time powers of commandment and often lead to a state of affairs where the end gets confused with the means. The artist follows the inductive method and always keeps an open mind and tries to reach a state of being in the process of becoming. He does not distort life to fit it into rigid social or political pattern. He is therefore, free from the inner fear that instigates the procrastean attitude of mind. A work of art when it is liked or valued as a document of political or ethical truism, is liked for wrong reasons.

The artist is condemned to be free though not quite in the existentialist sense. He is condemned by society that secretly pines for freedom but refuses to take the risk and so allows its artists and thinkers to live and die as martyrs for the great ideal it cherishes. He is condemned also by himself to be free and fearless because his values are absolute and he is uncompromising in his search. He knows the Sisyphean nature of his task, but in his ascent he goes confident and keeps his sight fixed to the hazy peak. Or like Kafka's Land Surveyor he may get involved in earthly coils, but it is only the vision of the **castle** that will give significance to the varied fare of his experience. And since he tries to understand life in its entirety—through its vital urge and impulse, its intellectual groaning and spiritual aspiration—he can realise in his own experience both the uniqueness and the universality of the truth of life. And lastly, one of the important functions of art is to liberate things and thoughts from their purely earthly moorings for gaining a proper perspective and the artist has to pass through stages of involvement and dis-intoxication in the process of creation. All this demands an approach to literature that is uninhibited and free from the dogmas and shibboleths of our tentative philosophies of life. Artist's personality is no doubt moulded, and even enriched by his environment and the dominating ideas of his age, but his work has something absolute about it. Some aspects of his work may also be better explained in reference to his belief and particular facts of his life but his work transcends the limitations of his personality and its ultimate appeal is to the artistic sensitivity of man. Circumscribed by motive—high or low—the ordinary connoisseurs of art cannot fully apreciate the artist's untiring pursuit of his ideal which in fact is a freeman's worship of truth. The man who creates may abide our questions, but his work is free.

It is not surprising if art is exploited by society for noble or ignoble cause; what is disconcerting is the fact that there is a strong tendency on the part of centralized institutions to dictate the ideal of art and progagate the relevance of moral or political consideration. The common reader of literature is usually right in his judgment and appreciation, but his sound art-sense is often shocked and mutilated by the dictatorial pronouncements forced on him by the organized societies of interested critics. Writers as well as critics are not only to be left to their own initiative but be allowed to work individually to make their own assessment. Whatever the circumstances, the writer must find his inner freedom and maintain an attitude of indifference to meanings and motives attributed to his work and this he can do only when he makes and prompts others to make the proper distinction between the intrinsic and extrinsic worth of his writing. If politics or philosophy is judged by its own canons, I do not see any reason why literature should be judged by any principles other than literary or aesthetic. It may be argued that literature is more a matter of general pursuit and that since it does not necessarily demand any academic training, its practice is more easily accessible to the

common man. But the fact is that literature too has its characteristic speciality for if we add to the writer's quest of truth, his search for form and beauty, we will be obliged to treat him as a technician of a kind. Even Homer was a specialist in his own way. So a dispassionate attitude like that of scientist seems to be the right attitude of a writer especially in the modern world. His strength lies not in the political power or the moral passion that he can generate, but in his loyalty to his own vision of beauty and truth. As a social entity with his sense of social responsibility he may play his role in society and even utilize his experiences thus gained for artistic purposes but his function as artist is not to defend the bad against the worse, but to reveal the truth as well as the peculiar beauty inherent in it. Others may, sometimes with justification, fight their own battles for social or political justice denied to him, but his work only needs defense against the vagaries of time.

When we think of the brotherhood of writers, we think in terms of collectivism and use political tools for what we consider artist's freedom. But all the freedoms guaranteed in the Constitution cannot make up the sum of that inner freedom that the artist needs for his solitary search. If the artist works through means other than those of his own his end is bound to be mixed up with foreign grains.

Literary conferences are affairs of recent times. They often tend to devote themselves to discussing non-literary problems and end up with pious resolutions framed and passed with political passion and fervour. This fosters a kind of unionism and by laying emphasis on a specific collective attitude, creates a fighting forum for extraneous causes. There is no need for writers to be always willing to agree and be united with a common ideology and slogan, for they have no categorical imperatives and they contribute, each in his own way, to the understanding of this perennially complicated human life only through their individual groping and personal discovery of truth.

Political, moral or philosophical consideration, I believe, is basically irrelevant to the evaluation of creative writing, not only because it is unjust, but mainly because it undermines the specific value of literature. Writers, for obvious reasons, would choose democratic environment for his living, but a democracy that is suspicious of idiosyncrasies and chalks out plans for creative writing is no better than totalitarianism. The principle of decentralization is a sound basis and may be carried to its very extreme for cultural activities. The artist carves out for himself in his own individual way, his milieu and he has his public to praise or censure his work. But to try to impose a judgment on his work is to spoil both the artist and the common lover of art. Learned societies may honour and reward an author for certain qualities they have discovered in his writings but let them not monopolize the right to judge or boast of their infallibility. And finally if we have learnt to love art for its intrinsic value, let us remember that in our evaluation, we judge not the man and his temporal creed, but something more permanent—his work.*

*Paper contributed to the Seminar on Belief and Literature sponsored by the quarterly journal *Quest* and held in Calcutta on February 13, 14, and 15, 1959.



DEMOCRACY IS SPIRITUAL

By V. VEERASINGHAM, M.B.E., J.P.,
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India has always been the spiritualising agent of the world. The latest demonstration of that destiny of hers is the fast spreading doctrine of *Ahimsa* and its exponent *Panchasila*. India rises to envelop the world in a powerful wave of spirituality as Swami Vivekananda predicted. It has to give to the world a new spiritual outlook. India's effort to work its Five-Year Plans in a democratic set-up gives an indication of the direction the divine destiny is unfolding. It has to give to the war-worn world spiritual democracy.

Democracy is an ideal based in turn on the ideal conceptions of equality and liberty. All social organisms including the nations have to move towards that ideal because it is the way of evolution of all organisms. All nations including those inspired by Marx are floundering in their efforts to reach the ideal, because it is the pattern of Life. Discovery of democracy as a form of Government is attributed to the Greeks, but after about 2000 years of experiment, grave doubts are being entertained about the efficacy of democracy in its present forms to serve its purpose and there is a marked tendency for abandoning it in favour of totalitarianism.

India is wedded to democracy. It is a good augury that efforts are made to make parliamentary democracy function satisfactorily and to reconsider the role of the party system in a democracy. A good deal of re-thinking is done in the West also as to the future of democracy. What vitiates the endeavours is the materialistic conception of the spiritual ideals of democracy, equality and liberty.

Equality of the citizens is the *sine-qua-non* of democracy. Equality was first interpreted as political equality in voting. At present economic equality has been added to it and the term socialist democracy is in vogue as if democracy when broad-based, cannot be sufficiently socialistic. India is now rightly emphasising social equality and is carrying on a crusade against "casteism." Supposing all these equalities and many more are guaranteed to and achieved by the individual citizen, there is no way of limiting the desires of man to a level of equality. Further inequality provides the urge for progress. Man is a bottomless pit of desires. The more the desires are satisfied, the more they crave for it. Materialistic equality among citizens is an unrealisable ideal. Does it follow then that democracy cannot thrive among men?

Democratic ideal cannot be reached in one leap. It has to be reached gradually from one stage of harmony to another in which equality and liberty blend in varying proportions always maintaining a progressive rhythm towards ideal democracy conditioning and being conditioned by the various spheres of activity of the citizens. For a democracy to be ideal, all citizens have to be equal. As absolute equality, even equality in the materialistiic level is unattainable, it becomes one of the functions of democratic governments to make the citizens equal. The avowed purpose of Socialism is economic equality which cannot however give that sense of full equality necessary to make democratic government a success and an expression of harmony. Ideally men can be equal in this world only if they become "self-less" through practice of unselfishness. At least a majority of the citizens of an ideal democracy ought to be self-less; therefore, for purposes of the gradual evolution and functioning of democracy in a nation unselfishness should be the dominant trait of its citizens. It is the stark selfishness of individuals and nations that has become the real menace to democracy and world peace. India is the only land where the truth of the seeming paradox "Lose the self and gain the whole world" is understood, has been practised, and even realised. It is a great democratic asset to India and Ceylon that even the ordinary illiterate villager will not hesitate to accept that the annihilation of the Ego, the lower self, is the goal of life, in spite of the quickly-spreading selfishness which threatens to ruin rural life and blocks the way to early realisation of democracy.

It is inherent in every individual to resent curtailment of his freedom to satisfy his own desires. It is also a fact that control of such desires is the beginning of civilisation. The

chief trait of materialism is its quest for the satisfaction of desires but religions advocate control of desires in different degrees for man to reach his spiritual goal. Indian philosophies even go to the extreme of advocating complete suppression of all desires to reach the goal of liberation, absolute freedom or *Moksha*. The materialistic philosophy of satisfaction has to be supplemented by the philosophy of control at least to serve as an antidote to the excesses of materialism which threatens to destroy the peace of individuals and nations. In everyday democratic parlance, this truth is endorsed in the saying that freedom is not licence. Democratic harmony consists in the balance between freedom and control. It will be seen that freedom of the individual in a social organism is an extension of the basic principle of equality. The democratic principle of equality of opportunity for every citizen to develop in his own way is the acknowledgement of the principle of the freedom of individuals as an indispensable constituent of democracy. To all appearances, control comes from outside. For a democracy to grow into a self-regulating social organism, imposition of control from outside either on individuals or states is not only a negation of the principle of freedom but runs the risk of strengthening the force of resistance to the controlling power so as to finally overcome it. Self-control is the essence of democratic harmony.

Self-control and unselfishness are essentials for the realisation of liberty and equality without which no democracy can function. Traditionally these qualities are the product of religion. It is because the world-leadership has fallen for the most part into the hands of people who hold religion in contempt and pay homage to materialism that democracies show signs of collapse. In spite of the inroads of the dangerous little-learning of science, religion has yet a hold on the people. They all want equality and liberty, but they little realise that self-control and unselfishness are prerequisites for the attainment of liberty and equality though on account of their religious tradition they unquestioningly admit the social value of those disciplines. Before the darkness of irreligion closes on them, it is imperative that religion should be reinterpreted to them in the light of the same sciences and using the same scientific methods under whose misguided influence humanity is being weaned of its religious tendencies. Fortunately for humanity, the sciences have expanded their horizons; the days of little-learning are disappearing. Deeper study of the sciences has revealed a glimpse of God. A religious renaissance awaits the world. A Hindu sees in the world alignment of nations into democratic and totalitarian a repetition of the *Puranic* pattern of the forces of Light and Darkness. The clarion call for the renaissance of religion has to go from India. It is not in vain that we hear of the inauguration of *Yogic* Schools in India. The best way to demonstrate to the world the necessity for a scientific revival of religion is to convincingly prove the ethico-religious nature of democracy and by precept and practice usher in the era of spiritual democracy.

The main cause for the decline of democracy is its materialistic conception, but in a rapidly changing world democracy is painfully left to itself without an effort in the right direction to equip the citizens for the democratic way of life. Democracies do not take half as much pains as communistic countries to indoctrinate their citizens with their way of life. Deterioration of democracy, especially its quick disintegration in the under-developed countries, clearly indicates the necessity for education in democracy. These countries spend mints of money in bringing about plans after plans to make socialism a success. They little realise that socialism or welfare state is born of democracy and is meaningless without it. Socialism in a totalitarian set-up may show quick results but the ultimate effect will make the Marxian aim of gradual withering away of the state an idle dream and destroy for ever its capacity to become a self-regulating social organism which can only result through the inculcation of the discipline of self-control and unselfishness on the citizens. It is incumbent on all democracies to spiritualise democracy and make religion the hand-maid of democratic education.

Teaching of Civics or other social studies which ought to include religion without practical application of the principles of democracy in real social units cannot produce results keeping pace with the rapid changes confronting man. The Co-operative Movement has been to a great extent providing this type of education for spiritual democracy through its societies. In the under-developed countries, the small credit societies were really the basic cells which cultured and spread the leven of democracy. Suffering an eclipse by the rise of socialism and its mass production, the Co-operative Movement is fast losing its capacity to serve as an agent for efficiently imparting democratic education on account of the growing size of its societies. Preparation of the members for the democratic control of societies is best done in smaller societies. It is better if co-operative societies small in size and therefore ensuring personal touch among the members are encouraged, in the interest of education for democracy.

Communism which poohpoohs the idea of God and religion does not seem to realise that its much-vaunted equality is derived from religion and the compassionate living of the people enjoined by it. That equality of citizens, a necessary adjunct of democracy, is best reached through the discipline of unselfishness smacks more of religion than of ethics or politics. Further while the oneness of humanity is emphasised by almost all religions in their ideal of brotherhood, the philosophies of India proclaim not only the way to oneness of humanity on account of its contactual relationship with God, but also the truth of the equality of one with another through veritable identity when the self is shed. All these indicate that the religious background of humanity now undergoing a process of gradual obliteration is still capable of revitalising democracy which also is a spiritual ideal.

As long as democracy is true to its ideal of equality and liberty and the rulers are characterised by unselfish service in the promotion of equality among citizens, the forms of democratic institutions and their procedure may vary according to the genius of each nation. Let it be noted that these forms and procedures should not in any way be in conflict with the principles of equality and liberty or any other subordinate principles derived from them so as to interrupt the natural process of harmonious co-operation found among the constituents of every organism. One need not be surprised to find the self-same principles receiving emphasis in the co-operative movement as the basis of co-operation. Though it is possible to re-establish on a scientific basis the faith in democracy and its principles of equality and freedom leading to harmony through Co-operation—it deserves a capital C as it designates the Life's process—it is obviously done more easily and more efficaciously with the aid of religion and the Co-operative Movement.

One conversant with the culture of India, her people, philosophies and even her present-day Government policy is easily tempted to believe that India is the most suitable land to be the cradle of spiritual democracy. It has opted for democracy. Though democracy in itself is socialistic and co-operative, it is indeed very significant that the Indian Congress has expressed its goal for India very explicitly as a socialist co-operative democracy thus emphasising equality of the constituents of the body politic, Co-operation, the Life's growth process, and liberty of the individual, the distinguishing feature of democraiy. The spiritual aspect of democracy has not found expression there most probably because the Constitution has emphasised the non-sectarian secular nature of the State. As absolute liberty and absolute equality are spiritual in conception and as democracy based on them cannot but be spiritual, the seeming absence of emphasis on spirituality in the aim of the Congress is immaterial. One is however gratified to find more frequent references to spiritual values in the speeches of Indian leaders. These are indications that India is rising to spiritualise politics by championing the cause of spiritual democracy.

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 acknowleged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

EDITOR, *The Modern Review*

ENGLISH

SRI AUROBINDO'S POLITICAL THOUGHT (1893-1908): *By Haridas Mukherjee and Uma Mukherjee. Firma K. L. Mukhopadhyay. Calcutta. 1958. P. 188. Price Rs. 8.00.*

Among the master-minds that have helped to shape the history of India in the last half a century or therabout, Sri Aurobindo occupies a conspicuous place. Of his many-sided genius the authors rightly observe (p. 17), "He was at once a creative artist, a philosopher, a revolutionary, a sage and a seer, all rolled into one." In this work the authors have attempted with the help of a number of original documents to assess his contribution, on the political plane, to the success of the nationalist movement of which he was undoubtedly the most intellectual and inspiring figure in his time. The title of this monograph is a little misleading, as it does not seek to present a systematic account of Sri Aurobindo's political philosophy culled from his writings down almost to the last. But still it is a work of sufficient merit. Limiting itself to the phase of Sri Aurobindo's career up to the climax of the Swadeshi Movement in Bengal in 1908, it consists of three parts. Part I, giving a bird's-eye view of Sri Aurobindo's career up to the date last mentioned, clearly traces his tansformation from anglicism to nationalism of the Congress brand and thence to his radical type of nationalism comprising, as the authors observe (pp. 24-5), three points, *viz.*, the ideal of *Purna Swaraj*, the weapon of, passive resistance and the conception of the country as a Divine Mother. It would have been well if the authors had tried to explain the genesis of the last concept in the evolution of Sri Aurobindo's thought. The authors have further attempted (pp. 26-27) to indicate three stages in the evolution of his political ideas, of which the milestones are his contributions to the *Indu Prakash* of Bombay (1893-94); the publication of his pamphlet *Bhawani Mandir* (1905) and his articles in the daily *Bande Mataram* and the weekly *Yugantar* (1906-08) and in the *Karmayogin* (1900-10). This point, however, requires further clarification as we are not placed in possession of sufficient material from the *Bhawani Mandir* and the *Karmayogin*. What care the authors have taken to ensure the authenticity of their sources is indicated by the fact that they have sought to identify the articles in the *Bande Mataram* by internal evidence as well as the testimony of a living member of the editorial board at the time. Further material has been drawn from the writings of contemporary authors and the official records of the Intelligence Branch of the West Bengal Government.

It remains to say a few words about the rest of the work. Part II reproduces the whole series of papers (except two which cannot be traced) written by Sri Aurobindo under the title *"New lamps for old"* (1893-4). Part III is made up of fifteen select articles from the *Bande Mataram* (1907-08). Of these documents the authors observe (p. 27) that "they are valuable source material for our new national history" and that "they form a unique class of creative literature." In fact they introduce us, however partially, to the outstanding part played by one of the noblest and most gifted sons of our motherland in the history of our freedom struggle during two of its stormiest phases.

U. N. GHOSHAL

THE CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT OF INDIA, *1937-1947: By Amiya Chatterjee, M.A., D. Phil. Pubilshed by Firma K. L. Mukhapadhyay, 6/1A, Banchharam Akrur Lane, Calcutta-12.*

The book under review is 'practically based', as Professor D. N. Banerjee says in his Foreword, on the author's thesis, which won for her a D. Phil. of the Calcutta University. It covers that crucial period of history, since when the Congress under Hoare-Willingdon autonomy assumed charge of eight out of eleven provinces of India, down to the day Britain relinquished her sceptre in the compulsion of circumstances. Mahatma Gandhi's demand was 'Quit India'; Quaid-e-Azam Jinnah put in his rejoinder, 'Divide before you Quit'. Netaji Subhas Bose brought home the danger of resting British guns on Indian shoulders in order to keep India in subjection. The Labour Party appreciated the force of it; and Stafford Cripps, as the Chancellor of the Exchequer, argued in the House of Commons the absurdity of reinforcing British troops in order to enforce administrative responsibility; there was yet time to save Britain's Indian trade and at the same time for British public opinion to preen itself on the virtue of withdrawal. Britain all too gladly accepted Jinnah's plea and broke India at each conceivable point by a chain of Ulsters, before she quitted her shores. In its background, the author gives us a review of 'the constitutional currents and cross-currents' of the decade in language of profound balance and restraint. The author, in fact, has kept herself completely free from an emotional drag or the conviviality, a resume of contemporary events of absorbing interest is prone to.

The author is eminently happy in her appraisal of the default of Congress leadership forfeiting its right to represent the Moslems. In the General Elections of 1936-37, she points out, the Congress contested only 58 out of a total of 482 Muslim seats. It is a devastating fact carrying its own tale. Here however, was the opportunity for the author to make her impact felt all the more tellingly by a passing reference—I say just a passing reference—to the feeder-background of the Congress mixing up Khilafat with Indian politics all too acutely inflating pan-Islamism, which, when frustrated, degenerated into an aggressive communalism and its constitutional avoidance of the question of Separate Electorate, culminating into a 'neither acceptance nor rejection' of the Communal Award, which was the linchpin of the 1935 Act.

On the questien of Federation, the author is remorseless in her delineation how both the wings of the Congress—one led by Netaji Subhas Bose and the other swearing by Mahatma Gandhi—vied with each other to register their opposition. The author is inclined to the view that the autocratic princely India would not have assorted well with British India, much too ahead in her demand for responsible government. She is, however, fair to cite the authority of her teacher Professor D. N. Banerjee, who is of opinion that the Congress should have accepted Federation, which is an acknowledgement of the fundamental unity of India in the political sense. There should have been, as well, a reference to Sir Samuel Hoare—later on lord Templewood—the prime author of the 1935 Act for identical views, stated with absolute clarity in his *Nine Troubled Years*. As it is impossible to be adequate within such brief compass, I only take up the two pivotal points.

I wish there had been more of reflection and interpretation—since the book is no thesis but a review—from the trained, analytical mind. In any case, it is a valuable addition to literature relating to Indian Constitutional History and of great value to those, interested in Indian politics.

JOGES C. BOSE

THE GREAT RISING OF 1857—*A brief history based on Dr. S. N. Sen's Eighteen Fifty-seven. The Publications Division, Minisrry of Information and Broadcasting, Government of India. Re. 1.50nP.*

Dr. S. N. Sen's *Eighteen Fifty-seven* is one of the very readable accounts of that memorable event that shook India in 1857 and 1858 and was in fact "the first blow at British imperialism." It begins with a brilliant analysis of the causes of the great rising of 1857 mis-called the Sepoy Mutiny (Chapter I), gives an excellent account of the struggle in the chapters which follow (Chapters II-X), and ends with a chapter (Chapter XI) on the nature and significance of the crisis. Dr. Sen contends that the rising of 1857 was not a war of national liberation and gives sound reasons for his contention. Nor was the rising a mere military upheaval. Overzealous nationalists would have been pleased if the author had subscribed to their view that the rising of 1857 was India's first war of independence. But nationalism and a sense of history do not always go together and history has not unoften

suffered at the hands of historians(!) without a sense of history.

The compendium under review has all the merits of the original volume and we would commend it to busy men and women who cannot spare time enough for *Eighteen Fifty-seven*. Those who have read the latter may also profitably use the volume under review to refresh their memory.

SUDHANSU BIMAL MOOKHERJI

POLITICAL THEORY: *By E. Asirvatham. Published by Upper India Publishing House Ltd., Lucknow. Price Rs. 14.*

The book is complete in 24 chapters dealing with different aspects of political theory. Starting from the origin and nature of the State, the author ends with world Communism and pluralism. The chapters on democracy, law and idealism in politics deserve special mention. The principle, functions and organisation of the United Nations have been given in fairly elaborate details. The author's scheme seems to be to give a good idea of the different branches of political theories and organisations of government. But at places, he has made thoughtful comments. For example, he has discussed the problem of political pluralism in India and then commented, "Nothing can be more dangerous to the unity of India than the admission of the half-truth contained in pluralism . . . The traditional weakness of India has been her inability to unite and, if united, to remain united . . . If our caste sabhas and communal organisations are allowed to benefit themselves by the teachings of Pluralism, that would mean the end of the Secular State ideal in India, if not of the State itself." This book will be a great help to general readers as well as advanced students.

D. B.

A MODERN INCARNATION OF GOD: A COMMENTARY ON THE LIFE AND TEACHING OF SRI RAMAKRISHNA: *By A. C. Das. General Printers & Publishers Private Ltd., Calcutta. 1958. Price Rs. 15/-, Foreign 20s.*

The book under review makes highly interesting reading. It is well-documented and presents the thesis of the author in a logical way. It is a very lucid presentation of a viewpoint so long overlooked and ignored. The author has taken pains to substantiate his thesis and thrown up a challenge to those who do not agree with him. A casual refutation will not convince the honest and careful reader. Hard words by those who disagree with him will not controvert his position.

According to the author, Ramakrishna was a theist in the wide sense of the term. He clearly brings out that, according to Ramakrishna, the Divine is at once personal and impersonal. So there is a state which combines within it the realization of the Personal and that of the Impersonal. Such is the state of the *Vijnani*—the most perfect sadhaka who goes into *nirvikalpa samadhi* and comes out of it again with a purified ego to realize God in His spiritual forms, and that all things and beings of the world are manifestations of the One. The *Vijnani* is not merely a devotee of the Personal God; nor is he again merely an Absolutist. He realizes God with forms in conscious, and the Absolute in the sense of the undifferentiated in superconscious, *samadhi*. Ramakrishna told his hearers in no uncertain terms: if God is the ultimate Reality, God and the Absolute are two names for the same supreme Being; if the Absolute, on the other hand, is the undifferentiated, it is only an aspect of the divine Mother, *i.e.*, God. The *Vijnani*, who knows God in both the personal and the impersonal aspect is therefore superior to the *Jnani*, the knower of the Absolute. But no human realization, Ramakrishna pointed out, could exhaust God. He reveals Himself in the twofold way—the personal and the impersonal, but what He is in Himself apart from these revelations nobody can say. Thus the author's interpretation of Ramakrishna's view on Reality marks a departure from the conventional Advaita rendering of Ramakrishna's teaching. The author has worked out his points in elaborate detail, bringing his dialectical skill to bear upon the discussion. His thesis in fact revolutionizes our conception of God, both philosophical and religious, and is indeed an outstanding contribution towards solution of a problem that has long been agitating the minds of philosophers.

There are seven other chapters, a bibliography and an index. Chapter I deals with the problem of Incarnation and gives a critical and comparative estimate of the Christian and Hindu doctrines of Incarnation. The doctrine of Incarnation is the main plank of Hinduism or Hindu theism and dates back to Sri Krishna. Hindus posit quite a number of Incarnations. This plurality is essentially a Hindu conception and is doubtless embarrassing to Christians. Here the author examines the doctrine of Incarnation in all its aspects.

The second chapter entitled "The precursors of Ramakrishna" presents a social, cultural and religious history of nineteenth-century India with a special reference to the renaissance in Bengal. The importance of the history of Ramakrishna's time cannot be overemphasized if one has properly to understand the significance of the advent of Ramakrishna.

The remaining chapters save the Epilogue are devoted to the story of Ramakrishna's life and his teaching on religion and synthesis of religions. In an age of eclecticism Ramakrishna stood for synthesis and demonstrated beyond doubt by his spiritual experiences that God could be realized by practising the religions, provided one was seized with intensest love of God. To the warring Faiths with their dogmas he gave the much-needed synthesis. He did not mean, however, that we would have to follow all religions at the same time, or to make a new religion out of the existing ones. He further enjoined us to follow our individual creeds with unflinching faith and devotion armed with the conviction that people practising their different religions are only travelling by different paths to the same goal.

In the Epilogue the author traces the origin and development of Indian theism and shows how the conceptions of God as personal and as impersonal figured in the different Indian philosophies and religions, how theism, engulfing impersonalism as it did, culminated in the spiritual experiences and teachings of Ramakrishna. The discussion throws a flood of light on the problem of personality of God viewed in the historical perspective.

The book is written in luminously lucid English. Everybody interested in religion and philosophy should make a close study of the book, precisely because it deals with the most crucial issues that impede a lasting peace in the world. It is, indeed, worthy of a wide circulation.

SUDHIR KUMAR NANDI

SANSKRIT

MADHURAVIJAYAM. *Edited with a historical introduction by S. Thiruvenkatachari, Professor, Dr. Alagappa Chettiar Training College, Karaikudi. Published by Annamalai University. Annamalainagar. Price not mentioned.*

This is a historical poem in Sanskrit written by a woman poet, Ganga Devi. She gives a biographical account of her royal husband Kumara Kampana whose conquest of Madura is responsible for the title of the work. Though the exact date of its composition is not known she might have written the poem towards the end of the 14th century. It is supposed to be 'the only historical work for the history of South India before the 15th century.' The work was originally published in the Trivandrum Sanskrit series on the basis of a single fragmentary manuscript. The volume under review contains the text of the poem accompanied by an English translation and a long introduction describing the political condition of the region and the period covered by the work on the basis of different available materials and thereby verifying the historical value of the poem. It appears that besides various items of historical importance it abounds in beautiful pieces of poetry to which the learned translator does not seem to have generally been able to do full justice. The translation is not always quite faithful to the text.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

MARATHI

YATHARTHA BUDDHADARSHAN: *By "Shriprakash." K. M. Shembavanekar, 315, Thakurdwar, Bombay-2. 1956. Pp. 177 + 14. Price Rs. 3-8.*

The author is a professor of Sanskrit and Ancient Indian culture at the St. Xavier's College, Bombay. He is reckoned highly, indeed, for his profound scholarship, which is in the tradition of the renowned pundits of old. He has written a documented book on the Buddha and presented him against the background of authentic history as contra-distinguished from legend-lore. He evidently confirms, of course, on the basis of the tenets of the Enlightened One, Rhys David's estimate: "Gautama was born and brought up and lived and died a Hindu. . . . There was not much in the metaphysics and principles of Gautama, which cannot be found in one or the other of

orthodox systems, and a great deal of his morality could be matched from earlier or later Hindu books." And verily, history like life, has an inner continuity and cohesiveness running all through it. For, it is a symphony and not a staccato cinema-script. The author is to be congratulated on his painstaking and purposeful study.

G. M.

HINDI

SAMSAR AUR DHARMA: *By K. G. Mashruwala. 1956. Pp. 264. Price Rs. 2-8.*

GANDHI AUR SAMYAVAD: *By K. G. Mashruwala. 1956. Pp. 124. Price Re. 1-4.*

NIRBHAYATA: *By K. G. Mashruwala. 1959. Pp. 22. Price three annas.*

All available from Navajivan Prakasham Mandir, Ahmedabad-19.

The late Shri Mashruwala was an intellectual giant, but with the heart of a child and the compassion of a mother. His mind, therefore, was exceptionally enlightened. In *Samsar and Dharma*, the reader has his mature and mellowed views on the World, Religion and God, while his *Gandhi and Samyavad* is a clear-cut study of the philosophies of Gandhiji and Marx, the distinct diametrical difference between the two being the acceptance of love and liberty of the human individual as the foundation and fulfilment of life by the former and the denial thereof by the latter,—the difference between a flower and a ferula as a gift! *Nirbhayata* is an essay and intriguing analysis of the kingly attribute of fearlessness.

G. M.

GUJARATI

CHURNA AUSHADHI (Powders as Drugs): *By Madhav Chowdhary. Published by the Society for the Encouragemnet of Cheap Literature and printed at its own printing press, Ahmedabad. 1951. Paper cover. Pp. 72. Price four annas.*

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Indian Periodicals

J. C. Bose—His Life and Contribution

Professor B. D. Nag Chaudhuri writes in the Bulletin of the *Ramakrishna Mission Institute of Culture*:

The hundred years since the birth of Acharya Jagadish Chandra Bose spans the entire period of the birth and coming of age of Indian science, as well as the renaissance of the nation. Jagadish Chandra Bose contributed to both in no small measure.

Born a hundred years ago, on 30th November, 1858, most probably in Mymensingh, then in East Bengal, Jagadish Chandra Bose lived his early life in rural districts. His father Bhagawan Chandra Bose, then Deputy Magistrate of Mymensingh and one of the early graduates of the Calcutta University, sent him to a near-by village *pathasala* rather than to a Government school.

Jagadish Chandra was strongly influenced by his father's love for the traditional village life, and he imbibed from him during those early years a love for the culture and traditions of his country. This love developed into a deep attachment, and determined the perspective from which he later viewed scientific and social life. He was one of those in this country who looked back and ahead at the same time.

When he was thirteen years old Jagadish Chandra was sent to Calcutta to join St. Xavier's School. From that time on he lived in Calcutta except for the few years he spent in England and his occasional trips in this country and abroad. He looked on Mymensingh as his home and visited it occasionally.

From his youth, Jagadish Chandra loved beauty in nature. He spent vacations roaming the hill slopes of the Himalayas, enjoying the beauty. During one such trip in the *terai* he caught an infection which caused him a lot of suffering; and at Cambridge persistent fever forced him to leave the study of medicine and take up the natural science course. If Jagadish Chandra the man was the product of his close association with village life at Mymensingh and the traditions of his country, Jagadish Candra the scientist was certainly the product of the years he spent at Cambridge associating with men like Lord Rayleigh, with whom he studied physics, and Professor Vines with whom he studied botany. These scientists encouraged him to take up the teaching profession; and an introduction from Lord Rayleigh to Lord Ripon, the then Viceroy, secured him, his first appointment as Professor of Physics at the Presidency College, Calcutta.

Towards A Unified Vision

Bose spent the next thirty years of his life at Presidency College and retired in 1915 as Emeritus Professor. The two strongly different currents—that of culture and that of science—never became contradictory in him. Rather, in him, they were fused into an imaginative and spacious outlook which led him to search for new pathways in science.

Bose was not only a pioneer in science and research work, but the first exponent of experimental research in India. He brought to his method of research certain qualities rare among scientists; he also tried to synthesize the various sciences. He put the strongest stress on experimental skill and invention, and he was keen to relate scienfic truths to India's traditional spiritual truths. These qualities are all of abiding value to modern society, and the success of the unique research institution created and built up by him is in some measure a token of the survival and acceptance of the values of which he was such a strong exponent.

Bose's pusuit of scientific truth led him into various fields of science. The problems that confronted him were not of interest only for the moment; they came to him as a result of his deliberate seeking for patterns in nature. He tried to find one scheme embracing all things living and non-living, and then through that scheme to investigate all living things,

plant and animal. However, this breadth of vision, which he derived from a successful synthesis of his scientific training and the traditional outlook, was always effectively held in restraint by the requirements of objective and rigorous experimentation in which he firmly believed.

During the first ten years of his appointment Bose did not seriously engage in research. Nevertheless, he built up, in the course of these years, a laboratory at the Presidency College to carry out physical experiments, and he started giving lectures with experimental demonstrations for which he became justly famous. He was also probably the first in India to take up scientific hobbies like photography and recording of voices. He was particularly interested in photographing historical sites. These hobbies, built around nature and science, renewed his love for his country and its culture and traditions. With his wife, he travelled widely in India. He visited holy places like Budh Gaya and Puri, the ancient caves and rock-cut temples at Ajanta and Ellora, ancient archaeological sites like Harappa and Pataliputra, and scenes of natural beauty such as Badrinath, Kedernath, and Kashmir.

As he matured he sought a unified vision of life in which beauty, truth, and tradition fused in one glorious pattern. His need to seek truth manifested itself in his growing devotion to science. It was this growing urge for truth that finally brought about his vow on his 34th birthday to devote the remainder of his life to the furtherance of scientific knowledge. But Bose's search for scientific knowledge was not a narrow ideal. His sensitiveness to beauty and his love of his country and its ancient heritage moulded his devotion to science into a search for a profound conception of a synthesis between science and Indian culture.

Experiments With Short Wave Lengths

In the laboratories at the Presidency College, he plunged into experiments with electromagnetic or radio waves, which Clerk Maxwell had predicted nearly a hundred years earlier, and Hertz had demonstrated only some fourteen years earlier. The properties of these electromagnetic or radio waves were then being investigated by various scientists such as Lodge, Marconi, Righi, and others in Europe.

With rare experimental skill Bose constructed his own instruments. These were bits of mineral crystal, odd pieces of wire, and a few electrical meters. With his apparatus he produced extremely short radio waves—wave-lengths of one centimetre or less compared to wave-lengths of several metres that were being produced by his contemporaries in Europe. These extremely short radio waves, he demonstrated, behaved very much like light waves. They were reflected or refracted by objects. However, they could pass through brick walls, which ordinary light could not. These extraordinary properties of short waves were not appreciated until fifty years later. In radar, which is now used by ships, aeroplanes, and military installations for observing objects that cannot be seen because they are too far away or hidden by clouds or fog, these centimetre length short waves have become extremely useful. But it is only during the last fifteen years that centimetre length waves have been found of use.

In these days when we take radio, television, and even radar for granted, it is relevant to recall the demonstration given by Bose in 1895 in a public lecture at which the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal was present. He demonstrated the ability of his electric waves to travel from the lecture room, through the walls of an intervening room and passage, to a third room at a distance of 75 feet. There they were detected and used to explode a miniature mine and ring a telephone bell. Such an experiment even today is counted as extremely entertaining and instructive.

It is interesting now to see retrospectively that while most of Bose's contemporaries, like Lodge and Marconi, were concerned with radio waves with wave-lengths of several metres, which have been in use for the last forty years in radio broadcasting, Bose's investigations were concerned mainly with extremely short wave-lengths. For a long time these very short radio waves remained a scientific curiosity almost till the beginning of the Second World War. Then radio wave-lengths of three centimetres found general use because of those almost optical properties and the power of penetration which Bose had demonstrated fifty years earlier.

The Border Field

It was while working with radio waves that Bose noticed that one of the instruments, called a coherer, used for the detection of radio waves, showed signs of being, as it were, tired after constant use, and refused to detect. When left alone for some time these coherers recovered and again became normal and able to detect radio waves. These detectors or coherers were usually made of metal fillings or bits of fine metal wire, loosely packed together. Bose was greatly struck by this phenomenon. It was something akin to the fatigue shown by living organisms, followed by recovery after rest. The detection by the coherer on the impingement of radio waves seemed to him something very like the response to stimuli of living organisms which, too, get fatigued and recover after rest. From the time of this discovery Bose gradually became engrossed in a border field where the behaviour of inorganic matter and that of living things evinced great similarity.

Living systems are recognized generally by five fundamental properties, viz. (i) assimilation, (ii) growth, (iii) reproduction, (iv) irritability or the capacity to respond to stimulus, and (v) adaptability or capacity to respond to stimulus in a selective or differential manner.

Biologists have tried to define life as a dynamic equilibrium in a complex system consisting of proteins, fats, carbohydrates, sterols, water, etc. It is an energy system whose energy is turned to maintaining itself. Five properties of life are connected with this maintenance of the energy system and with passing it on. Of these, we may mention (i) nutrition, i.e., the process by which the system replenishes itself with more energy of a suitable kind, (ii) mass movement of its parts, which is intrinsically developed, such as locomotion, feeding, etc., and (iii) reproduction, which is generation of a new system independent of itself.

Bose was mainly concerned with only one of these aspects of a living system, namely, that of irritability or the capacity to respond to external stimuli. Some of his best known experiments were with a familiar plant—*mimosa pudica*. He showed that when this plant was subjected to an electric shock of moderate intensity, it responded in the same manner as it would when touched mechanically. The contraction and fall of the leaf were experimentally shown to be due to the expulsion of cell water induced by stimulation which was carried to other parts of the organism. Bose invented sensitive instruments to measure the changes in the electric potential that followed the mechanical response to stimulation. He was also keenly interested in the electric potentials observed in all living things under various kinds of activity and stimulation. At one time he was inclined to the opinion that electrical potentials play an important role in the functions of various types of organs such as nerves and muscles. It was from this wide interest in all living organisms that he gradually developed a specialized interest in plant physiology.

Bose decided to work with plants because these were simpler living organisms than animals and were easier to experiment with. His work on plants, however, was strongly biassed towards physics. In fact, he showed that plants responded to stimulation and became tired after repeated stimulation. Their response decreased when a poison was introduced, and increased when a stimulant was given. In fact a stimulant could be used as an antidote to a poison. He built an apparatus consisting of tin wires dipped in distilled water and the response of the inorganic system was recorded in a galvanometer. He showed that substances like a small quantity of soda added to the water increased the electrical response of the system whereas oxalic acid, when added to the water, decreased the response. In one series of experiments, Bose, after demonstrating the parallel effects in plants and ordinary non-living systems, said to his audience in London, "Amongst such phenomena, how can we draw a line of demarcation and say here the physical process ends and there the physiological begins? No such barrier exists. Do not the two sets of records tell us of some property of matter that is common and persistent?"

A similar experiment was made by Bonhoeffer, a well-known German physical chemist, with iron wire suitably treated. It is interesting to quote Bonhoeffer's remarks: "It is indeed most astonishing that iron wire and nerve, which from the chemical point of view differ so enormous-

ly, function in such a similar way. It does not seem credible that the various functional properties in which the two systems resemble each other could be independent or show such accidental similarities. The existence of a threshold of activation, of a refractory period, of a transmission of activation, of a tendency to give rhythmic reactions, and a suggestion that the so-called accommodation effects are not missing in the model, indicate that all these properties, so uncommon in ordinary chemistry, are in some way related to each other.

"Credit goes probably to Bose for constructing the first inorganic model of electric response to stimulation shown by living tissues. He was also correct in his first interpretation of the response phenomena being a skin effect, but later his experiments with metal wire models led him to the molecular disturbance theory of response."

The models discussed above have a great deal of similarity in response to stimulation in living systems, but they are inadequate in certain respects. In living systems the responses are usually of such character as to favour the continued existence of the individual or species, i.e., the normal responses to stimulation have a regulative or adaptive character. This is also true of the complicated responses in higher animals. Till recently no inorganic models were suggested which imitated the behaviour of the central nervous system in higher animals. Now, however, people today are thinking of electronic brains, self-propelled missiles, and radar-directed anti-aircraft guns. Such mechanisms have greater similarity to the purposive action in higher animals. A new science called 'cybernatic' has recently developed which deals with the entire field of control and communication either in machines or in animals.

We have today, in our vision of things to come, various kinds of automation which in a great measure bring the world of the non-living close to the living systems. It is perhaps time to ask ourselves some deeper questions; questions that Bose himself intuitively felt but did not put into words. Has matter itself the inherent property that gave rise to life? What is this deep-seated property and what are its manifestations? How can we seek it?

The Spiritual Unfoldment of Man

Prabuddha Bharata writes editorially:

The supreme goal that is presented before man, according to Indian thought at its highest, is this state of self-realization, i.e., the full manifestation of the divine essence that is hidden in the heart of everyone. Since this spiritual unfoldment is a gradual and progressive attainment, the values that are implied by, and attributed to, Truth must be brought into being in the life, thought, and action of everyone that treads the spiritual path. The supreme Reality is described as the repository of Truth, Goodness, and Beauty; or rather, they are the very essence of Reality. This 'trinity of values', then, must be acquired and cherished by all who wish to live a purposeful life and work for attaining the high destiny that is promised for man.

The destiny that is promised for the man of self-knowledge is verily the highest. He climbs the very Mount Everest of the spiritual realm. He becomes the Spirit, one and identical with it. The Upanishads declare that the knower of Brahman becomes Brahman (*Mundaka Upanishad* III.2.9.) To that supreme goal, man's life on earth must be constantly prepared and directed. For human birth is a rare opportunity that is given to the soul, and it is in the soul of man that such a spiritual unfoldment becomes full and complete. It is a pity, indeed, if man, after having got this rare privilege of human birth, does not strive after self-realization. Therefore, it is that the *Kena Upanishad* counsels man to take to spiritual life, saying: 'If one has realized here (in this very life), then there is truth; if one has not realized here, then there is great destruction. The wise ones, having realized (Brahman) in all beings, and having turned away from the world, become immortal' (II.5). In this realization, human life finds its fulfilment. May we all strive to realize the Self in this very life.

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Manifesto by Tibetan Leaders

The International Commission of Jurists in its *Preliminary Report*, July, 1959, publishes a manifesto presented to Sri Jawaharlal Nehru, Prime Minister of India, in the summer of 1958, by Tibetan leaders:

Tibet, independent and peace-loving, has a theocratic form of Government with His Holiness the Dalai Lama as its sole Ruler. Its language, culture, traditions are completely different from those of China. Yet, in the year 1949, when the Communists subdued the whole China, they declared to the whole world through the radio that China wanted to "liberate" Tibet.

The Chinese suddenly attacked the eastern regions of our country from eight different directions. Being a non-violent and peace-loving country, Tibet had no stock of arms and ammunitions, and the legal Government of the country approached the United Nation's General Assembly for justice and to check the further advance of the Chinese invasion. Receiving no reply from that Assembly, we approached the Security Council at its session at Lake Success. To our greatest disappointment both of our appeals were ignored and remain unanswered to this day. It was under these circumstances that the Chinese forced our Governor at Chamdo to submit to their dictates and to make the Government of Lhasa surrender. To the Governor was dictated the so-called "17-point agreement," which he had to translate into Tibetan. Then he was forced to sign it on behalf of the Government of Tibet by the threat of further troops being sent into Tibet if this was not done. No document is legal without the official seal of the Cabinet duly sanctioned by the Dalai Lama, but the Chinese made a seal of their own for the purpose (and this seal is still in their possession); therefore the agreement was never properly signed.

Since that time the Tibetans have suffered untold agonies. The Chinese Communists have gradually deprived us of all our political rights. Our Government, right from the top to the provincial and district offices, has been made powerless and today we are governed completely by the Chinese. Soon after their occupation in 1951 the Chinese organised th Regional Military Commanders and aboli hed our National Army, and the Commar ders and Vice-Commanders of our ow forces were enlisted with the Communist forces to bring them into line with th forces of occupation. During 1953-54 th Chinese tried to establish their Militar and Political Committee to abolish th Tibetan Government. But the bitter oppo sition of the people prevented this. B the end of 1954 the Chinese managed t take the Dalai Lama to China and ther he was forced to agree and confirm th autonomous status of Tibet submitting t establish the Regional Autonomous Govern ment of Tibet. In 1955 the Dalai Lama re turned to Tibet. In 1956 the Chinese, i order to consolidate their hold on Tibet formed the preparatory committee of th Regional Autonomous Government of Tibet This Committee is directly governed by the Peking Government. All its member both Chinese and Tibetans must be appro ved by the Peking authorities and all it decisions must first be confirmed by them They have installed their own agents i that committee with fifty-fifty representation of Chinese and Tibetans, and have used those Tibetan puppets to influence the decisions of the Committee. Thus politically the Tibetans have been made completely subservient to the Chinese overlords.

Economically Tibet used to be self-sufficient for its food supply. But today million of Chinese are living on our people and our food situations is desperate. The people in the East and N. East are facing a famine. The Chinese, besides laying hands on our current crops, have forced our people to open our centuries-old granaries. They have also taken away our reserves of gold and silver bullion. In the southern and central regions they have destroyed thousands of acres of agricultural lands by giving priority to "national highways" and to the building of barracks and arsenals. In the East and North-East regions the Chinese have introduced the Communist method of land-reforms. In these areas half the population are peasants and the other half nomads. To effect their land reforms the Chinese have imported masses of their settlers and distributed the

agricultural land of the Tibetans among them. They have in this way intoduced the collectivisation of farms. In this process the Chinese have made the despoiled Tibetan farmers work twelve hours a day, with daily ration, insufficient for a single meal. In the distribution of property they have not even spared the Tibetans' personal requisites of every-day life such as rugs, rooms in the houses and articles of clothings. Our Tibetans are expected to treat these Chinese settlers as their aunts and uncles, and share all their property equally with the immigrants. The nomads too are victims of these so-called reforms. Their flocks of sheep and cattle, their wool and dairy products are all being confiscated by the alien Government.

In the name of education they have opened schools of various denominations, organised training centres such as "Youth's League," "Women's Association," "Workers' Party", and they are trying their utmost to enlist as many as possible of our young men and children. In this way they have made thousands of homes unhappy by sending their children to China for the so-called advancement of their education. None of these children are being trained or educated for any constructive purposes. There are no Tibetan engineers, electricians, chemists or doctors. They train our youths to distrust each other. They are trying to indoctrinate the young Tibetans' minds and to strengthening the forces of communism in our land. As a result they have divided families: son against father, wife against husband, and thus alienating Tibetans from their own culture, tradition and home-land.

In the matter of religion they have their own schemes to subvert the very bases of Buddha's Teachings. Our religion teaches love for all and malice for none. The Communists in their struggle to spread the Marxist ideology have used our well-known Monk scholars to mislead the simple Tibetans. In this endeavour they made Geyshey Sherab Gyatso, one of the well-known monk scholars, propagate their own doctrine by writing pamphlets and translating their various books and articles. They have also used the Panchen Lama as a puppet to advance their political purposes in Tibet. Pamphlets and articles of propaganda have been spread all over Tibet since 1948-1958, and communism is being preached to all our people. In Kumbum (one of the famous monasteries in the east) the Chinese have actually made our head-lamas study Marxist Dialectics. Ordinary monks they try to overcome by such material arguments as this: The Monks are made to remain in their cells and try to procure food by prayer alone. If the food is not miraculously produced, this is supposed to prove that God does not exist. Meantime the Communists prevent the monks from using their God-given natural powers to procure food, torture them by hunger into abandoning their simple faith. The Communists preach day in and day out to our simple people and monks that religion is nothing short of an opium to distract the human mind from hard work. They have used hundreds of these monks as labourers in the building of roads and barracks. They have stopped the monasteries from sharing the usual food reserves and thousands of monks starved to death for this reason. They have forced many of our monks to marry and move to China to earn a living. They have laid hands on the capital of these monasteries and even subjected to tax the very idols and statues. Such has been the battle of Marxist ideology against our spiritual heritage.

Outwardly they are telling people that they have come to Tibet to protect and help the Tibetans and to build roads, hospitals and air-fields. As a matter of fact the roads are being built to connect Tibet with the Chinese mainland in order to

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transport millions of their armed forces to the far-flung areas of Tibet. In making these thousands of miles of roads they have used Tibetans as forced labourers and thousands of them have died for want of food and proper care. Their hospitals are not meant for these poor victims but are mainly to use for their armed forces. The Tibetans even in the towns are not allowed to use these army hospitals. The big air-fields that they have built are mainly for the purpose of bringing in fuel, arms and ammunitions. Tibetans are not even allowed to pass near these air-fields, guarded so heavily by our oppressor. All these constructions are mainly for the purpose of consolidating their hold on Tibet and to suppress and preserve the conquered land and people of Tibet.

To us Tibetans the phrase "the liberation of Tibet," in its moral and spiritual implications, is based as a deadly mockery. The country of a free people was invaded and occupied under the pretext of liberation—liberation from whom and what? Ours was a happy country with solvent Government and a contented people till the Chinese invasion in 1950.

In view of all these facts the Tibetans approached the Chinese to conciliate. But all our efforts went in vain. Instead we are subjected to untold cruelty. The people of eastern Tibet revolted againt the Chinese in February 1956. This spontaneous uprising brought about further repression by the conquerors. They have desecrated religious buildings and destroyed monasteries, razed villages to the ground and killed thousands of our people. They have also used poison gas. Bombs have been thrown on innocent children and women. More than fifteen thousand people have been injured in these battles. Life in all parts of Tibet has become unbearable. So much so that more than thirty thousand people in central Tibet round about Lhasa the capital left their hearth and home to the far-off valleys and gorges. It is feared that trouble may also flare up in these areas. Many places in Khan and Amdo are still scenes of upheaval and turmoil. Our patriots are fighting hard in those areas. Some of the Amdos who fled to the mountains are still not giving up their fight for freedom, suffering at least a hundred casualties a day.



Boys' Towns in Italy

This is an excerpt from an article in the *Italian Affairs*, March-April, 1959:

The Second World War, which raged for long years, had serious consequences on many thousands of young boys who found themselves deprived of any form of moral or material support. Minors accustomed to unlimited freedom, experts in every method which would procure them an easy form of living, they formed a mass which existed on the boundaries of society. The problem was to bring them back to the centre of this same society and teach them the principles of good citizenships and productive living.

It was because of this that the more traditional, but still valuable, forms of assistance, such as homes and institutes, were flanked with a new undertaking which took the form of special communities for minors. These communities later assumed the name of 'villages', 'republics' or 'towns' and their objective was to house those minors whose lives were led principally in the streets and to offer them education and a strong moral upbringing.

Experts who studied this idea came to the conclusion that greater success would be obtained through launching an educational system which correctly considered the undisciplined moral and material state into which the boys had fallen. This led to the idea of *self-government* which meant combatting unlimited freedom with the principle of liberty controlled by responsibility, disloyalty with the understanding of the given word, promoting confidence in educators and companions, defeating irresponsibility through explaining the advantages of accepting certain responsibilities and contrasting dishonesty with honesty. In other words, such a form of 'self-government' would reflect on the satisfactory progress of the community and would appeal to the instincts of the boys themselves. It would also permit the staff of the community much greater freedom in imposing those principles which would prepare satisfactory new elements for their rightful place in society.

The experiment called for the creation of a particular psychological atmosphere in which the boys could be assured of the understanding of others and in which they would meet qualified persons in whom they could place their trust. Every attempt, in fact, has been made to ensure that they are themselves able to discover many natural laws of daily life, and so describe them to their companions after any related problems have been thoroughly discussed and understood.

Each boy—belonging to an organized group often composed according to age and professional tendencies—should feel himself closely associated with the collective good and pledged to a struggle to promote common advantages.

Each of the communities may be said to represent a complete society in miniature. The boys are given the opportunity of selecting their own mayor and councillors, organizing labour, educational facilities and cleaning, a banking organization, a shop, restaurant, etc., electing a judge or group of judges able to punish those who transgress regulations, and generally setting up the necessary administrative services.

Although it is not claimed that the idea of a 'Boys Town' (or Republic or Village) has provided a radical solution to the educational and moal problems which arose during the immediate post-war, it has proved to be an excellent means of curing many of the ills which arose after the Second World-War.

Other movements with the same objectives as the 'Boys Town' organization have followed the principle of setting the boys among foster parents who assume responsibility for their training.

However, returning to the system of special communities for minors, it is an accepted fact that Italy, by using such forms, has saved many thousands of boys who now have an opportunity of taking their place in society with dignity and serenity.

At the present moment, 52 of these *communities* are operating in Italy, housing 6,296 *boys and adolescents* of over six years of age. Approximately one milliard lire are spent every year on their maintenance and education.

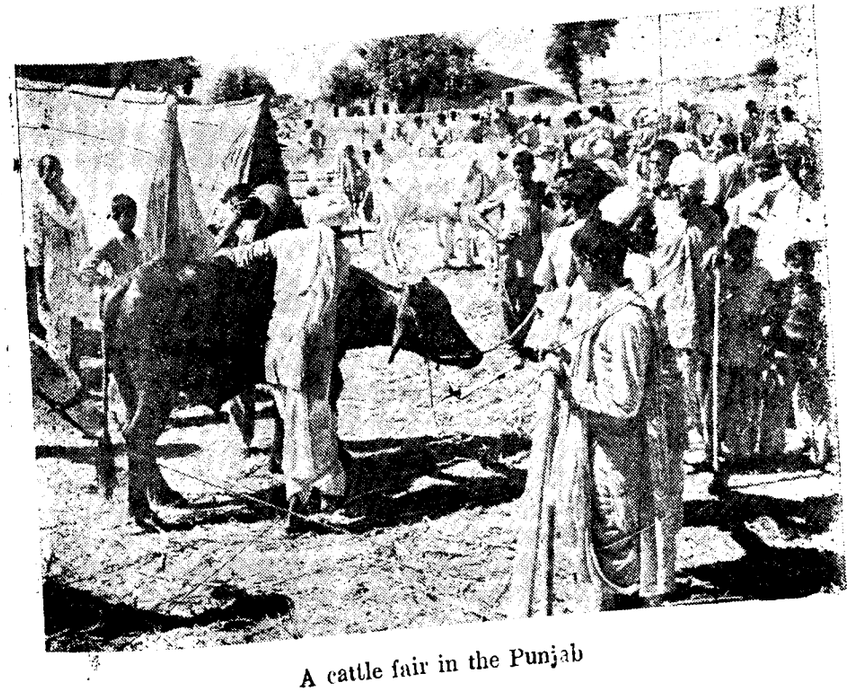
Territorial distribution of these 'Boys' Towns' appears somewhat irregular, but this fact is fully justified when it is realized that this work of moral and material rehabilitation is the result of the tenacity and courage of individuals who have defied every type of obstacle to further their intent. But such irregularity in territorial distribution becomes much less apparent if the average number of elements assisted is calculated according the more embracing geographical areas of North, South, Central and Insular Italy.

This geographical grouping reveals that the number of minors housed in these 'Boys' Towns' is much greater in the southern areas. This means that the benefits offered *function in direct relation to the economic status of the zones concerned.*

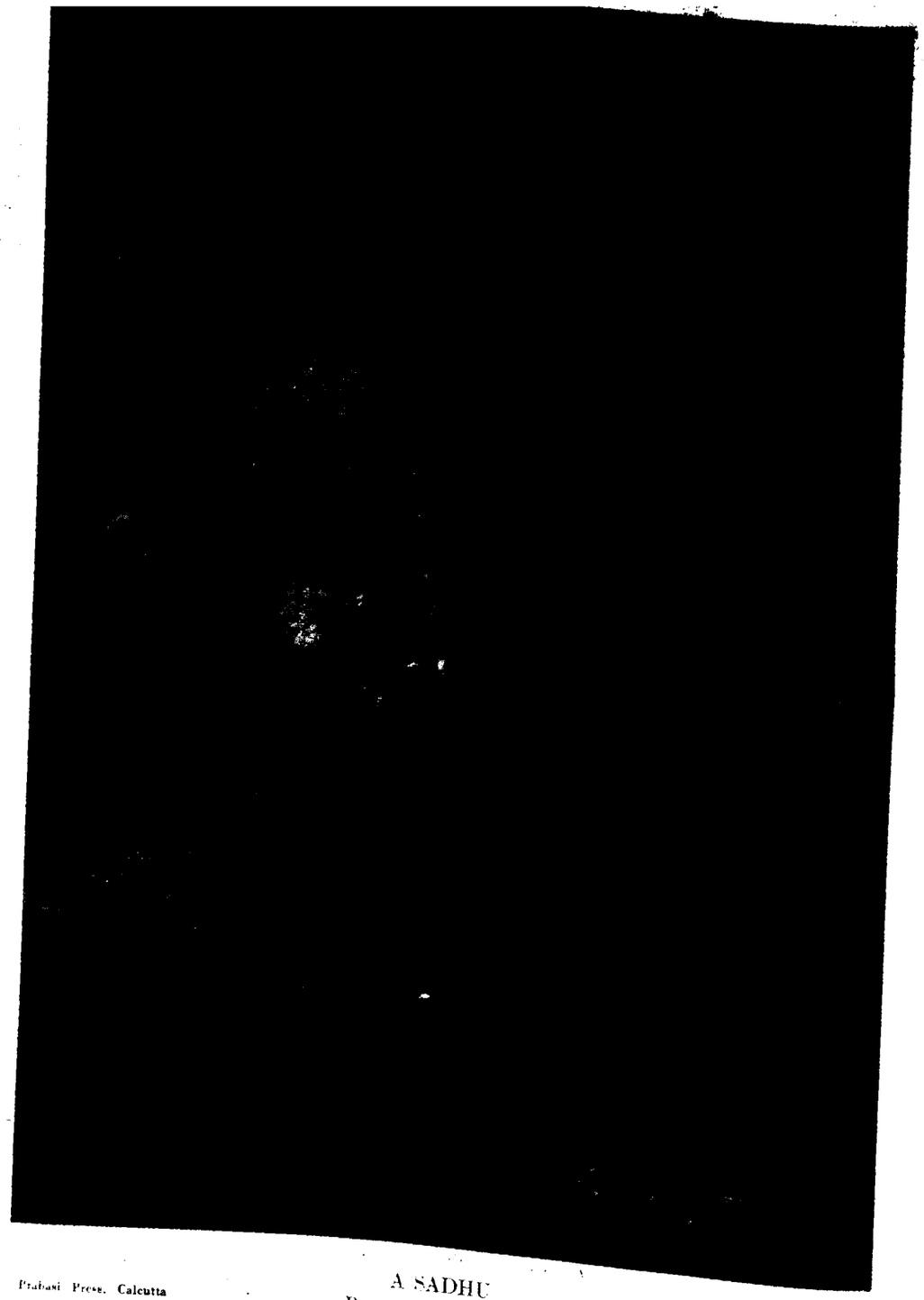
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Measurements being taken in connection with a paddy crop competition in a village in Kerala (*Kottarakara Community Project*)



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NOTES

The I.M.F. and the I.B.R.D.

The recent annual meetings of the Board of Governors of the I.B.R.D. as well as the Board of Governors of the I.M.F. will be remembered long for several remarkable developments in structure and operations of these two Bretton Woods Twins. The two most important developments are: the increase in the resources of the I.M.F. and the I.B.R.D. by increasing the quotas of the member countries, and the creation of the International Development Association. The private inflow of capital to diffferent countries in the post-war years is being supplemented to a great extent by long-term loan operations by the IBRD for developmental purposes. At the last annual meeting of these two institutions held in New Delhi in October 1958, the Board of Governors took the decision to enlarge the Bank's resources through an increase in the Bank's capital.

IBRD: Accordingly, the Directors of the Bank recommended that the authorised capital of the Bank be raised by $7,000 million. But the actual amount of increased subscriptions went up to as much as $8.8 billion (i.e., $8,800 million). Therefore, with effect from September 16, 1959, the authorised capital of the IBRD has been raised from $10,000 million to $21,000 million. The Bank's authorised capital has been more than doubled and this step has been taken with a view to augmenting the resources of the Bank so as to enhance its lending capacity. India's original share of subscription to the IBRD was 400 million dollars. Now after the increase, her share has been doubled to $800 million. Prior to the increase of the subscriptions of the member countries, the subscribed capital of the Bank stood at $9,556.50 million. Of this amount, $1,911 million were paid in and the balance amount of $7,645 million remained subject to call being regarded as contingent liability to meet the Bank's own obligations.

After the increase in subscriptions, the amount of subscribed capital now stands at $18,357 million and of this amount $1,973 million have been paid in and will be available for the ordinary operations of the Bank. While the larger part of the increased capital of the Bank has been effected by doubling the subscriptions of the member Governments, many member countries have made special additional subscriptions, in addition to the general 100 per cent increases. This additional contribution of subscriptions have been made in order to raise the capital participation of these member countries in view of their larger economic growth in recent years. In recent years the Bank was handicapped in enlarging its loan opera-

tions on account of its limited resources. The increase in the operating capital of the Bank will not only enable it to increase its lendings, it will also help the Bank to raise loans in international money markets in larger amounts. Seventeen member countries, including West Germany, Japan and Canada, have made such special additional subscriptions to the share capital of the Bank.

It may be recalled that every member country has been called upon to pay only 20 per cent of its quota at the first instance. The remaining amount of 80 per cent remains as callable liability which serves as a guarantee fund for the bonds and other obligations of the IBRD. Of India's total subscription of $800 million, only 20 per cent or $80 million have been paid in and the balance amount of $720 remains on call. Formerly, India occupied fourth position in the rank of subscribers to the Bank's capital. After the enhancement of the subscriptions, India has been relegated to the fifth place. France and Germany now jointly hold the fourth place.

Ever since the Bank started operations thirteen years ago in January 25, 1946, its loan commitments amounted to $4,604.3 million up to August 31, 1959. Of this amount, $274 million have been repaid to the Bank, $112.3 million have been cancelled or refunded and the Bank has sold $583 million to other investors. The total amount of the Bank's funded debt was $1,905 million on 31st August 1959.

Among the borrowers of the Bank, India has received the largest amount of loans. Up to the end of June 1959, India's borrowings from the Bank stood at $550.61 million. No other single country has received loan accommodations for so large an amount. In the rank of borrowers, Australia comes next to India with a total borrowing of $317.73 million, followed by France with $302.50 million. In 1958-59. India received three loans, $85 million for the railways, $25 million for the D.V.C. and $25 million for the Koyna hydel project. India has been granted loans for the development of her railways, electric power, iron and steel industry, ports, civil aviation and also for increasing her resources of industrial finance. In recent years a consortium of foreign commercial banks of the USA, the U.K., West Germany, Canada and Japan have participated in the loan operations made by the IBRD to India, particularly in the purchase of locomotives.

In another direction the World Bank is trying to help India and that is in the direction of bringing about a settlement in the dispute between India and Pakistan about the division of the Indus water. On this point the annual report of the Bank states as follows: "The engineering plan on which a settlement would be based involves a system of works estimated to take about ten years to construct, and to require expenditures in India and Pakistan aggregating $1,000 million, partly in foreign exchange and partly in local currencies. Over and above the amounts that would be provided towards the cost by India and Pakistan, it is envisaged that financial assistance would be forthcoming from the Bank itself and from friendly Governments. The Bank has already opened discussions with representatives of the Government of Australia, Canada, Germany, New Zealand, the United Kingdom and the United States, and it is believed that other countries may also wish to provide financial support."

The *World Economic Survey*, 1958, points out that during the year 1957-58, the export earnings of the underdeveloped countries fell by about 7 to 8 per cent. The Reports says: "This drop reinforced by a continuing, albeit slight, rise in the import prices of manufactured goods in the face of industrial recession represents a loss in import capacity equivalent to about six years' lending to the underdeveloped countries by the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development at 1956-57 rates." Mr. Black points out that the trade restrictions imposed by developed countries have caused this recession in the export earnings of the underdeveloped countries.

The I.M.F.: While the IBRD's authorised capital has been doubled, the share

capital of the IMF has been raised by 50 per cent of the original. The original capital of the IMF was $10,000 million. The resources of the IMF has been increased by raising the respective quotas of the member countries by 50 per cent. In addition, West Germany, Japan and Canada have made special contributions in subscriptions in proportion to their rapid economic growth in recent years. The IMF's resources will thus be increased by $5,100 million, and the total authorised capital will consequently come to $15,100 million. Its gold holdings will be raised from $2,300 million as at present to $4,600 million when these additional subscriptions have been fully received. The IMF in its annual report states as follows on this point: "The significance of this increase in the Fund's resources is not to be measured only by the extent to which these new resources are drawn upon. A stand-by arrangement that is not followed by use of the Fund's resources is as important as a stand-by under which a drawing has been made; and in the same way, the increase in the Fund's resources may still have great importance, even if, for some time to come, drawings on the Fund do not reach substantial amounts. The essential objective is, above all, the creation of a feeling of confidence among Fund members that, even if the reserves directly under their control are considered not adequate to meet every eventuality, they can safely make their decisions with respect to the freedom of payments and trade without having to pay undue regard to such temporary balance of payments difficulties as may from time to time occur."

The three most outstanding developments in the international monetary field are: increase in the financial resources of the IMF and the IBRD following the Delhi meeting in 1958; adoption of external convertibility of the sterling and thirteen other European currencies, and the measures adopted by the primary producing countries to check the creeping inflation by introducing stabilisation programmes.

The freeing of the sterling and other currencies for external payments purposes also led fifteen other countries of the world to adjust their exchange control system to suit the new developments in the exchange pattern of the world. It may be pointed out that ever since its inception the Fund has been pleading for adoption of full convertibility of all the currencies of the world. In its view, the freer the trade and exchange, the less will be the disequilibrium in international payments position. As regards the convertibility of currencies of non-resident accounts, the IMF says that the road has been opened to the elimination of discrimination in trade and payments practised on balance of payments grounds. That improvement in reserves and in balance of payments positions which made possible the move to non-resident convertibility itself also facilitated a greater freedom of trade. It goes on to say that it was, therefore, natural that the move should be associated in some countries with a further liberalisation of trade, and it is to be expected that countries will be able to make further progress along these lines. The Fund intends to continue its study of the remaining restrictions—and especially the remaining discriminatory restrictions—and in the meantime, it is urging its members to eliminate discrimination as rapidly as is feasible.

The Managing Director stressed the need of stabilisation in the internal economies of the member countries. In his view, stabilisation has been more or less achieved and inflation has been halted. He says that when stabilisation has been achieved by a considerable number of countries, problems, new and old, would arise as regards both economic diagnosis and the finding of proper remedies. The world would be confronted with the problems as how to mitigate booms and depression; how best to combine economic expansion with reasonable stability; how to ensure proper debt management and how to mitigate the difficulties in the balance of payment of the countries of the world. The difficulty will also arise when the export prices of a country will show a downward trend.

These are the problems that fall under Article I of the Fund Agreement. This Article stresses that while promoting exchange stability, the Fund will also strive to facilitate the expansion and balanced growth of international trade, and to contribute thereby to the promotion and maintenance of high levels of employment and real income, and to undertake development of productive resources of the members as primary objectives of economic policy. The IMF thinks that now as the transitional period after the war draws to its close, more attention should be paid by it to these general objectives of the IMF. But the achievements of these other objectives of the Fund depend to a large extent on the actions and policies of the individual member countries and the Fund will have to extend direction and confidence to these countries in the pursuit of their economic policies. It must be remembered that the Fund is neither a super-Government nor the central bank of Central Banks. Therefore the policies of individual countries shall continue to be wielded by their own Governments, and the Fund will play the role of an adviser and moderator.

The Fund stresses the need for monetary stability and it gives a note of warning to the member countries that they should not cherish any complacent view about the present expanding trends in the economy. In the opinion of the Managing Director, world inflation is over. The excessive liquidity inherited from the war has been worked off and credit policies have become more effective. "Output has risen, competition is fiercer, and the resistance to cost and price increases has grown in strength. If we look back to past periods of economic history, we find that a persistent decline in raw material prices has more than once been an indication of the cessation of general price increases. Since more and more currencies have become convertible, and since supplies of goods are readily available in most lines from a variety of sources, no individual country can—without grave risks—afford to deviate from the international price trends. Naturally, countries must seek to avoid these risks; and when they make more and more efforts to balance their budgets or, at least, to reduce their fiscal deficits, many of them do so not only as part of an anticyclical policy but also for balance of payments reasons." He says that the present expansion needs must be carefully watched because a pronounced investment boom would involve not only progress but also strain, and could have consequences if it were allowed to get out of hand.

What Mr. Per Jacobsson says about the stability in economic growth requires to be read between the lines so far as underdeveloped countries are concerned. In these countries inflation has not come to and, rather it is progressively on the increase, accelerated by the impact of growth economy launched both by the public sector as well as the private sector of these countries. People are holding excess liquidity or purchasing power, but to that extent consumer goods are not being available to neutralise the excess holdings of purchasing power of the people. Output is rising but not always in a progressive proportion. As a result of creeping inflation, costs, both of goods and of living, are rising. Credit control also is not very effective.

N. R.

Industrial Finance Corporation

The annual report of the Industrial Finance Corporation of India for the year ended June 1959, reveals a declining activity of the Corporation. During 1958-59, the Corporation received 26 applications for loans for an aggregate amount of Rs. 11.16 crores, as against 48 applications for Rs. 14.88 crores in 1957-58. During 1958-59, 19 loan applications were sanctioned for aggregate sum of only Rs. 3.79 crores, the corresponding figures for the previous year being 22 loan applications for Rs. 7.78 crores. The total amount of loans sanctioned since its inception up to the year under review stands at Rs. 66.69 crores. Of this, the amount so far disbursed comes to Rs. 42,32 crores.

The gross income of the Corporation exceeded Rs. 2 crores during the year under report, registering a substantial increase from the preceding year's figure of Rs. 1.55 crore. The net profit, after making a provision of Rs. 37.71 lakhs for taxation, comes to Rs. 35.37 lakhs, as against Rs. 28.20 lakhs in the previous year (1957-58). The major part of the loans sanctioned by the Corporation was meant for new undertakings, that is, those which started production after August 15, 1957.

A state-wise analysis of loans sanctioned by the Corporation indicates that there has been inequitable distribution of the loans. Up to June 1959, in Bombay 59 units received loans for an aggregate amount of Rs. 19.49 crores. For the same period, in Madras 22 units received loans for an aggregate amount of only Rs. 9.47 crores. In West Bengal 27 industrial units received loans for a total amount of Rs. 6.33 crores; in Uttar Pradesh 15 units received Rs 5.60 crores. This shows that Bombay has been shown much favour or rather partiality in the distribution of loans. Other States should have much larger proportions of assistance. What India wants is neither concentration of capital nor the concentration of industries only in one or a few provinces. The strategy of economic growth demands that as far as practicable industries should be fairly distributed all over the country. The old concept of the localisation of industries on account of natural and economic advantages have become effete in the modern background of planned economic growth. Further, from the view-point of creating employment opportunities, it is imperative that a national institution like the Industrial Finance Corporation should cater to the needs of all underdeveloped regions of the country in the matter of disbursing loan accommodations. Bombay is highly industrially developed with a well-developed capital market. Industrial concerns there can fall back upon various private sources. But other parts of the country, like the Uttar Pradesh or Madras Pradesh or Kerala are comparatively underdeveloped. The country expects more economic sagacity from an institution which has been endowed with providing the life-blood to the industries in the form of industrial finance. The Corporation should take a more balanced view of the entire economy and its foremost view should be to create employment opportunities throughout the country by catering to the needs of budding industries in different regions. To concentrate its loan operations in Bombay is reminiscent of the proverb—"to carry coal to Newcastle." Other provinces, like, West Bengal or Uttar Pradesh; have problems of unemployment and there is great potentiality for industrial development in these States. But these States are rather ignored by the Industrial Finance Corporation in its loan policy. This is a point which deserves attention by the Union Government.

Further, in recent years there have grown up so many financial institutions in the country, both in the public sector as well as in the private sector, that the IFC seems to have lost much of its importance which was attached to it during its inception in 1948. The new institutions, like the Industrial Credit and Investment Corporation, the National Industrial Development Corporation, the Refinance Corporation, and the State Finance Corporations have thrown the IFC into the background of economic development in the country. The leadership that was expected of it in the field of industrial finance has not materialised and it is being for outpaced by the newer institutions, as stated above. The declining trend in its loan commitment when the country is in need of larger amount of industrial finance, reveals that the industries are rather reluctant to approach it for assistance because of its indifference to the growing needs of the industries of the country.

Loan assistance to Co-operative Societies has been a marked feature of the activities of the Corporation during the past four years. The loans sanctioned by the Corporation to Co-operative Societies alone up to the end of June 30, 1959, amounted to Rs. 14.94 crores. This sum is distributed among 28 societies all of whom, except one, are engaged in sugar manufacture.

Industry-wise, the most significant advance in the course of the year under review was made to the sugar and cement

industries, these two together accounting for as much as 67 per cent of the total amount of loans sanctioned during the year. An industry-wise classification of the loans made by the IFC shows that the food manufacturing industry (including sugar) has been the recipient of the largest amount of loan during the year under review. The food manufacturing industry has received Rs. 20.72 crores out of the total loans of Rs. 66.69 crores. Textiles industries come next with a loan receipt of Rs. 9.72 crores. Basic industrial chemical industries occupy the third place among the borrowing industries with Rs. 7.66 crores and the paper and paper products occupy the fourth place with Rs. 5.71 crores.

The Chairman of the Industrial Finance Corporation, in his annual address to the share-holders states that the augmentation of internal resources by themselves have not proved to be a solution to the real difficulty in the matter of going ahead with the normal function of granting long-term loans to the industries. The main difficulty in the matter has been the lack of foreign currency funds to meet the situation created by the stringent measures imposed by the Union Government by restricting during the last few years the import of necessary industrial raw materials and machinery. The Chairman says that the fall in loan application is to a great extent on account of these import restrictions. The solution to this difficulty lies in obtaining a substantial foreign currency loan from financial institutions like the World Bank or from Government-sponsored institutions like the Development Loan Fund of the USA. The Chairman points out that the Corporation made an application to the IBRD for loan assistance, but no assistance has so far been forthcoming from the World Bank.

During the year under report, the Corporation under-wrote a preference share issue for Rs. 50 lakhs. The Corporation's share of commitment in this underwriting operation is Rs. 37.50 lakhs. That although the under-writing operations have been successful, still there is some difficulty in the matter. In the event of the Corporation having been left with any shares of this issue which is under-written, the Corporation cannot hold them under the provisions of the Industrial Finance Corporation Act for more than seven years without the prior permission of the Central Government. The provision, coupled with the fact that the Corporation is not authorised, under the IFC Act, to invest directly in the equity or preference capital of any industrial concern has meant the closing to it of a profitable line of investment of its surplus funds.

Another comparatively new field of the Corporation's activities has been the guaranteeing of deferred payments on behalf of industrial concerns to foreign manufacturers of capital goods. In view of the increasing restrictions imposed by the Government of India on the issue of cash import licences, the scheme of guaranteeing deferred payments has proved a fruitful field of assistance to the industrial concerns in the country. The Corporation desires that it should be enabled to participate in the current scheme for the utilisation of the dollar credits placed at the disposal of the Government of India by the Export-Import Bank of the USA. The Corporation should, however, make rapid strides in the field of under-writing issues for new concerns.

N. R.



Enemy or Friend ?

It is about time our people were told by our leaders at New Delhi, as to how to differentiate between friend and foe. These last few years, after the Bandung Conference—which was preceded by the visit of that Machiavellian politician, Mr. Chou En-lai,—we were being told how far and wide "We" the Indian People, have succeeded in spreading the Message of Peace and Co-Existence in this Wicked World. The lullaby of *Panch-Sheela* soothed the Indian People, while the rest of the word went through the nightmare of the Cold War—with occasional bloody interludes of shooting wars, as in Korea, Indo-China, Egypt and lastly in Algeria. We were further told that so long as the two of the greatest nations of the world—great in numbers if not in might—kept faith along the lines enunciated at Bandung, the balance between War and Peace will be maintained, even though at a precarious level. It was also stated by our great ones that so long as the milieniums-old bonds of amity between the same two great nations lasted, Asia and Africa would be able to proceed from strength to strength in the cause that was enunciated by the Light of Asia. And who are these great friends, whose record of amity and spiritual accord has truly written a golden chapter in the history of Man? They are China and India.

But all along, while this lullaby of Peace was being intoned, there were discordant notes from across the oceans of the West. We were told that all that remained on the mainland of China, so far as the famed Chinese culture and philosophy of life were concerned, were the mute memorials of the past, its temples, mausoleums and its ancient stones and potteries. We were further told that the last true descendants of the China of old, who kept the glorious heritage of the past alive in their hearts and as such truly represented the China of Ancient Glory, were those who had crossed over to Formosa. And since they were the true inheritors of the old traditions of Chinese culture, and since they had kept alive the Eternal Flame of Cathay's glory, it is only right that they should carry the name and keep the seat of China at the United Nations.

But our wise men differed. They are realists they claim and as such they are unable to accept the shadow for the substance, the spirit for the concrete crude Mass. And it is along these lines of argument that they have been pleading at the bar of the United Nations for the inclusion of The Democratic People's Republic of China in that august body. Indeed even in this year 1959, of Indo-Chinese crisis, our spokesman at the U.N.A. has repeated his plea. It is true that after the news of the Ladakh incursion had reached him there has been a slight change in his tone, which gives us a ray of hope. Perhaps Mr. V. K. Krishna Menon has not progressed along the path to Nirvana as far as our beloved Prime Misister. In a report emanating from the United Nations on October 23, he is reported to have stated as follows to the correspondents:

"There is now news of incidents in another part of our frontier which—if the reports are true—is a more sensitive area because it is not an uninhabited area. We have administration posts there, and if this news is true, it is one of those things that we will take serious notice of. China will have to go from our territory. There is no question of that."

"Mr. Menon made his remarks about the latest incidents, while answering a question as to why his Government continued to support the admission of China in the United Nations in view of the frontier troubles between the two nations."

"Our support is not based on whether we like them or they like us," he declared, "China's presence at the United Nations is necessary for world purposes. You cannot have a disarmament agreement, for instance, without bringing her in."

'The Defence Minister said that so far as 'incursions' into India's territory was concerned, India would never permit any part of her territory to be occupied by anyone else."

We are not very clear about the logic in Mr. Menon's argument for the inclusion of People's China in the United Nations Assembly. Of what earthly use would be the inclusion of a nation that primarily believes in the force of arms and breaks faith, even with a friendly nation like ours, without the least qualm, for the sole consideration of expansion of territory

and power, at this juncture in the negotiations for disarmament? Does Mr. Menon really believe that People's China would disarm, really and truly and wholeheartedly? She might enter into such engagements as might give her an opportunity to develop her armed strength in secret, we think, but nohing more, unless she is convinced, in her own way, that to persist with her greed for territory and lust for power would end in a catastrophic disaster for herself. And that conviction will only come to her when her armed might is matched by equal, if not superior might—which we have failed to do even after five years of continuous aggressive moves on her part, thanks to the Pancha-Sheela obsession of Pandit Nehru and Mr. V. K. Krishna Menon.

This brings us back to the original query, how to differentiate between friend and foe, in this maze of *Pancha Sheela, Ahimsa, Peaceful Co-existence, et seq?* And we would further beg leave to ask about the distinguishing features between "incursion with occupation" and "invasion with aggression", with clear statements about the tempo and extent of assaults and quantum of losses, in terms of men and territory, to be suffered before we can call the intruder an aggressor and proceed to meet force with force?

We append elsewhere two long statements, made before and after the Ladakh incursion, by Pandit Nehru. The words are different but the tune of the lullaby is much the same. It is apparent that Pandit Nehru is still dreaming of peaceful sway over the Land of Ind, much in the same way as he has been for the last five years, and is uttering the same sequence of words of wisdom for our benefit.

Is it not time now for action instead of words? The Chinese have been given five years to build roads and move large forces to all the possible areas from which the Himalayan barrier can be breached. The People of India had been kept in ignorance, for years together, as is revealed in the White Paper issued by the Ministry of External Affairs, covering the period 1954-59. The reasons for this deliberate policy of keeping the nation in darkness is given by Pandit Nehru in his letter to Mr. Chou En-lai, dated September 26, 1959, in which he said:

"At a number of places your forces assumed a threatening attitude; at others they actually came into our territory. Such incidents, concerning as they did the integrity of India, were very serious. But in our anxiety not to create feelings against your Government we deliberately avoided giving publicity to them."

What were the consequences of such paradoxical reasoning? Nothing that spells either peace or honour to our people. Indeed it has encouraged not only the aggressor, but also given ample time to the disruptive forces in our midst to give full play to their powers of evil.

The only way before us is that of *Kshatra Dharma* unadulterated with any esoteric sanctions against force. Forces of Evil will predominate over all humane considerations otherwise, as they have since the dawn of history.

Friend or Foe, we have to assess the consequences of his aggressive acts on a straight basis along the lines of hard realism. The situation calls for urgent measures to be undertaken on the assumption of major aggression from across the Himalayas. No abstract considerations should be allowed to prevail when the soil of our fatherland has been intruded into and the blood of our soul has been spilt. He is indeed a strange friend who has persistently encroached upon our territory and met the friendliest of pleas to desist either by assuming an attitude of injured innocence or by turning a deaf ear towards us. Since it has now come to totally unprovoked armed attacks on our guards, followed by fabricated stories regarding the ownership of the terrain and the sequences of the incidents, we can no longer put faith in his protestations.

Pandit Nehru might try to find solace in the friendly traditions of the past two-thousand years—which traditions are partially made of the substance of dreams—but the evil portents of the future cannot be hidden behind their rosy folds. We cannot forget that a little over twenty years back another Prime Minister called for "Peace

in our time, O Lord," on the floor of the Mother of Parliaments, and that heart-felt cry only encourages the Mad Man of Central Europe to start a conflagration, from the consequences of which the civilized world has hardly recovered in full as yet.

The situation calls for preparedness on the physical and not the metaphysical horizon. What folly for a Defence Minister to speculate about the ineffectiveness of World Disarmament without China being in the U.N.A., when his own country cannot restrain China from breaking through the most formidable natural fortifications with impurity!

No, no Mr. Krishna Menon, there must not be any more idle speculations now. We do not want to cry havoc—indeed if we do not persist in our folly there would never be any need to do so. But we do not want *Devatatma Himalayas*, the Abode of Gods of our Epics, to be defiled and lost.

There can be no peace, nor disarmament in the world, so long as a great nation like China persists in acts of violence and aggression. Therefore, there would be enough time to sing hymns of brotherly amity and peace, where and if Disarmageddon truly dawns.

Good Neighbour Policy At Last?

We hate to put a query at the end of the caption of this note, but there have been so many disappointments in the past, that even the glad tidings of complete accord being reached at the final conference on border disputes, is not free from a haunting shadow. We hasten to congratulate the delegations, from Pakistan and India, led by Lt-General Sheikh and Sardar Swaran Singh respectively, on their successful solution of problems that have kept two near neighbours in a state bordering on open war for over a decade.

There can be no question that if a truly lasting settlement is finally arrived at, both the countries and their nationals would gain far far more than any apparent loss they might suffer, provided the spirit of give and take is prevalent on both sides. **It is idle to speculate any further until** the final settlement is signed, sealed and accepted by both countries and all cause for border disputes finally settled, once for all. It is good that Pakistan's President, General Mohammed Ayub Khan, has given the agreement his approval and has declared that it had reduced tension between the two countries and cleared the way for resolving other outstanding disputes.

The British Elections

The British elections held on October 8 returned the Conservatives to power with an increased majority in the House of Commons. The Conservatives with 366 seats have an overall majority of 102 seats, and 108 more than Labour. The party position in the new Parliament is: Conservatives and allies 366, Labour 258, Liberals 6. The Conservatives gained 29 seats and lost 6, the Labour Party gained five seats but lost 28, Liberals gained one seat and lost one. The following table gives a comparative picture of the total votes of parties in the 1959 general election and percentages of the poll, with the comparable figures in 1955 (the time of last elections):

	1959	1955
Conservatives:	13750935 (49.4%)	13310891 (49.8%)
Labour	12216166 (43.8%)	12405254 (46.4%)
Liberals:	1640761 (5.9%)	722402 (2.7%)
Communists:	30897 (0.1%)	33144 (0.1%)
Others	223949 (0.8%)	288038 (1.0%)

In the 1959 general elections 78.7% of the electorate voted, compared with 76.8% in 1955.

Though the Conservative victory was never in doubt, the margin of their victory—they have actually increased their Parliamentary majority—has evidently come as a surprise. The Conservative victory has come as a great disappointment to the colonial people's of Africa who had expected a better deal from the Labour Party. The victory has demonstrated the British voters' preference for the *status quo*. The mentally alert section of the people—some of whom were far from being

supporters of the Labour Party—had stressed the need for a change of government in the interest of British democracy itself. But the voters have refused to take any chance. The French elections, in which the right wing was victorious, and now the results of the British elections, have led a few here to speculate with regard to the thought that the political trend in the world is towards a swing to the right and therefore, perhaps, the best solution for India's poltical tangle may also be in the same direction.

The conditions obtaining here are, however, not so clearly defined as in Britain. The British people are far more advanced than us where economic development, educational indices and the standard of living are concerned. Together with that their political consciousness is more developed through long experience and closer contact with their political parties. Purely doctrinaire or abstract reasoning does not sway them to that extent as it does here. This may conceivably have led them to decide that might justifiably give a trial to the party that will maintain the *status quo* for the time being.

But considering the urgent need for a dynamic upward change in the speed of economic growth in all underdeveloped countries in general, and in India in particular, any hesitation in the march forward for a wayside halt, under the present conditions, would undoubtedly spell disaster for the nation concerned. It is, therefore, of necessity that India must move forward along radically positive lines for her economic, social and political development. All that needs change, in the light of world movements in politics at the present, is far less emphasis on purely abstract theories and the complete replacement of fanaticism with realistic appraisal of circumstances and reasoned solutions thereof, without any handicaps derived from utopian ideals or purely doctrinaire "axioms".

The most prominent feature of this election, as noted by the *Economist* of London is the increased role of campaigns in swinging the votes in this election, as compared in the previous elections. The increased coverage was given by the press on the Labour platform, and the sustained interest of the voters in public meetings. The Labour party had drastically cut the number of public meetings, apparently with the mistaken idea that television had "killed" meetings. It realised the mistake rather late in the day. "But there is no doubt that this election has shown that mass assemblies addressed by party leaders and open-air meetings are well worthwhile," writes the *Economist*. It further adds: "Another remarkable fact is the widespread evasion—legally and illegally—of the limit on expenses. This has happened even down at the constituency level, especially in marginal seats—and both sides have been offenders. Moreover, as more and more campaign activity is centralised, through regional and national headquarters, more and more money is spent outside the control of the law."

The full analysis of the causative factors leading to the defeat of the Labour Party, with such an increased margin, is not as yet available. But press speculations indicate that there is a realisation in the Labour party executive, that too much reliance had been placed on doctrinaire and purely hypothetical considerations, and too little on the pressing problems—of the every-day variety—affecting the well-being of the electorate. Class-war and the other time-honoured doctrines and shibboleths of organised Labour seemed to have carried little significance to those, who are outside the trade-union ranks. The housewife, for instance, who was able to maintain a small positive balance after making both ends meet, during the Conservative regime was possibly far more reluctant to face the stresses and strains, which the Labour Government, prior to the Conservative coming to power, had not been able to mitigate despite all theoretical advancement of the "common-citizens" cause, through the establishment of a purely hypothetical "Welfare State."

Perhaps, another reason was that 'Socialism,' 'Nationalisation,' etc., are all very well in theory, but while it was being brought into being, the political sponsors and their following of the organised Labour wing, did not have to bear the actual stress and strain to the extent that the common citizen outside the unions had. And added to that is the lack of consideration usually displayed by organised Labour for the sufferings of the innocent third party in

mass movements like strikes, which has a cumulative effect on the electorate, however short public memory might be.

To sum up, the British Elections of 1959 carry no lessons where we are concerned. For Reason and Logic are both at a heavy discount in the political forum of India of today, for all the existing parties, Left, Right, Centre, and all. They and their leaders are all laws unto themselves. So, whatever need there be for any lessons?

New British Cabinet

The new British Cabinet announced by Mr. Harold Macmillan on October 14 does not offer any surprises. The Cabinet "big three," Mr. Selwyn Lloyd (55), the Foreign Minister; Mr. Derick Heathcoat Amory (50), Chancellor of the Exchequer; and Mr. Richard Austen Butler (56), Secretary of State for the Home Department, retain their positions in the new Cabint belying earlier speculations about the imminence of a change in the Foreign Office. The notable omission is Mr. Alan Lennox-Boyd, Colonial Secretary in the outgoing cabinet who has been replaced by Mr. Ian Macleod (45), the former Minister of Labour. Mr. Lennox-Boyd had become closely associated with a tough colonial policy, while it will not be correct to make him the sole target of criticism for the policies the change of a personality could certainly create a better psychological atmosphere if the British Government should like to open negotiations with the people of colonial Africa. There have been a few other adjustments of portfolios but the Cabinet as a whole substantially retains the previous look.

S. S.

Ne Win in India

General Ne Win, Prime Minister of the Union of Burma, who was on a visit to this country, in the beginning of October is in more than one way an extremely remarkable personality. A former clerk in a sub-post office in Rangoon, General Ne Win is one of the revolutionary leaders, who took a prominent part in the wars of liberation against Japan and Britain. After the achievement of Burmese independence though he was primarily concerned with military tasks his services were always available to tide over difficult political situations. Thus during the grave days of 1949 when the Burmese Government had been threatened by the insurgents on one side and the Kuomintang guerillas on the other, he had been called upon to shoulder the responsibilities of the Deputy Prime Minister and Home Minister, in addition to being the Chief of Army staff. It is a remarkable testimony to the personality of the man that when General Ne Win's name was proposed as Prime Minister on the floor of the Parliament of Burma on October 28, last year, there was not a single dissentient vote against his nomination.

General Ne Win's rule is not exactly democratic, as he himself has pointed out. It is a sort of a military dictatorship but with this difference that it is not in power by usurping the authority of a constitutional organ and, what is more significant, is pledged to abrogate itself in favour of a fully formal democratic government at the earliest possible opportunity. The political impasse which made military rule the only sensible alternative was brought about by the politicians who failed to rise above petty personal and factional squabbles. In the course of a discussion in the Chamber of Deputies on the Bill providing for compulsory millitary training for men and women to enable Government to raise auxiliary defence forces in case of an emergency, General Ne Win explained his stand with the following words: "Militarism comes to a country when the Army seizes power, or the Government of the day is manipulated by the Army from behind. To prevent militarism, I shall do my best to see that there is no army seizure and no pulling of strings by the Army to make an elected Government do its bidding."

This then is the declared perspective against which the Government's achievements have to be judged. The care-taker Government, as General Ne Win's wholly non-legislature cabinet functioning with Parliamentary approval is generally known,

has so far not been able to carry out its pledge of establishing law and order, holding free and fair elections, providing full democratic rights to the people and bringing down the abnormally high prices of commodities. The target date of holding elections by April 1959 could not be kept and the Burmese Constitution had to be amended to suspend Section 116—if only for a temporary period—to make room for General Ne Win's non-legislature cabinet to function until the next General Elections are held. This was however necessitated again by the inability of the various political parties to agree upon democratic functioning—the Government had to set up a committee under the chairmanship of Colonel Kyaw Soe, Chief Intelligence Officer, Ministry of Defence, to probe into the political crimes and make a bi-monthly report—who were therefore unable to oppose the proposal for deferring the target date for holding elections.

Burma suffers not only from internal economic and politcal instability, she has the additional handicap to work under a standing threat upon the integrity of her territory from north. There were reports of repeated violations of her borders in recent years and also earlier this year and though a joint committee of Chinese and Burmese representatives have for a long time been engaged on the task of demarcating the Burma-China border the progress made so far has been disappointing from the Burmese point of view. It may not be out of place to recall here that it was through the personal intervention of the Indian Prime Minister that the Chinese Government had agreed to demarcate the Burma-China frontier along the MacMohan Line though China has now come out with a declaration of absolute non-recognition of the said line—the contradiction involved in recognizing one part and not recognizing the other of the same thing (Simla Convention) notwithstanding.

The common problem of the two countries with regard to their respective boundaries with the People's Republic of China, which have assumed urgency after the recent Chinese actions and declarations, naturally formed an important subject of discussion between the Burmese Prime Minister and our Prime Minister at New Delhi. It would not be unwarranted to conclude that India's firm declaration about her adherence to the MacMahon Line as the only recognized boundary line between India and China would by itself serve as an indirect guarantee of the integrity of the Burmese border with China. The people of India would naturally endorse every action of their Government which seek to help neighbouring states to extricate themselves out of their difficulies.

S. S.

Iraqi Portents

The repeated attempts to kill Major-General Abdul Karim Kassem, Prime Minister of Iraq, is a further reflection of the extremely uncertain state of affairs in Asia, and in the Middle-East in particular which has been passing through a long period of political turmoil. On the first occasion Premier Kassem was driving in a car along Rashid Street in Baghdad in the evening of October 7 when he was shot at by four or five persons. He was wounded in the shoulder but he managed to kill one of the assailants. The second attempt on his life was made on October 15 in the hospital where he was receiving treatment—but fortunately he escaped injury. Premier Kassem's wound are not serious, it has been stated; we fervently hope it is so, details of the incident are not available and it is not possible to know what was the nature of involvement in this criminal act. Iraq has had to pass through so many convulsions during the past fifteen months which were ideal for creating personal animosities of an extreme type; and political terrorism was not exactly unknown in the country. While a purely personal vendetta cannot altogether be ruled out of consideration, the political and other developments in Iraq and the adjoining countries during the recent past would strongly suggest the existence of a political motive behind the attempt to kill General Kassem, who has demonstrated his determination to build Iraq into a strong, independent and democratic state which has enraged extremists on both sides both within and without Iraq.

S. S.

Goa

Even twelve years after the achievement of Indian Freedom Goa, an integral part of India, remains under foreign domination. What seemed impossible in 1946, is a fact in 1959—much to the chagrin of Indians both in and out of the Portuguese possessions in Goa, Daman and Diu. And yet we have no one else to blame but ourselves. In 1946, the Portuguese regime in India was tottering under the impact of the National Liberation Movement and there was even a gesture on the part of the Portuguese Government for talks on the question of the future of its possessions in India after the British had left. As the late Dr. Tristao Braganza Cunha, the great Goan national leader observed, we failed to cash in on that advantage because the Government of India went back on Gandhian principles on the question of the liberation of Goa and allowed itself to be swayed by narrow and outmoded legalistic considerations urged upon by bureaucratic officials and thus offered the Portuguese imperialism a golden opportunity to consolidate its position in India and elsewhere.

Despite its evident inefficacy in straightening India's relations with Portugal, which is so obstinate in maintaining its dictatorship as to declare Goa and its other territories in India as an integral part of Portugal itself and trying to give it the appearance of reality by subjecting the brave people of Goa to indescribable brutality and torture to adopt the Portuguese language and culture, the Government of India has persistently maintained this legalistic outlook completely oblivious of the fact that the legality of imperialism was wholly inapplicable for a nationalist movement which was also the Indians' own experience at home as they had to brave the batons and bullets of the Government to undo the alien relationship imposed upon India by the British imperialism. From the very outset of Indian freedom thus the Government of India imposed restrictions upon the intercourse between Goa and other parts of India, leaving the Goan patriots above in their fight against brutal dictatorship which was being backed openly by two of the world's mightiest powers—Britain and the USA. The Portuguese Government was not slow to see the hesitation of the Government of India and it took quick measures to stamp out the opposition through the adoption of the worst repressive measures which were illegal even by the dictatorship's own definition of law. It arrested and deported the most selfless and active of Goan political leaders and decapitated the popular movement. On the other hand it encouraged the formation of a treacherous sect advocating the separateness of Goa from India. It stands to the credit of the valiant people of Goa that even the most concentrated torture of Salazar dictatorship has failed to break their will to be free and the separationist movement has fizzled out for all practical purposes.

To leave the people of Goa to fight for their freedom would amount to a betrayal of a trust and, as the experience of the past twelve years has shown, a political folly. It is equally beyond doubt that the Portuguese Government cannot for ever go on defying the Indian stand provided the latter is sustained with a strong will and a clarity of purpose. The Government of India must be firm in resisting all external interference in her stand on Goa and should step up her diplomatic activity to convince the other powers of the utter absurdity of their stand in favour of Portugal. A legalistic approach, which is by its very nature static, cannot solve the problem of a dynamic nationalist movement for the freedom of Goa. Malaya, Indonesia, Formosa and Thailand are juridically foreign states; yet the Government of China in Peking maintains that all Chinese residents there are Chinese unless they declare themselves otherwise. The Government of India should at least

have the morality to defend the honour and property of the people who openly announce themselves as Indian citizens braving even physical dangers to their persons. It is to be hoped that the various Goan nationalist sects who recently joined together in a convention in Bombay would utilise this renewed strength of unity in holding the problems in clearer perspective and by putting before the nation a unified course of action which the Government of India could be urged to follow.

Portugal's plaint at the International Court at the Hague, demonstrates beyond any mistake, the extent to which the sovereignty of the Indian Government on its own soil, could be assailed legalistically in an International Court of Justice, thanks to our confused and totally illogical stand on the question of Goa.

S. S.

Algeria

After the acceptance by the Algerian nationalist leaders of President De Gaulle's offer of peace with self-determination, the initiative for action now decidedly rests with the French Government. It speaks of a remarkable statesmanship on the part of Algerian leaders that they have not allowed any bitter feelings created by over four years of relentless French terror to overcome their judgment while they were considering the French President's offer. Frankly, the offer does not amount to much. It differed from General De Gaulle's earlier proposal for a truce only in the fact that the French President has now agreed to consider self-determination by the Algerians four years after the effective establishment of peace. The statement is vague in more than one respect and all its apparent merits could be nullified by an adverse interpretation of the clause in the President's offer that France would guard her access to the Sahara, and arrange for the regrouping and resettlement of those Algerians who wished to remain French. To even the most superficial observers it would be apparent beyond doubt that the Algerian leaders have demonstrated their earnest desire for peace through negotiations with France. It is, therefore, quite a reasonable statement on their part that no free determination of the wishes of the people of Algeria is possible in the presence of an occupation army of a million men as are their demands that the national integrity of Algeria must remain inviolable, and that France's exploitation of the oil-rich Sahara should not be recognized as a right of ownership.

S. S.

Solomon Bandarnaike

The assassination of Solomon West Ridgeway Dias Bandarnaike, Prime Minister of Ceylon, comes as an ill portent for the political future of Asia. That this uneasiness is well-founded has been corroborated by the attempted assassination of another Asian statesman, Premier Kassem of Iraq. Mr. Bandarnaike was preparing to leave for the Parliament House on September 25 when he was shot at six times from point-blank range allegedly by a Buddhist priest named Somarama Thero, who was a visiting lecturer in eye diseases at the College of Indigenous Medicine. The Premier died the following morning.

Conditions in Ceylon have been uncertain for some time past and the late Prime Minister had a hard time in steering clear an independent course. The economic conditions have been worsening and the Government was unable to stop the rot. It was further unable to root out the the corruption and high-handedness of the priesthood which has entrenched itself into a very strong position in the national life of the country. The new Premier, Mr. Wijyayananda Dahanayaka has reassuringly promised to continue the late Prime Minister's policies—both at home and abroad, but the circumstances call for determined action to be taken.

The clamping of emergency measures immediately upon the receipt of the report of the assassination suggests that the Government feared a political plot behind the murder. This was followed by a strict censorship upon the press, the justifications of which have, however, not been made clear. The opposition parties have openly accused the Government of the responsibility having followed policies which have encouraged the Prime Minister's murder in an indirect manner. If the imposition of the censorship is designed to curb the critics of the Government's weak policies to the reactionary elements, as it seems to be, such a policy is badly calculated to deliver the country from its present sufferings. The censorship has been lifted at the time of writing, so perhaps, the emergency is clearing up.

S. S.

Pandit Nehru on Chinese Incursions

We append below two news-reports, taken from two issues of the *Hindu*, dated Oct. 22 and Oct. 25, respectively, of Pandit Nehru's statements on the Chinese incursions. The first one, dated Oct. 21, was made at Calcutta prior to the news of the Ladakh incursions had been communicated to him and the second one contains two statements made by him at Meerut on Oct. 24, after he had recieved the news of the Ladakh incidents:

Calcutta, Oct. 21.—Prime Minister Nehru said here to-day that he did not think there was any "major idea" behind the recent Chinese incursions into Indian territory.

Mr. Nehru was replying at a Press conference here this evening to a question whether Chinese incursions on India's territory were an isolated incident or part of a policy.

He said: I could not say that. But I am inclined to think that all these are tagged on to Tibet. There were no Chinese forces on the other side of the border before the Tibet rebellion. But after the rebellion Chinese forces came partly to crush the rebellion and partly to stop the Tibetan people from coming over to India, or contact the people whom the Chinese imagined to be connected with the Tibetan rebellion. All these happened but what other things there might be, I cannot say.

Obviously, they have not given up their claim to slices of Indian territory which was in their maps. Mr. Nehru said.

Mr. Nehru said he had not received any answer to his last letter to Mr. Chou En-lai sent three weeks ago. But in various statements, general remarks had been made on behalf of the Chinese authorities that they would settle these border affairs peacefully but, he said, there had been no precise approach.

The Prime Minister said the Chinese were still occupying certain territories, which according to India, were south of the McMahon Line.

The Prime Minister was asked about reports that a Chinese party entered West Bengal in the Kalimpong area recently. He said he could not say anything definitely on the actual position, but he had seen certain reports in newspapers only this morning.

Mr. Nehru was asked if he looked at the recent visit of Mr. Khrushchev to U.S.A. as part of an attempt to close up East-West differences. Mr. Nehru said one thing was clear in this visit and that was that Mr. Khrushchev was eager and anxious for an understanding between what was called the East and the West.

Mr. Nehru said he had no doubt that Mr. Khrushchev wanted peace and was anxious for a settlement. "But about China, of course, I cannot take the liberty, as the Press could, but I feel that the same eagerness for peace is not present there."

"I consider Soviet Union first of all as having reached normalcy after a revolution. Secondly, I consider Soviet Union as a territorially satisfied power. I do not think they want any territory at all. Of course, they might have a desire for supremacy in economic and other fields. But China has not got over the first flush of its revolutionary mentality."

Meerut, Oct. 24.—Prime Minister Nehru said here to-day that the border conflict between India and China was causing grave anxiety but "I do not say that there will be war with China" on this issue.

Mr. Nehru, who was replying to questions put to him at a Congress workers' meeting on the latest attack by Chinese troops on an Indian police patrol in southern Ladakh, said: "Our border conflict with China is a question which has caused us and continues to cause a lot of anxiety. I do not say that there will be war with China (on this issue)."

"China is a big country and so is India a big country and whenever there is tension and conflict between two such countries, its burden is very great." Mr. Nehru said, "On this matter we have to act with restraint and responsibility and not be swept away by emotions."

The Prime Minister who spoke on the border problem for a few minutes warned against "brave talks" indulged in by some people who vociferously suggested "attack China."

Mr. Nehru called on the people to forget their petty quarrels when India was faced with the border problem with China. Mr. Nehru briefly referred to the Chinese attack on an Indian patrol on October 21 in the Ladakh area and said, "You must have read in the newspapers what happened on our border in Ladakh where we had our chowkie (outpost). The Chinese troops, according to reports received by us, came forward and without any provocation or reason, opened fire and threw grenades on our police patrol."

The Prime Minister did not refer to the total number of casualties inflicted on the Indian patrol but paid a tribute to a member of the Indian party, Karam Singh, for his bravery and courage in boldly facing the surprise attack by an overwhelming Chinese force. "Karam Singh who was a very brave and courageous man was killed in this attack by the Chinese on our patrol." Mr. Nehru said.

Explaining to the Congress workers the difficult nature of the terrain where the Chinese attack took place, Mr. Nehru said: "Remember, this place is 17,000 feet above sea level. In such a place, no tree, not even a blade of grass, grows. There are only bare rocks and on these bare mountains, even the snow cannot collect. It is terribly cold there and our people have to dig trenches below the ground . . . Our police and army have to defend our border in these difficult conditions."

But Mr. Nehru added, "There are some people in our country who indulge in brave talk and demand 'attack China.' These people say this quite smugly because they do not have to go themselves to these areas."

Later addressing a largely-attended public meeting here Mr. Nehru said that the Chinese attack on the Indian Police patrol in Ladakh would "certainly further spoil the relationship between India and China" and was bound to have an adverse effect on other parts of the world.

"Whatever step we take (to meet the situation), we will have to ponder it over and not take it in anger or passion."

Mr. Nehru said: "In to-day's newspapers you must have seen big banner headlines on what happened recently on our Ladakh frontier. The Chinese swooped upon some of our police patrol at our post, opened fire and used even mortars. Seventeen of our men were killed. About five or six were injured."

"This incident has great significance."

"Among those who were killed was one of our able officers, Karam Singh, who for many years in this mountainous area had undertaken difficult tasks full of danger in patrolling our border. It is a thing of profound sorrow that such a good and brave officer should die so suddenly.

"We are also filled with sorrow over the death of 16 other members of the police party."

"Apart from this (incident), Mr. Nehru said, "there are other big things which are tied with this question of Ladakh border. This is so because the atmosphere of the friendly relationship between India and China for the past few months has been vitiated."

Mr. Nehru referred to India's friendly relations with China in the past and said: India's desire from the very beginning was that the relations between the two countries should be good and friendly. In the history of the world one would not perhaps find another example, where two big neighbouring countries like India and China, had never, for two thousand years, any war between them. It is quite an extraordinary thing. Whatever were the relations, cultural or trade relations, they were of a different category. Two thousand years ago, Buddha Dharma went to China. It was respected there and adapted to the conditions prevailing there. Later, thousands of people from India, Bikshus, went to China and many people came from China to India because she was the land of the Buddha. Thousands of people flocked to the famous universities of Nalanda and Taxila and one of the Vice-Principals at Nalanda University was a Chinese scholar who had come to study there.

It was a remarkable phenomenon of history that there was no disunity between Indians and Chinese whether in the relationships between the two countries, or in their relations in other Asian countries like Indo-China, Burma and Sumatra where they met. "When we became free and there was a revolution in China, it was clear that our desire was that we wanted to remain on the friendliest terms with them. They (China) may follow what path they like and we follow our own path. There was no reason why we should not have friendly relations, even though our paths may differ. Our friendship with China was based on this basis."

It was not a good thing that this atmosphere between India and China "has been vitiated a little of late," Mr. Nehru continued. "It is not good for us not for China, nor for Asia, because its effects will spread far and wide, over other countries also.

"In these circumstances, therefore, in whatever step we take, we will have to ponder over and not take it in anger or passion, but in a far-seeing way so that, no bad effect may fall on Asia and the world."

Mr. Nehru said he was stating this because by reading the news in the newspapers, "it is clear that the normal feeling of people in India would be to get angry and consider this unprovoked Chinese attack on our patrol in Ladakh as intolerable.

"It is no ordinary affair as mortars and grenades were used by the Chinese."

Mr. Nehru said it was India's "firm opinion" that the place where the incident occurred was "part of Ladakh, of India and not of China."

"But even supposing that near this border there was some difference of opinion over a patch of territory, then is this the way of dealing with it as the Chinese have done, to send their armies and try to take it by force, raining bullets on our patrol and killing our people?" Mr. Nehru asked.

The Prime Minister said the development in this area was a new development. "By new development I mean that a few months ago the Chinese were not in that area." It was a mountainous area, where the monsoon clouds did not reach. There was hardly any rain and it was "terribly cold" there.

Mr. Nehru said that the Indian checkpost in the area was set up some time last year. It was set up not for war purposes but to check the people coming and going.

"So this incident near the checkpost was not the right thing and not the proper thing," he said. "This incident has certainly further spoiled the relationship between India and China and it is bound to have an adverse effect on the other parts of the world.

"I am sorry about it. It is clear that if anyone tries to adopt the attitude of threat and force against us, it will have the opposite effect on India.

"It is clear that our country is not one which will bow down before anyone in the world because of threats or because of any fear.

"It would be against our honour to leave our chosen path and not to protect our frontiers," Mr. Nehru said amidst cheers.

"We have to remember along with this that while taking all steps to protect our frontiers we do not do anything merely in anger or passion. We have to take whatever steps are necessary with a calm mind."

Mr. Nehru then referred to India's policy of solving all problems through peaceful means and said that in facing the intrusion of Chinese into India, she had to take all steps based on thousands of years of experience. "After all, thousands of years of experience of India is before us. We should not allow ourselves to be swept away by anger that is the way of the inexperienced. Every problem should be solved through peaceful means."

India's voice had been raised firmly in the world in the defence of peace. "We have, therefore, to ensure that in dealing with problems relating to our own country we do not set a different example. It will not be proper for us to do so."

"We have to combine these two things, namely, working and striving for peace, making friends with others, of solving problems through peaceful means and at the same time ensuring full protection for the integrity of our frontiers and guarding the honour of our country. These two things can be combined," Mr. Nehru added.

The Prime Minister then referred to Indo-Pakistan relations and said that the recent meeting between Ministers and officials of the two countries had resulted in agreement, after prolonged consultation, for putting an end, "to the nuisance of border firing" on the eastern frontiers. They would have seen from the newspapers that the troubles in the eastern border had been settled.

"I do not say that all big problems between India and Pakistan have been solved," Mr. Nehru added. "The border questions on the eastern frontier between the two countries have been settled on paper and I believe that what is settled on paper would, to a very great degree, also be a settled matter in reality except for any minor incident that might occur by chance.

"But for this also we have arranged that even if by chance something happens, then it must be nipped in the bud."

India and Pakistan had still many problems to solve some of which caused anxiety, Mr. Nehru added. "So this is a welcome step that the two countries have successfully settled the border questions on our eastern frontiers."

Mr. Nehru referred to the canal water dispute between the two countries and said that talks had been held on the issue in the United States and elsewhere for some time. "I hope that this problem also will be solved soon," he added.

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C. R. DAS
A Character-Sketch

By Dr. LAL BAHADUR, M.A., LL.B., Ph.D., D.Litt.

C. R. Das was a man of marked personality, intellectual capacity and energetic patriotism. His great qualities of head and heart, his unbounded charity, his stupendous sacrifice were well known and appreciated throughout the civilized world. Complete self-effacement in the service of the motherland constituted his distinguishing characteristic and his great soul rose above the temptation of personal gain.[1] He inspired love in all sections of Indian population and M. A. Jinnah went to the length of remarking that he was one of those leaders in the country, for whom the Muhammadans had the greatest respect and he commanded the confidence of the Musalmans, as much as any Musalman leager.[2] His inimitable liberality, selfless philanthropy and matchless uprightness from the start of his career went a great way towards shaping his future character.[3] At the very commencement of his legal career at the Calcutta Bar, he made it a point of honour to join his father in seeking the protection of the Insolvency Court[4] and as soon as he found his position in his profession secure, his first thought was to remove the stain of insolvency. This was the first time, as Mr. Justice Fletcher declared, that a discharged insolvent publicly accepted his old liabilities and applied for a formal discharge of his insolvency.[5] No further evidence is required to substantiate his high sense of integrity

1. The Legislative Assembly Debates (Official Report). Vol. VI, Part I (20th Aug. to 3rd Sept., 1925): Third Session of the Second Legislative Assembly, 1925; pages 17 and 18: From Pt. Motilal's speech.

2. *Ibid*: P. 20. From M. A. Jinnah's speech.

3. *Chitta Ranjan* by Sukumar Ranjan Calcutta. Dec., 1921. p. 5.

4. India for Indians (speeches by C. R. Das): Ganesh & Co., Madras, 2nd Edition; 1910: From Motilal Ghose's Foreword, p. ii.

5. *Ibid*, p. iv.

He had an irresistible passion, from the very beginning of his conscious life, for looking after the Indian interests and while he was in England where he had gone to qualify himself for the Indian Civil Service, he made political speeches in connection with the election campaign of Dadabhai Naoroji and some of these speeches were very favourably noticed by the English and the Indian Press.[6] How strongly he felt for India is further evidenced by the fact that in 1892 when he was still in England he took serious exception to the speech of James Maclean —a member of the Parliament—who said that Indian Muhammadans were slaves and the Hindus were indentured slaves.[7] Chitta Ranjan Das at once convened a meeting of all the Indians in London as a protest against this offensive remark and delivered a powerful speech. London was in a state of excitement and the Liberals convened a huge meeting at Oldham under the Presidentship of Gladstone and, on being invited to make a speech on Indian affairs, C. R. Das drew the pointed attention of his British audience to the high-handedness practised by the British Government in India. He said, inter-alia, "We now find the base Anglo-Indian policy of tyranny; the policy of irritation and more irritation, of repression and more repression; the policy which has been beautifully described by one of its advocates as the policy of pure and unmitigated force."[8]

Chitta Ranjan had a remarkable adaptability to changing circumstances. He was well-versed in the literature of Western countries and in England, he grew a thorough-bred Englishman in dress and manners,[9] but he switched over to a life of remarkable simplicity when he joined the Non-violent non-co-operation movement. Dr. B. C. Roy revered him all the more for his great strength of mind in discarding long-standing habits. Recalling his admiration of Chitta Ranjan, he said, "It may be comparatively easy for some people to give up their source of income, but to my mind, to abjure a habit which had grown for years—habit of smoking and drinking—in one day indicated strength of mind and character which was unique."[10]

Dr. B. C. Roy was a frequent visitor to his house as a medical practitioner and he knew for a fact that Chitta Ranjan overnight gave up his drinks and smoke.[11] He also gave up his princely practice at the Bar and renounced all the comforts and luxuries that wealth could give and to which he had been accustomed all his life.[12] Entering the Non-violent Non-Co-operation Movement meant much to him; it meant the sacrifice of his roaring legal practice and consequently of money but, more than this, it meant a sudden and violent change in his mode of life.

Chitta Ranjan Das was born in Calcutta on the 5th of November, 1870. His father Bhuban Mohan was a well-known Attorney of the Calcutta High Court and for sometime he was connected with Bengali Journalism.[13] Chitta Ranjan got his early education in the London Missionary Society School, Bhawanipore, whence he passed the Entrance Examination in 1886. He was subsequently admitted to the Presidency College, Calcutta, whence he graduated in 1889; taking his Bachelor's Degree in Arts and thereafter he sailed for England.[14] Though he came out successful in the open competitive examination for the Indian Civil Service his name was chucked off from the list of probationers and evidently owing to his political activities in England, he was not con-

6. *Ibid*: p. ii.

7. *Chitta Ranjan* by Sukumar Ranjan: p. 7.

8. *Chitta Ranjan* by Sukumar Ranjan p. 7.

9. *Ibid*: p. 6.

10. *B. C. Roy* by K. P. Thomas: West Bengal Pradesh Committee, 1955: p. 121.

11. *Ibid*: p. 120.

12. Deshbandhu Chitta Ranjan: *Brief Survey of Life and Work*, Provincial Conference speeches, 1927. Published by Rajen Sen, 26, Nivedita Lane, Calcutta and B. K. Sen, 9, Anthony Bagan Lane, Calcutta; p. XIX.

13. *India for Indians* by Chitta Ranjan Das: From Motilal Ghose's Foreward. P. i.

14. *Chitta Ranjan*: p. 5.

sidered fit for the Civil Service.[15] It was good that he was thus spared by the British Bureaucracy to serve the cause of Indian Independence. He was, however, not a loser even in money, for, as a lawyer, he earned a good deal and during the last three years preceding his participation in the Non-co-operation Movement 'his income was about fifty thousand rupees a month.'[16]

C. R. Das was, from the outset, convinced that the Europeans came to India to make money and were unwilling to concede any political authority to Indians. He believed that the Europeans were conscious of the fact, that, if *Swaraj* was obtained, the powers of Magistrates and Collectors, mostly Englishmen, would appreciably be curtailed and all possibility of writing "my dear so and so, will you see this done and will you see that done,"[17] would disappear. In spite of his foreign education, all his politics was in the Oriental background. He once said, "I find in the conception of my country, the expression also of divinity. With me nationality is no mere political conception borrowed from the philosophy of the West."[18] Brought up by an ideal mother, he regarded his country as the other self of his mother. He was moved to tears by the sweet remembrance of his noble mother whose sense of duty was exceptional, whose piety exemplary and fortitude unique.[19] C. R. Das's attitude of mind did not admit, therefore, of any doubts regarding the hostility of Britishers to Indian aspirations and he was convinced, that dependence on British goodwill in the matter of India's liberation would be futile and all efforts to base expectation on that would unmistakably go in vain.

C. R. Das's attitude to Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms was, however, not rigid. He was prepared to offer co-operation to them provided it was necessary to advance India's cause. He was definitely of opinion that India should work the reforms so far as it might be possible for the early establishment of full responsible Government. "We are", said he, "not opposed to co-operation, if co-operation helps us to attain that. We are not opposed to obstruction, when that helps to attain our political goal."[20] But once he had entered the Non-co-operation Movement he gave it his unstinted support and he regarded it as the only method of warfare,[21] open to the Indians. He also said that any power that in any way hampered or embarrassed the self-realization and self-fulfilment of the Indian Nation was an enemy of India and should as such be resisted.[22] He had no faith in Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms and he was soon convinced that the system of the Reformed Councils with their steel-frame of the Indian Civil Service covered over by a dyarchy of deadlocks and departments was absolutely unsuited to the nature and genius of the Indian People.[23]

It was this man of iron—who had entered the Non-violent Non-co-operation Movement with the sole object of advancing the cause of India's independence. He courted arrest, along with the members of their family and they suffered all-round in the services of the country. Subhas Chandra Bose was his lieutenant.

15. *Ibid*: p. 8.
16. *Ibid*: p. 15.
17. *India for Indians*, 1918; From his Presidential Address at the Hindu-Mohammadan Mass Meeting held at Calcutta in October, 1917, to protest against the internment of Muhammad and Shaukat Alis: p. 2.
18. *Ibid*: p. 9: From C. R. Das's address in a large meeting of the people of Mymensingh held in October, 1917, to formulate a scheme of responsible Government for India.
19. *Chitta Ranjan*: p. 49.
20. Report of the Thirty-Fourth Session of the Indian National Congress held at Amritsar on the 27th-31st December, 1919, and 1st January, 1920: p. 157.
21. Report of the Thirty-Sixth Indian National Congress held on the 27th and 28th December, 1921: From Deshbandhu's message: p. 17.
22. Report of the Thirty-Sixth Indian National Congress held on the 27th and 28th December, 1921: From Deshbandhu's message: p. 22.
23. Report of the Thirty-Seventh Indian National Congress held at Gaya on the 26th-31st December, 1922: p. 37.

DEMOCRACY IN ACTION IN INDIA

By D. V. REGE, I.C.S. (Retd.)

On the 15th August, 12 years ago, India achieved her freedom, somewhat unexpectedly. The Congress which was the only organised political party fighting for freedom in the country is certainly entitled to some credit for this achievement. But the claim sometimes put forward that the Congress party secured the freedom of the country is untenable. Going to jail by a few thousands of people and the not-very-effective non-co-operation movement could not have shaken the mighty British Government. It was the time spirit, the British Government's weakness after fighting two World Wars, coming in power of the Labour Government in the United Kingdom after the Second World War and the Indian National Army raised by Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose with its repercussions on the Indian Army and Navy which were mainly responsible for the British Government's decision to quit India. This explains why there has been no national upsurge of patriotism, of putting the country's interests above one's interests even in a free India. Barring a microscopic minority, the majority of the people do not show any consciousness that they are now a free people and are responsible for their country's honour and prestige.

The Congress party which has been ruling over India (except for a couple of years in Kerala) since the advent of freedom has, under the inspiring leadership of the Prime Minister, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, done a lot of good to the country. It has, with the willing assistance and co-operation of the Indian Civil Service and the Army, preserved the cohesion of the country and has nipped any fissiparous tendencies in the bud. Another signal achievement was the liquidation of the 700 and odd Princely States and full credit for this is due to the late Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel. The Indian freedom would have been incomplete without the absorption of these mostly tiny autocratic States. The Union Government is also entitled to credit for the Five-Year Plans, the big river valley projects which will supply water for irrigation and power for industrialisation, steel and fertiliser plants and for the Community Development project which promises to change the face of the rural areas in the near future. It has framed a Constitution, largely based on the British model, for the country, held two huge elections based on adult franchise and coped with the stupendous refugee problem consequent on Partition in a fairly adequate manner.

Its foreign policy of non-alignment and peaceful co-existence has been largely successful and has raised the status of India in the world. Though we are militarily weak, our voice is listened to with respect in the international gatherings, as we have acquired a just reputation for judging every issue on merits and for supporting the just and right causes. This policy may not have secured us fast friends, but it has also not created any enemies for us. The case of Pakistan stands on a different footing. It was born out of hatred for India and is unfortunately persisting in that policy in spite of our best efforts to follow a good neighbourly policy. It must, however, be admitted that our foreign policy has been ineffective in securing freedom of Goa from the Portuguese rule. The Chinese, after declaring adherence to Panch Sheel and shouting '*Hindi-Chini Bhai Bhai*', have recently shown their teeth and have already annexed a part of our territory. If this experience teaches us to lean a little more on the side of the Western democracies without being their camp follower, good may be said to have come out of evil.

This bright side of the medal is impressive enough, but the other side is equally impressive, if not more. The Congress party had a wonderful opportunity of laying down sound and healthy conventions about administrative matters, but it has unfortunately failed to do so. Taking the Public Service Commissions as an instance, we find that the independence given to them by the Constitution is almost nullified in actual practice by Governments. Not only are appointments of members usually made on regional, communal and political grounds, but care is also often taken to appoint such persons as would be amendable to the influence of Government, as the appointment in States lies with the Governor, *i.e.*, with the

Chief Minister in actual practice, though their removal rests with the President. Such appointments virtually defeat the purpose for which the Commissions were created by the Constitution. There has been no instance in living memory in which the advice of the Civil Service Commission was not accepted by Government in the United Kingdom, while here we find the spectacle of one Union Home Minister saying in Parliament that Government is not a rubber stamp of the Union Public Service Commission and of a Chief Minister of a State stating in the Assembly that the ultimate responsibility of making appointments rests with Government as the Ministers are the elected representatives of the people. If this argument is carried to its logical conclusion, judicial decisions also should not be binding on Government as judges are appointed and not elected in our country. The tendency to belittle the status of the Commissions must be checked, as the future of the country largely depends on the proper and impartial selection of officials by them. Of course, this presupposes that suitable persons are appointed on the Commissions. Members are ineligible for re-appointment under Government after their retirement, while no such disability attaches to judges. Is the independence of the judges of less importance than that of the members of the Commissions?

The administrative machinery left in a sound condition by the British has already started cracking. This is due to (i) large-scale emergency recruitment to I.A.S. and I.P.S., the two pillar services, of people of different ages and from different walks of life. This has robbed the services of *esprit de corps* which is essential for their proper functioning. (ii) Ministerial interference in the day-to-day administration. Ministers also discourage frank expression of views by senior officers with the result that Government hardly gets frank and fearless advice. (iii) Fear of punishment has largely disappeared, as a defaulting official is almost sure of escaping punishment if he has any political backing. Good work is not sure of reward if pitted against flattery and nepotism. This has led to remarkable inefficiency in administration and deplorable delay in disposal. (iv) Officers are not sure of Government support if they take decisions in important and controversial matters with the result that they are naturally inclined to take the line of least resistance. Unless the tone of the services is strengthened and they are assured of support in their *bona fide* actions and unless the ministerial interference is reduced to the minimum, the administrative machinery will not yield the results expected of it.

Corruption has become rampant and is eating into the vitals of our country. No energetic action has been taken by Government to root out corruption even when scandals after scandals were brought to their notice, except recently in the Mundhra affair which also ended in less than a whimper. It is true that cases of corruption are often difficult to prove in a court of law, but departmental action ending in dismissal or removal from service and compulsory retirement after 25 years of service should be freely resorted to against officials who have a reputation for corruption. Even if such action results in injustice in a few cases, there is no other way of dealing with this canker in our body politic. The appeals of our leaders to tighten our belts to contribute to the Five-Year Plans do not evoke much response, as people feel that a portion of their contribution will go to feed corruption.

Though our accepted ideals is 'socialistic pattern of society', it is generally felt that money bags have a big pull with Government. No effective and stern action has been taken against black-marketeers, profiteers and tax-evaders. The ever-increasing cost of living is becoming a nightmare to the middle-class and salaried people. There is a limit to people's patience, and if Government does not control the prices of necessaries of life, an explosive situation is bound to arise.

The Congress was agitating for reorganisation of provinces on a linguistic basis since the mid-twenties, but when it came into power it did not seem to be enthusiastic about it. The Government, however, hastily announced its decision to form the Andhra Pradesh as a result of some disturbances and could not then resist the demand for linguistic States elsewhere. While redrawing the map of India on more or less linguistic basis, the only exception made was the bilingual Bombay State which came into being after the attempt to separate Bombay city from Maharashtra was foiled by the martyrdom of 105 people who were shot

down in the blood-bath that took place in the city in 1956. As a result of this unjust imposition, Congress lost heavily in Maharashtra and the Gujaratis too showed signs of dissatisfaction as they did not naturally like to be in a permanent minority in the bilingual State. The threat of mass upsurge from 1st November, by the Samyukta Maharashtra Samiti and the Maha-Gujarat Parishad viewed in the light of the Kerala episode and the approaching general elections have led the Congress High Command to review the position and two new States of Maharashtra and Maha-Gujerat comprising all their linguistic areas are coming into existence in the next few months.

The reorganisation of States has led to border troubles and the most vocal has been the Bombay-Mysore border dispute. Though assurances were given at the highest level that this dispute would be solved in the Western Zonal Council or otherwise, nothing was done for the last three years to settle this question. People in the area cannot be fairly blamed for starting a peaceful agitation in these circumstances. As Government's policy that the dispute should be solved by negotiation between the two Chief Ministers concerned failed due to the intransigence of the Mysore Chief Minister who considered it as a 'settled fact,' it is now proposed to appoint a Mediation Committee to go into the question. In view of the functions assigned to it, the Committee is not likely to serve any useful purpose and will only mean further waste of time. Gujerat, too, has some border troubles with Maharashtra. As it is essential to fix the boundaries of Maharashtra and Gujerat States in the Bill to avoid constant bickerings in future, the best course would be to appoint a Boundary Commission, as suggested by the States Reorganisation Commission. The Commission should have a Supreme Court Judge as Chairman and two prominent M.P.s, one from each house of Parliament and unconnected with the three States concerned, as members, and to implement their recommendations fully. Nobody can then have any legitimate grievance. What is essential is that whatever principles may be adopted by the Boundary Commission, they should be uniformly applied to all border disputes and not bent to suit each different case as was done by the States Reorganisation Commission.

Though conversions are permissible under the Constitution, no country in the world will tolerate fraudulent conversion of its citizens. Foreign missionaries with enormous financial resources are converting our people, specially Scheduled Tribes, by taking advantage of their ignorance and poverty. Large-scale conversions will pose political problems in future, as they have done in the past. This growing evil can be considerably checked by enacting that all conversions must be registered before a First Class Magistrate who will satisfy himself that the conversion is genuine and not induced by material considerations.

In the British days, there used to be communal riots on the issues of music before mosques and cow-slaughter on Id day. The Muslims were lying low for some time after the partition but are now again raising their heads and starting communal trouble, thinking that the secular Government will not take any strong action against them. Government has failed so far to lay down a firm policy in these matters in spite of judicial pronouncements rejecting the so-called rights of the Muslims to object to playing music before mosques on public roads and the Supreme Court's decision that cow-slaughter can be prohibited under the Constitution. On the other hand, by shaking hands with the Muslim League in Kerala for election purposes, the Congress High Command has done a distinct disservice to the country.

The above short account of the achievements and failures of the Congress party illustrates in fact the working of democracy in India, as the party has been in power continuously since independence. In spite of its shortcomings, it is the only party even now to shoulder the responsibility of carrying on the country's administration. Its long enjoyment of power is chiefly responsible for its present

decadence and growing unpopularity. It furnishes a good example of Lord Acton's dictum that power corrupts and that absolute power corrupts absolutely. It will be for the good of the Congress party and of the country if it sheds the undesirable elements that have crept into it and adopts a strong, just and impartial attitude on the problems facing the country. But it is very doubtful if it can or will ever do so. Though outwardly there is a parliamentary form of democracy in India, there is, in fact, a benevolent dictatorship, as whatever Pandit Nehru strongly wills does happen. With all his faults, he is the supreme symbol of India's unity and progress. It is up to him, therefore, to shed his usual weakness and indecision and put the country firmly on the right path. If he fails to do so, what will happen in India after him is anybody's guess.

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SOME THOUGHTS ABOUT THE LOCATIONAL ASPECT OF INDUSTRIES

By Prof. T. S. KATIYAR, M.A., M.Com.

Definition

Man is a political animal and, like most of them, possesses a gregarious nature. In the industrial world, special industries, akin to men and animals, tend to be located at particular places, and this tendency ultimately leads to an important economic phenomena, centralisation of industries.

By localisation is meant the concentration of different industries in different localities, which in its international aspects is usually termed Territorial Division of Labour.[1] An industry concentrated in certain localities is commonly, though perhaps not quite accurately, described as a localised industries.[2]

Need for Proper Location[3]

Division of labour is based on varying ability and advantages of specialisation. The adaptation of the tasks to varying aptitudes is conducive to greater efficiency. Similarly the adaptation of occupations and industries to resources is a cause of regional division of production.[4]

The industrial development which has taken place so far, is somewhat lopsided and narrow, both in spread and in its benefits. It has neither been able to confer equal or equitable benefits to the different regions of the country or to the different sections of the vast population. For instance, the concentration of cotton textile industry in Western India and sugar industry in Northern India are responsible for too much congestion in certain towns and greater benefits to certain provinces. They do and can easily be shifted to Eastern and Southern India respectively.

The industrial cities like Kanpur, Bombay, Ahmedabad, Nagpur, Calcutta, Jamshedpur and Madras enjoyed certain advantages and grew like a snowball and in spite of the operation of decentralising tendency, congestion has not been relieved. During the war time new industries also sprang up in old towns and the housing problem has further been rendered acute. Nearly 2,00,000 people in Bombay live on the pavements and footpaths and the shortage of housing in the city is very acute. Refuse has increased by several

1. P. S. Lokanathan: *Industrial Organisation in India*, p. 55.

2. Marshall: *Principles of Economics*, p. 222.

3. Rallan: *Organisation of Industries*; P. S. *Industrial Organisation in India*; P. C. Jain: *Problems in Indian Economics*; R. Balkrishna: *Regional Planning in India*; T. R. Sharma: *Location of Industries in India*; *Barlow Commission's Report*, Part II; *P. E. P. Report*, Chapter V; Government Publication; *Location of Industries in India*; *Social Cost of Industry*.

4. T. R. Sharma: *Location of Industries in India*, p. 253.

hundred tons and there was a strain on every utility service. It is only providence that has saved us from an epidemic.[5]

The high average mortality in industrial towns in spite of the existence of far superior social, maternity and health services, in comparision with rural areas is due to smoke, noise, overcrowding and the presence of poverty, which in cities appears to be an aggravated evil.

The long daily journeys which the working people have to undergo involve a reduction in their real income both on account of the waste of time and energy and the high travelling cost affect the well-being of the nation as a whole. The disease and vices in the centres of industrial congestion, and the vagaries of starvation and famine and mal-nutrition and epidemics in non-industrial regions have been partly the inevitable consequences of the unplanned industrial growth and uneven distribution of industries in different regions of this country.

Even from a purely conomic point of view it is felt that excessive specialisation and dependence on one or two industries carry with them great risks which the present protracted depression has fully illustrated both in India and England.[6] The dependence of Lancashire and Bombay on the cotton textile industry is well-known.

Excessive concentration increases land values which place a burden on industries, make rebuilding more expensive and thereby increase the difficulty of town planning.[7]

The present concentration, in brief, of industries in particular regions has already created problems of socio-economic or social charater—creation of slums, congestion and conflicts bred disease and poverty—which call for a remedy in the form of planned location of new industries of the future, a redistribution of the existing industries as far as possible and a centralised system of production with a view to "remove the present contrast between a few great cities of wealth and surplus and thousands of poverty striken, deficit villages."[8]

Diversification of industrial activity means less voilent depressions and less excited booms since the various industries will not move in exact accord. Birmingham affords an example of the ability of an industrial centre to survive depressions owing to the varied nature of its industrial activity.

Every cheapening of the means of communication, every new facility for the free interchange of ideas between distant places alters the action of the forces which tend to localise industries. With the development of cheap hydro-electric power in India, the future location of industry is bound to be affected. Moreover, the improved pucca roads in rural areas and the cheap motor transport is changing the transport relations considerably. The motor-car has potentially opened up new frontiers of human settlements.

The proper location of industries has been advocated on the grounds of equal distribution of wealth in the country. Industrial development must not be confined mainly to a few provinces and States but as far as conditions permit, should be extended in a rational manner over the whole of India so that depressed and under-developed areas may be reduced and the standard of living of the common man may be raised. The differences between Bombay and Bengal over the division of Income-tax pool will automatically be reduced to the minimum if in future central Government directs the establishment of new industries in other States, whose contribution, in due course, to it, will increase.

5. A remark made by Mr. M. N. Modak, on December 7, 1944, the then City Engineer of Bombay, on the occasion of addressing a meeting of retired Parsi Officers.

6. P. S. Lokanathan: *Industrial Organisation in India*, p. 253.

7. *Barlow Commission's Report*: pp. 86-87. "There is a clear correlation between smoke pollution of the atmosphere and the excess mortality of the towns in Northern England."

8. Quoted by P. S. Lokanathan, p. 53, from *Recent Economic Changes, U.S.A.*, Vol. I, 1929, p. 215.

The P.E.P. Committee stressed the vital need of "Balanced Regional Development," so as to avoid the undesirable social, economic and strategical consequences of uncontrolled growth to industry and of excessive industrialisation and urbanisation of large areas. Indeed, the development of industries on rational lines will not only yield benefits of diversified economy but also bridge the yawning gulf between rural backwardness and lopsided, parasitical, urban growth.

There is a growing feeling that the State should actively intervene to secure the desired pattern of industrial localisation. Industry is a growing organism and the only means of arriving at the form which is ultimately desirable, is by training its growth in the required directions.

In an industrially less developed country like India the problem of redistribution is much easier than in a fully developed country like England, which has almost reached the limit of industrial expansion and where the question of redistribution and relocalisation raises the different problems of industrial deloclisation and transference.[9]

In India the divergence of actual from the optimum pattern of location is greater because the knowledge of the individual entrepreneur in India about economic facts is much more limited than that of his confrere in the West. Finally, the size of the country and its limited economic progress so far are further arguments in its favour.[10]

Public opinion[11] in most of the leading countries is definitely against industrial concentration in certain regions and big cities on account of social, economic and strategical dangers involve in such development. "To secure the best national uses of the resources of the country the Government should control the geographical distribution of population and industries. The best way of bringing this about was to secure for every region or area a variety of industry and employment as a safeguard against chronic depressions. Industry and population should be dispersed from the most crowded areas and the worst towns and cities should be remodelled in order to loosen up the central areas of congestion and to create a more decentralised type. New industries should only be encouraged to settle where there are suitable markets, labour, transport and power and proper social conditions, for the workers.[12]

Government and Location

Since August 15, 1947, the foremost and fundamental change has taken place in the structure of State and consequently in its true meaning. Previously it was a foreign bureaucracy, which was ruling the country and was responsible for its actions not to the people of the country but to somebody else.[13] State Intervention now is necessary in the economic and social field for correction of the economic and social ills, better utilization of natural resources, raising the standard of living and self-defence.

9. T. R. Sharma: *Location of Industries in India*, p. 269.

10. R. Balkrishna: *Regional Planning in India*, pp. 304-5.

11. The P.E.P. *Report on the Location of Industries* in Great Britain concludes that a state regulation of location is essential in the interest of community. The Scott Commission on Land Utilization in Rural Areas was in favour of regulatory action even though it could be only with reference to certain categories of industries. E. H. Bullock: *Planning Tomorrow's Britain*, p. 32—quoted by Dr. R. Balkrishna, *Regional Planning in India*, p. 293. The Barlow Commission was in favour of some definite action being taken to remedy the evils of industrial concentrations. The idea underlying the pamphlet on *Location of Industry in India* by the Economic Adviser to the Government of India is that direct State action can be efficacious only in preventing an overgrowth of industrial towns, but for securing better distribution of industry voluntary means may be more fruitful. The Federation of British Industries speakirg on behalf of industry was prepared to accept a policy of discouragement for location in certain areas and encouragement to other.

12. Flora Stephenson and Phoebe Pool *Targets for Tomorrow*, No. II, p. 33.

13. Qureshi: *The State of Economic Life* p. 10.

The choice among sites is no longer entirely free as in unplanned economy has influence in favour of some as against others by means of its tarrif policy, public utility policies, hydro-electric development, grants to local bodies, town planning schemes, etc.[14] Public expenditure in providing facilities to industry is an argument for public control of location. A policy of uncontrolled location affects the wider interest of the nation.

The P.E.P. Report on Location of Industry in Great Britain observes, there must be a large number of wrong locations in all countries and if there were a magic carpet to transport industries it would largely be in demand.

Our Government, like most of the governments of the world, and the order of the day, has given itself to a policy of planned economy.[15] & [16] In countries like the Soviet Russia, the location of industries and town and country planning are natural adjuncts to planned economy. Public ownership of land and major industries makes it possible to plan for the best interest of the whole community.[17] In Soviet Russia the Five-Year Plan of industrial development were so constructed that there was a shifting on industrial capital in favour of under-developed regions.

The Indian National Congress in 1924 through Swaraj Party in Assembly declared: "The industrial development of the country has always had very high place in the programme and policy of the party and all proposals for granting discriminatory protection to vital national industries will continue to receive the sympathy of the party."[18] A new milestone was reached when in 1929 the Party agreed to a constitution which will provide protection of indigenous cloth and control by the State of key industries and ownership of mineral resources. The Economic Programmes Committee in 1947 regarding location and control of investment and Licensing said, "Regional self-sufficiency should be the aim with regard to all types of industries. .....Location of industry should be so planned as to make a district of average size having roughly a population of 10 lakhs, as nearly self-sufficient as possible in respect of consumer goods which supply the daily needs of the people. Control of investment and licensing of new undertakings should be resorted to for the purpose of effective co-ordination and harmonious development of different types of industry." The objective of the Congress is the establishment of a Co-operative commonwealth and Welfare State.....for this purpose acqusitive economy has to be progressively changed into a socialised economy.[19]

The Government of India's Industrial Policy Statement[20] of 6th April, 1948, authorises the Government to regulate and control the location of a number of industries in consultation with the governments of the provinces, and States at all stages. It also adumbrated the establishment of the Central Industrial Advisory Council. The Planning Commission,[21] also favoured the dispersal of industries in the wider national interest and stated that the extent to which the pattern of industrial location in the country could be changed within a short period was undoubtedly limited and referred to a certain measures of encouraging incentives.

The Industries (Development and Regulation) Act, 1951 gives the Government of India power to control and regulation of

14. R. Balkrishna: *Regional Planning in India*, p. 285.

15. & 16. Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru, while addressing the meeting of the National Development Council on November 9, 1954, said: "I do feel that we have arrived at a very definite stage in planning and in our work."

17. T. R. Sharma: *Location of Industries in India*, p. 269.

18. A.-I.C.C. *Publication: Resolutions on Economic Policy and Programme*, p. 2.

19. *Ibid.*, p. 87 (*Planned Development*, A.-I.C.C., Ajmer, July, 1954).

20. Govt. Publication: *Industrial Policy Statement*, 1948.

21. It was recommended by the Industries Conference.

22. Govt. Publication: *Planning Commission's Report*, p. 443.

industries. It authorises the registration of existing industrial undertakings, licensing of new industrial undertakings as well as those for producing or manufacturing new articles.[23] Each industrial unit is licensed and while giving the licence the Licensing Committee specifies the conditions as to the location of the undertakings and the minimum standards in respect of size.[24] Further, no owner of an industrial undertaking other than the Central Government, shall effect any substantial expansion of an industrial undertaking which has been registered or change the location of the whole or any part of an industrial undertaking which has been registered except under, and in accordance with, a licence issued in that behalf by the Central Government.[25] Moreover, the Act also empowers the Central Government to assume management or control of an industrial undertaking in certain cases.[26] Finally Penalties have also been provided for contravention of certain sections.

According to the Pamphlet,[27] the two important objectives to be achieved are a more even distribution of industries between regions and a planned development of industrial towns to eliminate social evils. The first objective will be further urbanization, a necessity in India, by the creation of towns of optimum size. The brochure, however, favours voluntary effort and seems to draw its inspiration from Barlow Commission report. It is categorically stated that in a country like India it will be extremely dangerous for the State to arrogate to itself the right to determine the location of individual undertakings. The subsequent arguments neither explain the peculiar position of India in this respect nor how it will be more dangerous in India to assume such power. The factors favouring voluntary effort instead of indicating any dangers inherent in a policy of State control may speak in favour of State control and direction. The pamphlet admits that in an under-developed country like India the scope to attain desired pattern is greater, hence the State must also be vested with greater powers. Moreover, when a desired pattern is the objective, effective State action is essential, for individual entrepreneur never think in terms of general pattern but only in terms of the profitability of the individual location. It is an admitted fact that industrial location is a matter of fundamental importance to the social structure, because only through a wise direction of industrial location can a better distribution of population be achieved. Thus, if at all there is anything peculiar in the circumstances obtaining in India it is in favour and not against a policy of state control over location of industries.

The State shall play a still more important part in future in the industrial field. The country already has a powerful State-owned public sector in Industry but on account of the conditions, at present, prevailing in the country, the private sector is both important and necessary in the industrial development of India and should be given adequate freedom to develop,—within the limits of the National Plan and subject to the conditions laid down by it. It should function as a part of the National Plan keeping before it the national good and not merely the individual or group interest.[28]

Measures of Control

Measures of control of industrial location may combine measures for encouraging industries[29] to grow in certain areas and measures for discouraging them from developing in already congested areas. These are also known as 'positive' and 'negative' measures for control of industrial location. Of these two types of measures, it would be advantageous for the State to place greater emphasis on encouragements (incentives) because it would proportionately reduce the odium of control to be exercised and more effective in getting a desired result than discouragements (deterrents). Encouragements may consist of a creation of facilities in the selected areas in the form of public untility services, free grant of land, location of government defence factories, provision of improved amenities and services, offer of subsidies to prospective industries in particular area, exemption from payment of octroi duties, terminal taxes, sales tax and other such charges,[30] participation in the scheme of financing enterprize, grant of loans at low rates of interest, assurances on the part of the State to place orders with concerns that have been developed at their instance in certain areas, readjustment of pays to attract people at these areas, concessions in the grant of import licences[31] and the creation of Trading Estates.[32] With regard to deterrents it may be observed that they are less effective in yielding results and more difficult in practice to apply. A few deterrents may be permissible if it is the considered view of the State to prevent any further industrialisation in certain regions. Deterrents may refer to reduction in the block grants to certain areas, abolition of derating to new factories a higher local rates and taxes for new industries, persuation of industrialists to locate their plants in certain backward regions, and the levy on established industries for the benefit of new concerns in selected areas. Control over capital issues have been in operation for several years but it has played so far a somewhat negative role.[33] Penalities mentioned in Sec. 24 of the Industries (Development and Regulation) Act are deterrents in their effects. Moreover, deglomerative factors have the same effect. Finally, absolute prohibition is the most effective but it should be used only in extreme cases.[34]

Atomic Energy[35] and Location

The atomic energy attracted the attention of people when in December 1942, a graphite uranium pile in Chicago gave rise to the first self-sustaining nuclear reaction ever produced by human agency producing energy by the fission of uranium nuclei at the small initial rate of half a watt.[36] One gram of fissionable material liberates about 1000 kw. days of energy hence 1 lb. will liberate about 450,000 kw. days, which is equivalent to roughly 1250 kw. years.

Deposists of uranium, in 1940, were estimated at 100 lbs.,[37] and somewhat smaller amount of thorium, but at present, the possibility for the quantity is double. In the past many of the deposits of uranium and thorium were considered uneconomically workable because demand for uranium as a source of radium and for colourising ceramics and for thorium mainly for the incandescent mantles, was relatively small. However, they are not rare elements and they may be as plentiful as zinc, lead, tin and much more common than mercury and gold.

It will find its outlets besides atom bomb in the propulsion of naval vessels, submarines, aircraft where a large cruising range without refueling is an important feature and production of electricity in remote regions. Oak Ridge has become synonymous with the atomic energy and is more than a 'cradle of Atomic Age' for the atomic age is growing to maturity at Oak Ridge. This is the largest of the nation's atomic energy centres.[38]

23. Govt. Publication: Industries (Development and Regulation) Act, vide Secs. 10, 11 and 11A.
24. The Registration and Licensing of Industrial Undertakings Rules, vide Secs. 11 and 12.
25. Govt. Publication: Industries Act, Sec. 13 (d) and (e).
26. *Ibid.*, Sec. 18A.
27. Govt. Publication: *A Study on Location of Industries in India*.
28. A.-I.C.C., Ajmer Session, July, 1954.
29. Govt. Publication: *First Five-Year Plan, Industrial Incentives*, pp. 435-36.
30. A.-I.C.C.: *Resolution on Economic Policy and Programme*, 1924-54, pp. 29-32.
31. Govt. Publication: *The Registration and Licencing Rules*, Sec. 22, p. 6.
32. They have been suggested by Barlow Commission.
33. Govt. Publication: *Five-Year Plan*, p. 435.
34. Dr. R. Balkrishna: *Regional Planning in India*, p. 310.
35. The atom is a promising new and relatively plentiful source of energy for replenishing the world's dwindling source of energy.
36. A. J. Brown: *Applied Economics*, p. 227.
37. S. Glasstone: *Foundations of Atomic Energy*, 14-128. U.S.A. abounds about 720,000 lbs.
38. U.S.I.S. Publication: *The Peaceful Atom*, p. 28.

Although a nuclear fire resembles a chemical fire there are a number of striking differences.[39] Firstly, the quantity of heat produced per unit weight of fuel is vastly greater than in a chemical fire. For instance, 1 lb., of atomic fuel releases 26000 times the amount of heat produced from burning a pound of coal. Alternatively, 1 gram of fissionable material is equal to 1,500 tons of coal. Secondly, whereas for all practical purposes, a chemical fire can exist only in an atmosphere in which oxygen is present but nuclear fire requires billions upon billions of the incredibly small invisible atomic fragments called 'neutrons.' Thirdly, unlike chemical fire, a nuclear fire cannot be ignited until a certain minimum amount of fuel, i.e., 'critical mass' has been assembled. Fourthly, a number of materials can be made to burn in a chemical way but U.235 is only one naturally accruing substance for nuclear fire. Finally, nuclear fire is invisible and like X-rays its radiations are dangerous. Atomic ashes remain "hot" in a radio active sense for very long periods of time and must therefore be handled with utmost care.

Till the building of 'Experimental Breeding Reactor'[40] it was said, "unless the problem of breeding is solved, there is a question as to the ultimate contribution of nuclear fission to the world supply of energy. But we have progressed from the purely research phase to the usable power for practical phase.[41] The principle of atomic power has been proved, all that remains is to cut the cost. The situation today in atomic energy (power) is not vastly different from the situation in the oil industry when the first diesel engine went into submarine. The diesel, like the reactor, served its first practical purpose in the submairne.[42]

The atomic energy is not restrictive of industrial location in any completely rigid way, since its transmission is easy.[43] It will really help in the decentralisation of industries, movement of population from thickly-populated to thinly-populated areas, a rise in the standard of living of the depressed, undeveloped and underdeveloped regions. The crux of the world problem, the problem of population will be solved, to a considerable extent, by increased production and redistribution of population. The atomic energy, like the electricity, will act as an important deglomerating factor but will be much more effective than electricity.

The many parts of the world rich in certain resources will find it possible to process their raw material cheaply at home and ship out the much lighter and less bulky final product. This will not only reduce the cost of the final product to the consumer, but it bids far to change industrial and economic geography of the world.

It would remove the differences between places and so would reduce the advantages of particular locations for those industries which use most and least power in proportion to another factors of production. The civilization of the west, which is essentially a coal civilization,[44] may change itself into atomic one.

It would remove one of the limitations which now prevent the development of power-using industries in those relatively few well-inhabited areas and those large uninhabited areas to which it is technically impossible to supply reasonably cheap power from present sources. It would, therefore, make it possible to colonize and industrialise the remote and waste spaces of the world.

The planned development of some remote or inhospitable areas for strategic reasons will be facilitated for it may help planting in such regions relatively small settlements that are required for the exploitation of special resources. Though the cost of electric energy from atomic power will not differ outstandingly, in one direction or another that derived from another sources of power will make up the world shortage of energy, change the whole technique of production, promote the substitution of machinery for labour, affect the mobility of labour, confer equal benefits over all regions, affect the commerce of the world, rush up the utilization of inaccessible resources and raise the standard of living of the masses.

As the control of atomic energy is the responsibility of State, it will be in a better position to direct the location of industries and shift of population easily that it has been able to do so far. It will not only promote regional planning but may also save the human civilization from the throes of the future destructive war through shifting of industrial activity to remote (safe) areas and rational distribution of population.

The atom is a two-facet demon, representing Ram (the constructive use) and Rawan (the destructive use) of the great Hindu Epic: *Ramayan*, and like boomerang, it will cut both ways but with different consequences, that it, the destsuctive use will annihilate the modern civilization, and its constructive use will not only preserve the modern civilizations of the world but would assimilate them and thus a common world civilization may usher in. The world, year in and year out, on account of the latest, quickest and cheapest means of transport, will become still shorter. It would open up a new chapter for the human race. Yet the economic consequences of the very cheap and unlimited power are not likely to be cataclysmic.[45] People could not realise in the initial stages that the electric energy which has done wonders, at present, will change the face of the earth. Similarly, Mr. Brown seems to be considerably under-valuing the importance of atomic energy.

The use of atom and hydrogen-bombs by belligerent nations will be nothing short of opening the third eye by Lord Shiva.[46] The attitude of the Indian people and the efforts of our Prime Minister, the would-be world leader and apostle of peace, would deface the demon, the destructive one of the atomic boomerang.

Conclusion

The State must take a keen interest, through positive and negative measures, in the regulation and control of location of industries with a view to the better utilization of the available resources, avoidance of social cost of industries, more equitable distribution of benefits all over the country and raising the standard of living of the masses.

In the matter of industrial location deglomerating factors are becoming more powerful but in view of the Atom and Hydrogen-Bombs[47] and for taking a leaf out of the Russian's victory in the Second World War, strategic factors must have due weight in the locational distribution of industries. It will be better to have munition factories—and ordnance depots in remote, unvulnerable and unopen places. Further, consumer goods industries must be dispersed, as far as possible, to consuming centres so that the public may not suffer heavily due to war. Though wisdom lies in striking a judicious balance between the economic and strategical considerations but in several cases the latter must have more weight for national security.

As the Government of India[48] has already accepted the principle of decentralised production, it is essential that the relationship between cottage and small-scale industries and

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39. George Dean: *Report on the Atom*, pp. 145-46.

40. George Dean: *Report on Atom*.It was build at Argonne National Laboratory, Idaho in 1951, p. 180.

41. *Ibid.*

42. Samuel Glasstone: *Foundations of Atomic Energy*, p. 163.

43. Due to weightlessness it can be carried to any part of the world. From the central station distribution is made through 'Assembled Ores' for use in a small reactor.

44. Govt. Publication: *A Study on Location of Industry in India*, p. 50.

45. A Brown: *Applied Economics*, 243.

46. S. N. Agarwal: *Towards a Socialist Economy*, p. 131-32. "The destructive power of H-Bomb is six [illegible] hundred times greater than the Hiroshima Bomb, hence, it is the deadliest *Weapon of Mass Destruction Invented so Far* and threatens the very existence of man and civilization. Reports indicate that Russia has been trying its hands at some kind of Nitrogen Bomb which is expected to be more powerful than even the H-Bomb.

47. *P.E.P. Report*, Page 18: Considerations as safety from aerial attack in case of warfare make it necessary to take industries to locations into the interior of the country, away from river banks and away from open towns even if this involves some loss of economic advantage.

48. A.-I.C.C.: *Resolutions on Economic Policy* and *Programme*. p. 18.

large-scale industries must be determined, the field of operation, as far as possible, must be clearly demarcated, the possibilities of complimentary production must be explored to the fullest extent, and that the planners must always keep these important considerations in view while drawing out, amending or supplementing the Plan. Cottage and small-scale industries and large-scale industries, both in Private and Public Sector, should be dovetailed.

According to the Registration and Licensing Rules[49] each application for a licence or permission for changing the location of the whole or part of an industrial undertaking is to be accompanied by a Treasury Receipt for Rs. 50|-. The amount of deposit firstly may be reduced to Rs. 10 and secondly if the change is for the undeveloped or underdeveloped region as declared by the Government, not only the fee should be refunded but some subsidy may be granted on the basis of the cost of locational change. Thus the resultant imbalance due to haphazard development can be quickly corrected.

The Government of India should make a study of split locations, *i.e.*, the splitting up of the different processes of the same industry between different localities with a view to speed up the process of decentralisation, to give a fillip to the growth of medium and small-scale industries, the emergence of optimum-size towns, to cusion the industrial areas against the shock of industrial depressions, to cut short to the minimum the industrial problems and to root out the problem of unemployment.

The Planning Commission should collect data regarding underdeveloped and undeveloped regions together with the respective industries likely to be developed there and also the type of organisation which could suit them. It will also be better to announce simultaneously, in certain cases, the possible indirect encouragements to be conferred on the industries to be started in undeveloped regions. The undertakings of these areas must also be eligible for preferential treatment in the grant of import licences by the Government. In addition to creating of favourable conditions in backward areas for industrial development in general, some special measures[50] may be taken to attract new industries to such areas. The Industrial Finance Corporation for India, the State Industrial Finance Corporations, Industrial Credit and Investment Corporation may give some favourable treatment in the grant of loans, etc., to industrial establishment in these areas. It is difficult within initial stages to induce private industry to choose a new location where such facilities are inadequate. Special encouragements, in the Second Five-Year Plan, should be given to particular industries which are suited to the backward areas. Effective propaganda should be carried on by the Government of India through Chambers of Commerce, Employers Associations and Provincial and District Planning Departments.

A systematic policy of the shifting of industries to countryside is greatly desired in view of the better utilisation of hydro-electric power, increased urbanisation of rural areas[51] correcting the economy of India, solving part unemployment problem of rural areas, strengthening war and industrial economy, for developing community centres into optimum and ideal towns, which will become the diffusion centres of modern culture into countryside, and raising the standard of living.

Rationalisation is necessary in many industries in at least three directions: (a) Improving the location of factories, (b) improving the method of prduction and (c) reducing the number of labourers per unit of machinery and bringing the factories to a maximum economic size. Proper location, therefore, is an integral part of rationalisation, which is the need of the hour.

The industrialists in the early stages resented the Industries (Regulation and Development) Act and Rules made thereunder

49. The Registration and licensing of Industrial Undertakings Rules, 1952 refer sub. Sec. 3 of Sec. 7.

50. Govt. Publications: *Location of Industries in India*, Appendix II.

51. Excessive ruralisation is one of the most undesirable feature of Indian Social Structure. In Great Britain 80 per cent of the population live in Urban areas whereas in India it is only 16 per cent.

but now it seems they have reconciled themselves. Criticism, however, has been levelled against the Licensing Authority for the grant of Licences to new industrial concerns, specially foreign firms, when in view of the assessment of demand for and supply of particular goods, new licence would not have been granted.[52]

At present the control of Capital Issues is administered by the Ministry of Finance and Licensing of Industries by the Ministry of Commerce and Industries. In the interest of efficiency and better co-ordination it is desirable that both the Acts should be administered by the same authority. The objective, correcting the defects of industrial pattern and regional distribution, cannot be achieved by the negative action of the two Acts unless favourable atmosphere, *i.e.*, suitable economic environment is created through positive methods by the Government in the underdeveloped regions. The Planning Commission, in the Second Five-Year Plan, should take this important aspect into consideration.

The remedial measures in cases falling under Secs. 16 and 18A of the Industries (Development and Regulation) Act do not allow any scope for devising alternative methods such as those prescribed in Sec. 153-C of the Indian Companies Act. This defect must be remedied and there should be a tie-up between the provisions of the Indian Companies Act and that of the Industries Act. The Government should build up its managerial personnel for handling public enterprises so that instead of appointing Managing Agents, experienced officers should be lent to manage the concerns. Under this Act the installation of plants, assembling of imported goods should be discouraged and genuine manufacture should be encouraged. The Government of India, while permitting the establishment of new industrial units with foreign participants should pay special attention to the terms of their collaboration with a view to ensuring that they are consistent with the Government's economic policy as well as the larger interests of the nation.

It may be said at this stage that an expert Board of 5 to 7 under the Planning Commission, representing all shades of economic opinion, should be constituted to study the resources and potentialities of the different parts of the country, initiate and conduct research on the various aspects of the problem of location and development of industries and demarcate the country's different zones with reference to their suitability for industrial development and recommend suitable changes from time to time in legislation, policies and measures that may be required for the industrial development of the country.

The distribution of industrial activity in India is extremely uneven both absolutely and in relation to population, because the importance of the control and regulation of industrial location was not realised in the past. Moreover, a considerable proportion of the industrial development in the First Five-Year Plan is by way of expansion of existing industrial unity. In the Second Five-Year Plan dispersal of industries, development of backward and undeveloped areas, the strategical considerations, the urbanisation of rural areas and both the negative control of the location of industry and the positive policy of encouraging the development of backward areas should form an integral part of systematic co-ordinated policy of economic reconstruction.

52. Private discourse with Dr. Ram Gopal, Assistant Secretary, Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry, New Delhi, on 26th June, 1955. The Chamber represented the cases of a number of industries, namely, Wooden Screws, Bore Hole Turbine Pumps, Barrels and Drums, Spindle Tapes and Beltings, etc.



THE ROLE OF PERSONALITY IN HISTORY

By HARSH NARAIN

That the course of history is determined by the activities of great men is a view as old as Herodotus, the Father of History. From the time of Herodotus down to recent past, historians, who are rightly dubbed military historians, have been taking it for granted that all history is wrought by great men or rather military conquerors. To Thomas Carlyle, however, goes the credit of first formulating the idea as a more or less self-contained philosophy of history.

"The History of the world," says Carlyle, "is but the Biography of great men."[1]

He divides society into Heroes and ordinary mortals, the leaders and the led, commanders and obeyers, and cites the analogy of a ship which cannot round Cape Horn without a rigid division between commanders and obeyers.[2]

In his work on the subject, he delineates six types of Heroes:[3]

(1) the Hero as Divinity, such as Odin,
(2) the Hero as Prophet, such as Mahomet;
(3) the Hero as Poet, such as Dante, Shakespeare;
(4) the Hero as Priest, such as Luther, Knox;
(5) the Hero as a Man of Letters, such as Johson, Rousseau, Burns, Goethe and
(6) the Hero as King, such as Cromwell, Napolean.

All these Heroes are history-makers in their own arenas, however restricted. Goethe is described as a "world-changer and spiritual revolutionist."[4] Carlyle admits that Dante's "arena is far more restricted" than that of Mahomet but has no doubt that "it is far nobler, clearer; perhaps not less but more important" and that Dante will long survive Mahomet.[5] The historical role of other types of Heroes is common knowledge.

Carlyle describes the Hero as King the Commander over Men, as "the most important of Great Men :"

> He is practically the summary for us of all the various figures of Heroism; Priest, Teacher, whatsover of earthly or of spiritual dignity we can fancy to reside in a man, embodies itself here. . . . .[6]

Carlyle believes in the essential unity of the "heroic quality": that all Heroes are fundamentally of the same stuff and that their outward shape—the part they would play—depends on the kind of world they find themselves born into.[7] I cannot resist the temptation of quoting his following passage on the subject:

> I confess, I have no notion of a truly great man that could not be *all* sorts of men. The poet . . . could not sing the Heroic warrior unless he himself were at least a Heroic warrior too. I fancy there is in him the Politician, the Thinker, Legislator, Philosopher;—in one or the other degree, he could have been, he is all these. So too I cannot understand how a Mirabeau, with that great glowing heart, with the fire that was in it, with the bursting tears that were in it, could not have written verses, tragedies, poems, and touched all hearts in that way, had his course of life and education led him thitherwards. . . . . Napolean has words in him which are like Austerlitz Battles. Louis Fourteenth's Martials are a kind of poetical men withal; the things Turenne says are full of sagacity and geniality like sayings of Samuel Johnson. The great heart, the clear deep-seeing eye; there it lies; no man whatever, in what province soever, can prosper at all without these. . . . Petrarch and Boccacio did diplomatic messages, it seems, quite well; one can easily believe it; they had done things a little harder than these. Burns, a gifted song-writer, might have made a still better Mirabeau. Shakespeare,—one knows not what *he* could not have made in the supreme degree.[8]

In another connexion, Carlyle speaks of two types of Heroes, the Great Man and the Noted Man. The Great Man moulds his age after his own image and

> the Noted Man of an age is the emblem and summary of the Ideal which the age has fashioned for itself: show me the noted man of an age, you show me the age that produced him.[9]

A similar typology has been enunciated by Sidney Hook, who speaks of eventful and event-making men.[10] He compares the role of the merely eventful man to that of "the little Dutch boy who kept his finger in the hole of the dike and saved the town." The great events wrought by the eventful man are due not to the intrinsic worth of the latter but to the fateful situation he happened to be in. Anybody could have taken the place of the little Dutch boy, and with exactly the same results.[11] It is, therefore, evident that the eventful man has as little a claim to greatness as the microbe which put an end to Alexander's world-wide military conquests by killing him at the age of thirty-two. Hence it is the event-making man who is the really great man, or Hero. Also one need not always be a really great man to effect great changes in history.

We shall see later that Oswald Spengler, too, countenances a similar idea.

It appears that Carlyle sometimes—let us suppose, unwittingly—deviates from his thesis in interpreting history. After ridiculing the suggestion that the Hero is the "creature of the Time,"[12] he proceeds to characterize Dante as the "voice of ten silent centuries"[13] and to undo his (Carlyle's) original position thus:

> The *Divine Comedy* is of Dante's writing; yet in truth it belongs to ten Christian centuries, only the finalizing of it Dante's. So always . . . . . how little of all he does is properly *his* work: All past inventive men work there with him;—as indeed with all of us, in all things. Dante is the spokesman of the Middle Ages; the Thought they lived by stands here in everlasting music. These sublime ideas of his, terrible and beautiful, are the fruits of the Christian Meditation of the good men who had gone before him. Precious they but also is not he precious? Much, had not he spoken, would have been dumb; not dead, yet living voiceless.[14]

Carlyle's Heriosm should not be confounded with the cult of the Superman fathered by Nietzche, Shaw, and others, who can hardly be classed among philoso-

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1. Carlyle: *On Heroes, Hero-Worship, and the Heroic in History* (first published in book-form in 1841 from a course of lectures delivered by Carlyle in London in 1840), Collin's Clear Type Press, London and Glasgow, not dated, p. 23.
2. Carlyle: *Latter-Day Pamphlets*, quoted in Eric Bentley, *The Cult of the Superman*, Robert Hale Ltd., London, 1947, pp. 101-2.
3. Carlyle: *Op. Cit., throughout*. However, as noted by B. H. Lehman, ". . . Carlyle did not limit the types of Hero to the six which he chose under the exigencies of his programme of lectures. He mentions the Hero Painter (ii), the Hero-Cavalier (Montrose) (234), and at the opening of the third lecture after reviewing his types. Divinity, Prophet, Poet, he adds: 'We might give many more names, on this same principle.' (89)". B. H. Lehman, *Carlyle's Theory of the Hero: Its Sources, Development, History, and Influence on Carlyle's Work*, Duke University Press, Durham, North California, 1928, p. 59. (The figures within brackets represent pagination of the first edition of Carlyle's book given at foot-note No. 1 *supra*).
4. Quoted in Eric Bentley, *Op. Cit.*, p. 19.
5. Carlyle: *Op Cit.*, pp. 131-2 and 147.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 251.
7. *Ibid*, pp. 59, 104-5, and 150-51; also pp. 41, 201, and 229.
8. *Ibid.*, pp. 104-5.
9. Carlyle: *Goethe's Works*, 1832, incorporated in his *Critical and Miscellaneous Essays*, Vol. IV, Chapman and Hall, Piccadilly, 1872, p. 141.
10. Sidney Hook: *The Hero in History*, Secker and Warburg, London, 1945, p. 109.
11. Cp. Jacob Burckhardt, who, for more or less the same reason, holds that, even though their discoveries have changed the face of the countries, discoveries are not great men. Vide "The Great Men of History," in his *Force and Freedom*, Meridian Books, New York, 1955, p. 274.
12. Carlyle: *On Heroes, Hero-Worship, and the Heroic in History*, ed. cit., pp. 21-2.
13. *Ibid.*, p. 114.
14. *Ibid.*, p. 129.

phers of history. They apply their theory of what Eric Bentley christens Heroic Vitalism in given spheres, without any ambition to explain history.

The real successor of Carlyle, i.e., the greatest champion of the heroic interpretation of history after him, is Frederick Adams Wood, whose valuable contribution to the subject would perhaps have gone unnoticed but for the treatment he has received at the hands of Sidney Hook. Wood's position is summed up below in his own words:

> Strong, mediocre, and weak monarchs are associated with strong, mediocre, and weak periods respectively in about 70 per cent of the cases. Strong monarchs are associated with weak periods, and weak monarchs (including non-royal regents) with strong periods in about 10 per cent of the cases. In about 20 per cent of the cases mediocre monarchs are associated with strong or with weak periods, or mediocre periods are associated with strong or with weak monarchs.[15]

Carlyle does not seriously consider the question of the how and why of the Hero. Where, in his work on the Hero, the question does crop up by the way, he contents himself with using some such rhetoric as "A messenger, he, sent from the infinite Unknown with tidings to us."[16] He, however, does not fall into the error of believing that the Hero is there whenever he is needed by the age. This we shall see in the sequel.

Hegel and Oswald Spengler trace the origin of the Hero to an unseen power; the former calls it the World-Spirit or the Spirit of the Age, while the latter Destiny.

Hegel's philosophy of history is based on his conception of the Spirit of the Age. According to him, every age is informed and animated by a spirit of its own, which is represented by World-Historical individuals. These individuals fulfil the will of the World-Spirit by unfolding the spirit of their age. They perform the function of a midwife in expediting the birth and catering to the growth of the new age. Such individuals delude themselves, no less than others, into believing that they work in furtherance of their own individual aims, while the position is that they work for the World-Spirit. When their mission has been fulfilled, they are forsaken by the world mercilessly.

> When their object is attained they fall off like empty hulls from the kernel. They die early, like Alexander; they are murdered like Caesar; transported to St. Helena, like Napoleon.[17]

This is the reason why, if they work in the service of the World-Spirit, many World-Historical individuals should come to grief at long last.

It is a rule with old-fashioned historians to identify history with military history, so much so that only military conquerors are recognized by them as Heroes Though he does not state it expressly Hegel, too, seems to ditto the military historian. Whenever there is an occasion to mention a great man, he refers to Caesar, Alexander, Frederick the Great, and Napoleon, and none from the non-military sphere. He speaks of Alexander as "the freest and finest individuality that the real world has ever produced. . . ."* When he saw Napoleon near Jena, he exclaimed that he was witnessing the World-Spirit on horse-back. Wood's Hero is primarily the monarch, whom he regards as a "sub-variety of the human race."[18] But, as we have seen, Carlyle's Heroes are recruited from almost all fields of culture. He, too, however, indulges in a veritable apotheosis of the King, the "Commander over Men," whom, as we have seen, he reckons the most important of Great Men.

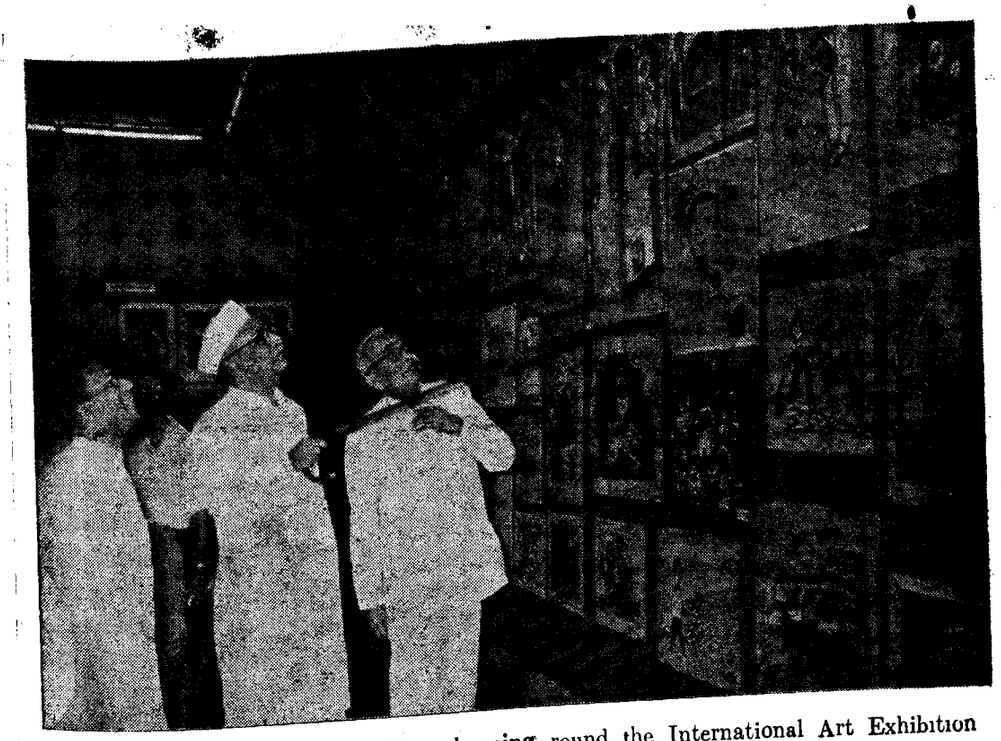
15. Frederick Adams Wood: *The Influence of Monarchs*, New York, 1913. p. 246, quoted in Sidney Hook, *op. cit.*, pp. 37-8.

16. Carlyle: *Op. Cit.*, p. 63.

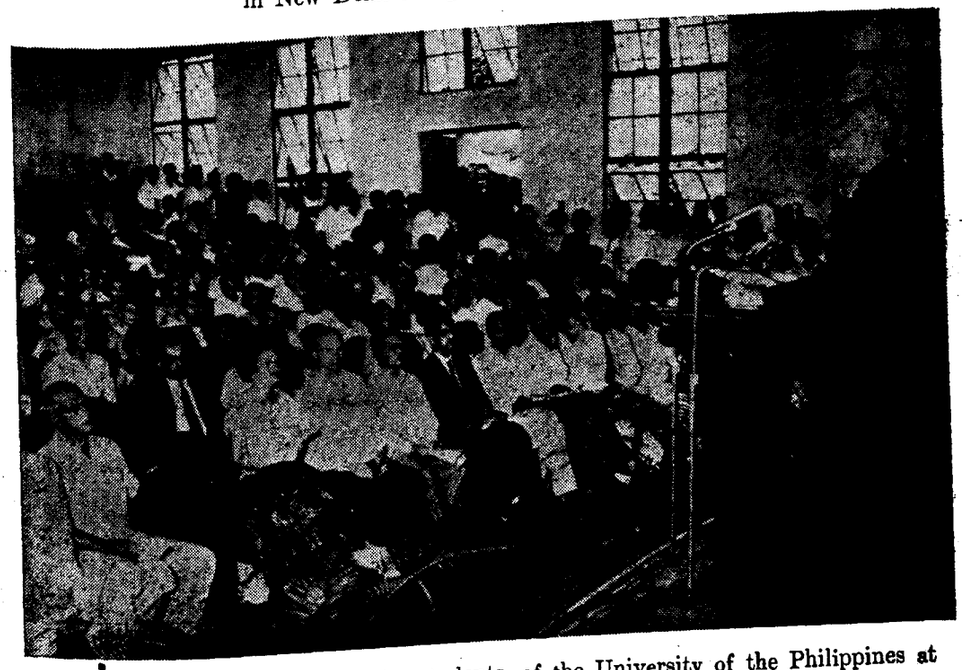
17. G. W. F. Hegel: *Lectures on the Philosophy of History*, Sibree's translation George Bell and Sons, London, 1890, p. 32.

* *Ibid*, p. 233.

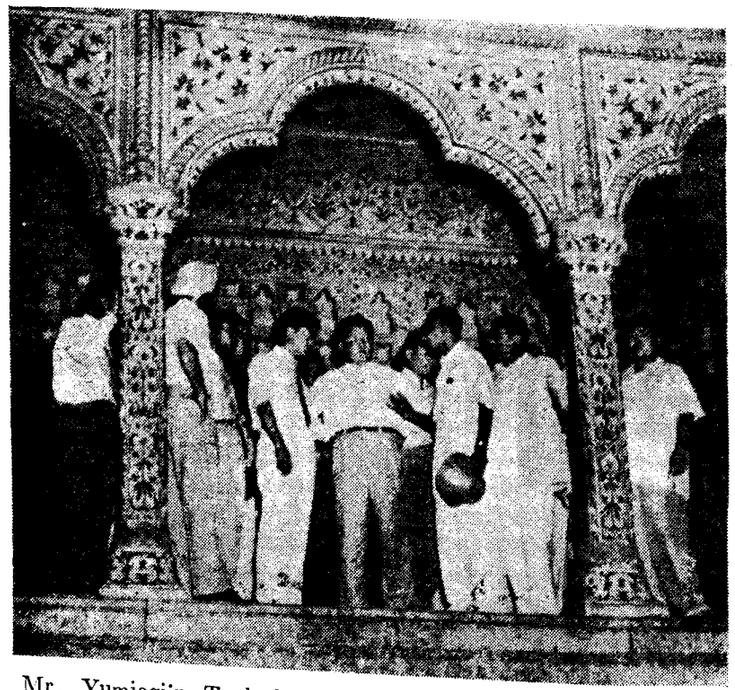
18. Wood: *Op. Cit.*, p. 275, quoted in Sidney Hook, *op. cit.*, p. 38.



The President, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, going round the International Art Exhibition in New Delhi inaugurated by him recently.



Dr. S. Radhakrishnan addresses the students of the University of the Philippines at a Convocation during his recent visit to Manila



Mr. Yumjagiin Tsedenbal, the Mongolian Prime Minister at the Diwan-e-Khas inside the Agra Fort



Members of the Afgan Trade Delegation with the Prime Minister, when they visited New Delhi in August last

In their admiration for military conquerors, these Heroists were followed by Oswald Spengler who believes in the supremacy of the conqueror, the statesman, the man of fact, the active man who lives over the thinker, the "ink-slinger," the "book-worm," the man of truth, the passive man who only *knows*.[19] Of these two classes of great men envisaged by Spengler, the former class is said to be the more effective in history. He has no doubt that

> in the history of actuality Archimedes, for all his scientific discoveries, was possibly less effective than the soldier who killed him at the storming of Syracuse.[20]

Indeed, Spengler has it that the man of fact has had little or no influence on the course of history. Even when the man of fact strays out of his ivory tower of speculation and takes it into his head to plunge into "actual history," his activity

> is the least successful and therefore the least valuable in history. . . . He belongs . . . to no history but the history of a literature.[21]

Obviously, Spengler, in effect, identifies history with military history.

Spengler's man of fact is the necessary instrument or agent of Destiny which is the driving force in history and which only he can intuit. He is an expression of the "soul" of his culture even as Hegel's Hero is an expression of the Spirit of his Age.

There is to be found in Spengler also a vertical division of Heroes into Alexanders and Caesars, an antithesis already worked out by Mommsen. According to Spengler, cultures are organisms which pass through the age-phases of a human individual and which each has its childhood, youth, manhood, and old age.[22] A culture is so called till it attained manhood; in its old age it becomes civilization. Spengler's Alexanders are representatives and products of cultures; hence they are fired with the will to power and an insatiable lust for conquest and self-aggrandizement. Caesars, on the other hand, represent the decay of the culture that is civilization. They come to restore order and discipline to, and infuse life into, the dying culture.[23] The historical Alexander and Caesar stand respectively for romance and realism, which are the symbols of culture and civilization respectively.[24]

Elsewhere, Spengler suggests another significant typology: great men and successful men. These two types of men are Spenglerian counterparts of Carlyle's Noted Men and Great Men on the one hand and Sidney Hook's event-making men and eventful men on the other. There are, says Spengler,

> those great persons who are endowed with such formative force that the destiny of thousands, of whole peoples, and of ages, are incorporated in their private destinies; but at the same time we can distinguish the adventurer or successful man who is destitute of inward greatness . . . from the Hero of history by the fact that his personal destiny displays only the traits of the common destiny.[25]

Jocob Burckhardt sets much store by the role of personality in history. His finding is summed up in the following words:

> History tends at times to become suddenly concentrated in one man, who is then obeyed by the world. These great individuals . . . subsume States, religions, cultures and crises.[26]

The great man, says Burckhardt, comes to fulfil the will of God, the will of the nation, the will of the epoch, however selfish his conduct may appear to the naked eye. His conduct is no more subject to the ordinary moral code than that of the community for which he acts.[27]

19. Oswald Spengler: *The Decline of the West*, Charles Francis Atkinson's translation, Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1947, Vol. II, pp. 11-9 *passim*, especially p. 16, and 442.
20. *Ibid.*, p. 17.
21. *Ibid.*
22. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 107.
23. *Ibid.*, Vol. II, pp. 640-65, *passim*.
24. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 38 and 349.
25. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 149.
26. Jacob Burckhardt: *Force and Freedom*, Meridian Books, New York, 1956, p. 2[illegible]
27. *Ibid.*, pp. 300-1.

Carlyle repudiates all talk of selfishness on the part of the Hero.[28] The Hero is sincere to the core.[29] He co-operates "with the real Tendency of the World,"[30] guided not by dogmas and codes formulated by others but by his own intuitive insight.[31] In this sense, he is an "original" man; "he comes to us at first hand."[32]

Like Nietzsche's Superman and the Leader of the Fascist, Hegel's Hero and Spengler's man of fact are beyond good and evil.[33] Their conduct cannot be judged save by the standards of their own. He quotes with approval Goethe's dictum, "The doer is always conscienceless; no one has a conscience except the spectator."[34] The fabric of the glory of the man of fact is built on the grave of morals and justice. History has ever sided with the strong and the ruthless; upholders of truth and justice invariably go to the wall.[35]

Max Weber's concept of 'charisma' is, broadly speaking, akin to Carlyle's concept of the heroic. The former's 'charismatic' leaders are as representative of the various compartments of culture as the latter's Heroes. 'Charisma' is the principle of creativity found in the man of genius and is opposed to 'routine.' Charismatic heroes are characterized by an utter disregard of routine. Though not unmindful of the multiplicity of the causes of historical change, Weber regards charismatic leaders as truly revolutionary forces in history. They reject "all rational economic conduct".[36] But what about those charismatic conquerors who go down in history as pirates and hankerers after booty? Are they the less charismatic for that? Weber's reply is in the negative.

> Charismatic political heroes seek booty, and, above all, gold. But Charisma . . . . always rejects as undignified any pecuniary gain that is *methodical and rational*.[37]

Arnold J. Toynbee assigns to the extraordinary individual almost a key position in his scheme of historical evolution. According, to him,

> the source of action is never the society itself, but is always some individual soul . . . . the action which is an act of creation is always performed by a soul which is in some sense a superhuman genius . . . .[38]

A living civilization is, on Toynbee's view, characterized by its active response to the challenge of the environment which it meets through its group of creative individuals, through its "creative minority." When, however, the creative minority loses its salt, that is, creativity, it becomes "dominant minority" inasmuch as it then holds its sway in society not by its virtues but by force, pure and simple.

Toynbee's creative individuals are of two types: conquerors and saviours.

> In a growing civilization the creator is called upon to play the part of a conqueror who replies to a challenge with victorious response; in a disintegrating civilization the same creator is called upon to play the part of a saviour who comes to the rescue of a society that has failed to respond because the challenge has worsted a minority that has ceased to be creative and that has sunk into being merely dominant.[39]

The growing society is said to be on the offensive and the disintegrating one, on the defensive. Hence the need of the conqueror by the former and of the saviour or defender by the latter. This vertical division of Heroes into conquerors and saviours corresponds to the one into Alexanders and Caesars found in Spengler

28. Carlyle, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 270-1.
29. *Ibid.*, pp. 62-3, 74, 164-6, and 201.
30. *Ibid.*, p. 86.
31. *Ibid.*, p. 165.
32. *Ibid.*, p. 63.
33. Hegel: *Op. Cit.*, p. 32 and Spengler, *Op. Cit.*, Vol. II, p. 442.
34. Spengler: *Loc. cit.*
35. *Ibid.*, p. 507.
36. H. H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills (ed.): *From Max Weber. Essays in Sociology*, Kegan Paul, London, 1947 (actually published in 1948), p. 247.
37. *Ibid.*
38. Arnold J. Toynbee: *A Study of History*, Oxford University Press, London Vol. VI, 1948, p. 175.
39. *Ibid.*, p. 177.

II

Striking contrasts to the great-man conception of history are presented by the environmentalistic, the sociologistic, and economistic interpretations of history. Environmentalists like H.T. Buckle and Huntington hold that the credit of the wonders worked by historical individuals goes as a matter of fact to the environments in which they live, move, and have their beings. Sociologists like Herbert Spencer attach all importance to the state of the society in which the great man flourishes. Economistic interpreters like Karl Marx emphasize the role of the socio-economic structure of society in determining social change. They generally agree that the great-man conception of history is right so far as it goes, but they feel, it does not go far enough: it does not care to analyze the greatness of great men. They have no doubt that great men are of vast historical importance and that their presence or absence makes much difference to the course of history. But unlike the Heroist their faith in the fecundity of the situation is boundless, so that they are pretty confident that a great man will be there whenever social forces so demand, that given favourable social forces he is bound to emerge. Spencer writes:

> If, not stopping at the explanation of social progress as due to the great man, we go back a step, and ask, whence comes the great man? We find that the theory breaks down completely. .....the origin of the great man is natural; and immediately this recognized, he must be classed with all of her phenomena in the society that gave him birth as a product of its antecedents. Along with the whole generation of which he forms a minute part, along with its institutions, language, knowledge, manners, and its multitudinous arts and appliances, he is a *resultant* . . . Before he can remake his society, his society must make him. All those changes of which he is the proximate initiator, have their chief causes in the generations he descended from. If there is to be anything like a real explanation of those changes, it must be sought in that aggregate of conditions out of which both he and they have arisen.[40]

There can be no denying the fact that, as environmentalists as well as Spencer maintain, the great man is a resultant of his antecedents. No cause, no effect. But this is not the point at issue. Invoking the too *general* law of causation to explain the particular phenomenon of the greatness of a great man is far from explaining it. William James likens the method to the "Oriental method" of replying any and every question by the unimpeachable truism "God is great".[41] The real point at issue is: Anthropological-sociological conditions favouring, is a great man bound to emerge? Buckle and Spencer say, yes. But the question is, why is it that anthropological-socialogical conditions are relatively constant while the rise of great men which is described as a resultant thereof is relatively inconstant? Bertrand Russell notes that no genius appeared in the field of experimental science from the time of Archimedes to the time of Leonardo da Vinci.[42] Kroeber finds that England gave birth to

> no geniuses at all between 1450 and 1550 and a whole series of geniuses in literature, music, science, philosophy,

40. Herbert Spencer: *Study of Sociology*, Kegan Paul, Trench and Co., 1, Paternoster Square, London, Eleventh Edition, 1883, pp. 33-5.
41. William James, 'Great Men and Their Environment,' *The Will to Believe and Other Essays in Popular Philosophy*, Longman's, Green and Co., New York, 1921 Impression, p. 234.

Tolstoy, whose explanation of the heroic in history is, "In the last analysis we reach the circle of infinity" (his *War and Peace*, Macmillan, 1943, Second Epilogue, p. 1328), is exposed to the same charge. "The last analysis" is wholly irrelevant to history and historiology. "In the last analysis" not only the Hero but everything else, too, is reducible to infinity, as admitted by Tolstoy himself, *loc. cit.*

42. Bertrand Russell: *Freedom and Organization*, George Allen and Unwin, London, 1934, p. 230.

and politics between 1550 and 1650. Similarly with the Germany of 1550-1650 and 1700-1800 respectively.[43]

These phenomena are far from explicable on the basis of the situational determinism of Spencer and others. The position is that the question of the birth of a man of genius is biological rather than historiological. Historiologically, his birth must be regarded as an accident, for the simple reason that biology is not determined by history. William James notes a remarkable parallel, not noticed before, between the fact of social evolution on the one hand and of zoological evolution on the other. He writes,

> The causes of production of great men lie in a sphere wholly inaccessible to the social philosopher. He must simply accept geniuses as data, just as Darwin accepts his spontaneous variations. . . . . He (the great man) acts as a ferment, and changes its (the environment's) constitution, just as the advent of new zoological species changes the faunal and floral equilibrium of the region in which it appears."[44]

Indeed, Spencer will have to tackle the problem of co-ordinating biology with history so that the former may manufacture geniuses for the latter to order. More will be said on the point in the sequel. James is at the height of his ingenuity when he writes,

> Can it be that Spencer holds the convergence of sociological pressures to have so impinged on Stratford-on-Avon about the 26th of April, 1564, that a W. Shakespeare, with all his mental peculiarities, had to be born there,—as the pressure of water outside a certain boat will cause a stream of a certain form to ooze into a particular leak? And does he mean to say that if the aforesaid W. Shakespeare had died of cholera infantum, another mother at Stratford-on-Avon would needs have engendered a duplicate copy of him, to restore the sociologic equilibrium,—just as the same stream of water will reappear, no matter how often you pass a sponge over the leak, so long as the outside level remains unchanged? Or might the substitute arise at 'Stratford-atte-Bowe?[45]

Frederick Engels, Karl Marx's *alter ego*, would answer such questions in the affirmative with the reservation that the substitute might be a little different. He writes:

> That such and such a man and precisely that man arises at a particular time in a particular country is, of course. pure chance. But cut him out and there will be a demand for a substitute, and this substitute will be found. That Napoleon, just that particular Corsican, should have been the military dictator whom the French Republic, exhausted by its own warfare, had rendered necessary, was chance; but that, if a Napoleon had been lacking, another would have filled that place, is proved by the fact that the man was always found as soon as he became necessary: Caesar, Augustus, Cromwell, etc. While Marx discovered the materialist conception of history, Thierry, Mignet, Guizot, and all the English historians upto 1850 are the proof that it was being striven for, and the discovery of the same conception by Morgan proves that the time was ripe for it and that it simply *had* to be discovered.[46]

That is to say, difficult as it is to spot out the man who is destined to play the Hero in a given situation, it is necessary that some one must play the role. Karl Marx goes to the length of declaring,

> Every social epoch needs its great men, and when it does not find them it invents them, as Helvetius says.[47]

43. A. L. Kroeber: *Configurations of Culture Growths*, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1944, pp. 10-1.

44. William James: *Op. Cit.*, pp. 225-6.

45. *Ibid.*, p. 235.

46. Engels's letter to Starkenburg, dated January 25, 1894, incorporated in *Karl Marx and Frederick Engels Selected Works*, Moscow, Vol. II, 1951, p. 458.

47. Karl Marx: *The Class Struggle in France*, incorporated in *Selected Works*, ed. cit., Vol. I, p. 177.

This is true not only of statesmen and military generals but also of thinkers. A given situation is bound to give rise to a given ideology, which will invariably seek its spokesman. In case one who has been chosen by a certain ideology to be its spokesman disappears from the scene on account of death or otherwise, the ideology will be on the look-out for a substitute who is bound to come forth. Advocates of the great-man conception of history would contend that, had Marx died in his cradle, the world would have been very different from what it is today. Marxists, on the other hand, have it that in the event of his death infantum, Marx would have sooner or later been succeeded by some one else at the behest of the inexorable logic of the situation. In Engels's passage quoted above it has been suggested that Marx's was not the solitary attempt to propound the ideology he did. Elsewhere he mentions the name of Joseph Dietzgen, a German tanner-thinker, as one who discovered the materialist dialectics independently of him and Marx and even of Hegel.

> And this materialist dialectic..... was, remarkably enough, discovered not only by us but also, independently of us and even of Hegel, by a German worker, Joseph Dietzgen.[48]

This standpoint is shared by such determinists as Spengler who is confident that

> Goethe might—possibly—have died young, but *not* his "idea." Faust and Tasso would not have been written, but they would have "been" in a deeply mysterious sense, even though they lacked the poet's elucidation.[49]

G. V. Plekhanov, a great follower of Marx and Engels, thus describes the process how if one Hero dies another takes his place:

> When a given state of society sets certain problems before its intellectual representatives, the attention of prominent minds is concentrated upon them until those problems are solved. As soon as they have succeeded in solving them their attention is transferred to another object. By solving problem X, a given talent A diverts the attention of talent B from the problem already solved to another problm, Y. And when we are asked: What would have happened if A had died before he had solved problem X?—we imagine that the thread of human intellectual development would have been broken. We forget that had A died, B, or C, or D might have tackled the problem . . . .[50]

The Marxist thesis outlined above has been a source of much confusion both in Marxist and anti-Marxist thinking. Before we deal with it any further, it seems imperative to give a brief account of some intriguing observations of Marx and Engels in regard to the historical role of great men and embellishment of their (Marx's and Engels's) position by their followers.

Marx and Engels do not share the belief that man is but a tool in the hands of the situation. History, they believe, is a co-operative enterprise between man and situation.[51] They take enormous care to do justice to the creative role of personality in history, even at the risk of self-contradiction. They fully acknowledge the historical role of great men in the following words:

> Camille, Desmoulins, Danton, Robespierre, Saint-Just, Napoleon, the heroes as well as the parties and the masses of the old French Revolution, performed the task of their time in Roman costume and with Roman phrases, the task of unchaining and setting up modern bourgeois society. The first one knocked the feudal basis to pieces and mowed

48. Engels, *Ludwig Feuerbach and the End of Classical German Philosopny*, incorporated in *Selected Works*, Vol. II, pp. 350-1.

49. Spengler: *Op. Cit.*, Vol. I, p. 45.

50. G. V. Plekhanov: *The Role of the Individual in History*, Moscow, 1946, p. 43.

51. Marx: *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*, *Selected Works*, Vol. I, p. 225; Marx, *Thesis on Feuerbach*, fourth thesis, *Selected Works*, Vol. II, pp. 365-6; Engels, *op. cit.*, p. 354; Engels, letter dated January 25, 1894 to Starkenburg, *S.W.*, Vol. II, pp. 457-8 and letter dated September 21-22, 1890 to J. Bloch, *Ibid.*, pp. 443-4.

off the feudal heads which had grown on it.[52]

Engels pays glowing tributes to Bacon and others as under:

> . . . . Bacon, Hobbes, and Locke are the fathers of that brilliant school of French materialists which made the eighteenth century in spite of all battles on land and sea won over before..... French Revolution.[53]
>
> The great men, who in France prepared men's minds for the coming revolution, were themselves extreme revolutionists.[54]

Marx describes Feuerbach and Hegel as "epoch-making."[55] To Engles Hegel's representation of the world as a process was of "epoch-making merit".[56]

The above statements of Marx and Engels seem to be out of accord with their general historiological outlook. Their position has, however, been sought to be brought into clearer relief by some of their followers. Thus, according to Trotesky, "great historical forces are refracted through a personality".[57] Elsewhere he says,

> A historic personality, with all its peculiarities, should not be taken as a bare list of psychological traits, but as a living reality grown out of definite social conditions and reacting upon them. As a rose does not lose its fragrance because the natural scientist points out upon what ingredients of soil and atmosphere it is nourished, so an exposure of the social roots of a personality does not remove from it either its aroma or its foul smell.[58]

Bukharin describes the individual as "a collection of concentrated social influences united in a small unit."[59] Marx himself has remarked that personality is, in essence, "the ensemble of social relations."[60]

According to the Marxian ideology, the great man is not a free agent of social change, but one vested, so to say, by the situation or the social forces with the power of attorney to effect social change in its or their interests. The great man, to use another happy metaphor, is just a manager of the enterprise that is social change, the entrepreneur being the situation or the social forces.

The greatest shortcoming of the individualist religious ethics is that it holds the individual entirely responsible for his actions to the neglect of the situation in which they are performed. Likewise, the greatest shortcoming of the individualist philosophy of history is that it credits particular individuals with all historic activity to the neglect of the non-personal factors at the root of history. The credit of exploding this myth certainly goes to the sociologic and economic interpretations. For one Marx leaves no doubt that his thesis does not comprehend within its compass the question of how great men are born. According to him, the birth of a great man, as also of a great idea, is a matter of *accident*, but his or its success of otherwise as a factor of historical change, being governed, conditioned, or determined by other social forces, is a matter of necessity. "Theory becomes a material force as soon (sic) it has gripped the masses."[61], says he. He is of the opinion that

> World-history . . . . would . . . . be of a very mystical nature, if 'accidents' played no part.[62]

He, however, adds,

> These accidents naturally form part of the general course of development and are compensated by other accidents.[63]

The last clause is pregnant with meaning. It divests accidents of their *accidental* character. It is purely accidental that I should post a card to my friend on a certain day. Such is the case with each and every individual, more or less. But the postal department know it almost certain that cards, and in a given number, will be posted almost every day and they plan accordingly. And their plan succeeds. It shows that, as Engels maintains,

> . . . . what is maintained to be necessary is composed of sheer accidents and . . . . the so-called accidental is the form behind which necessity hides itself. . . .[64]

Engels's finding is that "accident apparently reigns on the surface" only and

> where on the surface accident holds sway, there actually it is always governed by inner, hidden laws and it is only a matter of discovering these laws.[65]

Then does it mean that events are accidents only in so far as they are taken individually and that taken collectively they lose all their accidental character? Marx's statement on the subject quoted above ends with the clear reservation that

> acceleration and delay are very much dependent upon such 'accidents', including the 'accident' of the character of the people who first head the movement.[66]

That is to say, although accidents compensate one another, so that they cannot determine the course of history, they do so only with this difference that they often succeed in accelerating or delaying the process of change. Marx and Engels seem to dismiss this question of delay and acceleration of the pace of development as of little consequence. But this complacency on their part is far from justifiable. Max Eastman very aptly remarks:

> In a world in which 'everything flows,' to hasten or to delay an event is to alter it.[67]
>
> They (accidents) can not only make the path longer or shorter, but they can make it more or less 'thorny', as Kautsky says.[68]

Indeed, there can be nothing to vouch for the fact that accidents must of necessity compensate one another so much so that they can do little more than make the path of development longer or shorter.

Let us pause here to be clear in our minds as regards the meaning of 'accident'. Bradley defines 'chance' as the given fact which falls outside of some given whole or system.[69] We may replace the word 'system' in the definition by the words 'sphere of study'. Thus, what is a necessity in the sphere of biology may be an accident in the sphere of historiology. Accordingly, accident and necessity are not to be regarded as such in any absolute sense; they are relative to the given sphere of study. Hence, when it is urged that the birth of a great man is an accident, what one seeks to maintain is not that it is uncaused but that its cause is to be traced elsewhere than the given sphere of study. Marxism seeks to account not for the birth but for the success, not for the greatness but for the effective greatness of great men. The cause of the birth of great men lies outside the domain of historiology. According to Marxism, the state of society is not solely responsible for the birth of the great man. It may serve for one among a

52. Marx: *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte, Selected Works*, Vol. I, pp. 225-6.

53. Engels, Special Introduction to the 1892 English edition of *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific, Selected Works*, Vol. II, p. 91.

54. *Ibid.*, p. 107.

55. Marx, letter dated January 24, 1865 to J. B. Schweitzer, incorporated as an appendix to his *Poverty of Philosophy*, Moscow, latest, undated edition, p. 219.

56. Engels, *Herr Eugen Duhring's Revolution in Science (Anti-Duhring)*, Moscow, 1954, p. 38.

57. Trotesky: *The History of Russian Revolution*, Victor Gollancz Ltd., London, 1936, p. 115.

58. *Ibid.*, pp. 115-6.

59. Bukharin: *Historical Materialism*, George Allen and Unwin, London, Third Printing, 1928, p. 98.

60. Marx: *Eleven Thesis of Feuerbach, Selected Works*, Vol. II, p. 366.

61. Marx: *Zur Kritik der Hegelschen Rechtsphilosophie*, quoted in J. Stalin, *Philosophy of Marxism*, People's Publishing House, Bombay, First Edition, 1945 (Reprint?), p. 20.

62. Marx, letter dated April 17, 1871 to Kugelmann, *Selected Works*, Vol. II, p. 421.

63. *Ibid.*

64. Engels, *Ludwig Feuerbach . . ., S. W.*, Vol. II, p. 351.

65. *Ibid.*, p. 354.

66. Marx, letter dated April 17, 1871 to Kugelmann, *S. W.*, Vol. II, p. 421.

67. Max Eastman: *Marxism: Is it Science?*, George Allen and Unwin, London, 1941, p. 85.

68. *Ibid.*, p. 86.

69. F. H. Bradley: *Appearance and Reality, Eighth Impression*, p. 388.

number of factors involved which form the subjects of biology, anthropology, geography and other such sciences and which can by no means be regarded as determined by the state of society in which the great man is born. The birth of the great man is purely a matter of accident.

Now, is it conceivable that it is *accidental* that a great man is born at all but *necessary* that he should invariably be there to fulfil the need of the times? The weakness of the Marxian thesis lies in answering the question in the affirmative. Even such an admirer of Marx and Engels as Sidney Hook has expressed his doubts about the Marxian position thus:

> The resolution of the economic contradiction is historically necessary, says Engels. The union of sperm and egg is historically accidental, he adds. How then does historical necessity get itself transformed into the realm of biology? .....Does Engels believe that anybody can be substitute for Caesar, Augustus and Cromwell?[70]

In view of the foregoing considerations it becomes incumbent on the Marxist to explain the element of necessity involved in the birth of the great man, for without such an explanation his belief that the great man is bound to be found whenever and wherever he is needed cannot have a better claim for consideration than a mere superstition.

The position is that, as Lenin once remarked, talents are not born by the hundred and hence it is not possible for nature to distribute them equitably. If an age is fortunate enough to find its Hero, it is a matter of pure chance. Ordinary historical exigencies are fulfilled even by mediocrities; but to seriously maintain that the requisite number of great men will invariably appear on the scene to meet the challenge of the times would be fatalism of the first magnitude, comparable to the faith inculcated by the *Gita* that God will himself descend to the earth to set right things that have gone wrong.

Further, that the historic situation always succeeds in finding out the historic personality is also not borne out by recorded history. Time was historically ripe for the emergence of an iron man like *Kautilya* or *Chandragupta* who could work towards the unification of India with a view to withstanding the successive inroads of Mahmud of Ghazna and other ferocious conquerors. But none such was available. Ths situation failed miserably to give birth to the needed talent. Carlyle writes.

> The Time call forth? Alas, we have known Times *call* loudly enough for their great men; but not find them when they called! . . . . . the Time, *calling* its loudest, had to go down to confusion and wreck because he would not come when called.[71]

Indeed, there can be no denying the fact that had the Hero, always been at the beck and call of history, no age or civilization would have succumbed to crisis. If history is to be believed quite a number of civilizations and races have perished prematurely down the ages, which eventuality would, in all probability, have been averted by the timely emergence of a Hero strong enough to meet the situation. Indeed, if there is due provision in the scheme of things for a great man to be there in response to the call of history, there can be no cause for concern about the future of humanity.

Much is made by Marxists of the concept of the need of the times, of 'historical necessity'; but no serious attempt seems to have been made by them to define the concept. The solitary attempt of Bukharin at a definition of the term 'historical necessity' does not take us far enough. Bukharin writes:

> When we say that a certain phenomenon was a historical necessity, we mean that it necessarily had to follow, without regard to whether it would be good or bad . . . And when we speak of historical necessity, we do not mean "desirability" from the standpoint of—let us say—social progress, but the *inevitable result* of the course of social evolution.[72]

This definition seeks to bring home the value-neutral character of the concept of historical necessity as well as to suggest that the course of social evolution is in a way preordained. But what about the premature death of societies and cultures? Why is it that some cultures fail to run the full course of their evolution? Is their premature ruin also preordained? An affirmative answer will surely lead us into the abyss of universal determinism, which even the Marxist would shudder to think of countenancing.

70. Sidney Hook: *Op. Cit.*, p. 61.

71. Carlyle: *Op. Cit.*, p. 22.
72. Bukharin: *Op. Cit.*, p. 47.

III

A highly significant, though much-too brief, contribution to the problem of the role of personality in history has been made in recent years by R. M. MacIver. He observes:

> Serious trouble only begins when levels are not distinguished. From this many futile disputes arise. Take, for example, the question . . . whether the acts of individuals determine the course of history. Obviously they do. The only proper question is: How much?[73]

He propounds what he terms the theory of "levels of historical generality" which, in the present writer's humble opinion, promises to set at rest much of the controversy that has so long been raging round the great-man conception of history. The conquest of Chittore by Akbar the Great was of epoch-making importance for the subjects of Pratap, the ruler of Chittore, but it is of a bit lesser consequence to the historian of the Mughal rule in India, of still lesser consequence to the historian of the Muslim rule in India, of far lesser consequence to the historian of India, and of little or no consequence to "the Universal-historian, who thinks in no time-unit less than a century and no social unit smaller than a whole civilization." Likewise, even the greatest of conquests will be ignored as of little moment by a historian of modes of production if they make no difference to the system of production prevailing at the time. Likewise, again, an event of today, regarded as one of the most significant events of the time, may well be belittled by a historian living thousands of years hence, not because of any paucity of knowledge of details, but because of forfeiture by it of its uniqueness consequent upon the occurrence of similar or even more significant events during the period of those thousand years. Marx does not seem to have attached as much importance to the introduction of power-driven machinery as to the transition from feudalism to capitalism and the introduction, centuries earlier, of the new economic motive of profit. The former he refers to as if it were a mere incident in the subsequent developmnt—just one of the devices of the capitalists to turn the labour-power of the workers more and more to profit. But the historian of thousands of years hence may find the differences made by the transition from feudalism to capitalism to have become almost imperceptible, but the differences made by the power-driven machinery will be impossible to overlook.

Yet this does not mean either that Marx was mistaken or that the historians of the future will be mistaken, but only that history divides into different periods at different levels of historical generality.[74]

In this connection, it is interesting to note that Engels had more or less a kindred distinction of levels in mind when he wrote:

> The further the particular sphere which we are investigating is removed from the economic sphere and approaches that of pure idiology, the more shall we find it exhibiting accidents in its development, the more will its curve run in a zigzag.[75]

MacIver is of the opinion that, for events at the individual level, explanation must be sought on the same level.[76] Marxian denunciations of the great-man theory of history are, by and large, characterized by the confusion of levels. To account for the historic activity of the great man, the Marxist usually invokes the whole socio-economic state of society. His position implies—I am not sure how far he is

73. R. M. MacIver, *Historical Explanation* (Aristotelian Society Supplementary Volume XXI, 1947), incorporated in Antony Flew (Ed.), *Essays on Logic and Language*, Basil Blackwell, Oxford, Second Series, 1953, p. 189.

74. *Ibid.*, p. 192.
75. Engels, letter dated January 25, 1894 to Starkenburg, *S. W.*, Vol. II, p. 458.
76. MacIver: *Op. Cit.*, p. 195.

conscious of the implication—that the cause of any phenomenon is neither another phenomenon nor the conjuncture of phenomena but the total antecedent situation. To take an example which he would give were he conscious of the above-mentioned implication, the cause of the oak is not the acorn but the total antecedent situation consisting of the soil, the air, light, water, etc., etc., beside the acorn. In another writing, MacIver raises this point in the context of the general theory of causation and gives his own solution thus:

> . . . when we intelligently raise the the question why, what . . . calls for explanation is always the difference between two comparable situations . . . Since then it is the differential consequence we are seeking to explain we can concentrate attention on the differential conditions of otherwise similar situations. We find, for example, that a regularity of sequence is on some occasion interrupted. What is the cause of the interruption? . . . Perhaps nothing evokes our interest in causation so much as the interruption of an orderly routine. We search for such factor that has been injected into the situation . . .[77]

This argument waives what MacIver calls "the crux of totality" and vindicates our notion of the cause of the oak being the acorn and of the cause of the historic activity of the great man being the great man himself. In a sardonic comment on Plekhanov's assertion that the cause of the historic activity of the great man is the socio-economic situation *in the last analysis*, Sidney Hook very pertinently remarks:

> The biological cause of John Smith's existence is his parents, of his parents his grand parents, of his grand parents his great-grand parents. John Smith's election to office is the result of another series of causes, social causes. His elopement with the town-secretary stems from still another. Now, . . . it would be taxing them (great-grand parents) too much to hold them responsible for his birth . . . Plekhanov insists upon bringing in the great-grand father, not only as the cause of John Smith's existence but of his election and elopement, too.[78]

In this connection, I would also refer to the distinction, stressed by William James, between necessary conditions and sufficient conditions of a given result. James likens the invocation of the general law of causation to explain the particular phenomenon of the emergence of the great man to confusing the necessary conditions with the sufficient ones.

IV

For want of space, it is not possible to expatiate on and develop MacIver's thesis in this paper. Here I can only suggest two lines on which a development of the thesis can be fruitfully attempted, even independently, more or less.

Marxists seem to take it for granted that there are no alternative paths of historical development, that from a given economic system only one other system can emerge, and that consequently one and only one culture can flourish on the ecoomic substructure. But there is no reason to believe that they are correct. There may well be alternative paths of social development and the Hero may decide which path history should take. Thanks to the personality of Muhammad; the Arabs, who were before his advent, almost non-entities, became historically the most effective race of the age. It is preposterous to contend that the only course open to them was to turn into an aggressively missionary race at the hands of Muhammad.

However, the question arises: Can the hero upset the most general pattern of historical evolution? Can he, for example, manipulate history in such a way as to make feudalism follow capitalism? No, on such a fundamental level, it is the situation, the state of society, or the socio-economic forces which prove stronger; the Hero is pwerless to withstand their might. Some such examples Plekhanov seems to have had in mind when he said,

> The character of an individual is a "factor" in social development only where, when, and to the extent that social relations permit it to be such.[79]

77. MacIver: *Social Causation*. Ginn and Company, 1942, p. 237.

78. Sidney Hook: *Op. Cit.*, p. 72.

79. Plekhanov: *Op. Cit.*, p. 34.

And, considered on the level just indicated by me, he is right. But there is no reason why on a different, appropriate level, such as the one illustrated above with reference to Muhammad, the Hero should not be found stronger. Hence, if one proceeds to consider the problem of the role of personality in history, one must be clear in one's mind about the level on which the question is being raised.

Again, capacity to make history like capacity to think and know varies from individual to individual. There are those who can influence only a most insignificant part of history, there are others who can make an epoch, and there are still others who can shape the destiny of a whole civilization. Hence, MacIver is right when he says that the question that can legitimately arise with regard to the power and potency of great men to make history is not one of the possibility of making history but of the degree in which history is capable of being made on the various levels of generality.

The burden of this paper is to give the landmarks in the history of the concept of the heroic in history, and our account finishes here. Before, however, taking leave of my readers, I should like, in retrospect, to make a passing reference to a phenomenon which has intrigued the minds of many a lay student of German thought. We have seen that thinkers *par excellence* as they are, Carlyle, Hegel, and Spengler evince a passionate love for the life of the soldier. The same is the case with Nietzsche and many others. This characteristically German tendency is in evidence in Nietzsche as well. It will be a fruitful study to probe the psychological process by which these thinkers have come to love the battle-field so passionately. Some indications of the lines on which an explanation of this tendency may be sought, are to be found in the afore-mentioned Carlylian conception of the fundamental unity of the Heroic quality. The Heroic quality is essentially one; only its manifestations are different Hence, there is no unbridgeable gulf between the Hero as Thinker and the Hero as Soldier It is not, therefore, impossible for the one to be enamoured of the other. This thesis also helps explain Alexander's remark[80] that if he had not been Alexander he would have chosen to be Diogenes. It was quite natural for the greatness of Alexander to manifest itself in the Hero as Thinker in case it did not manifest itself in the Hero as Soldier.

Carlyle's theory of the essential unity of the Heroic quality does help explain why the thinker should be able to love the life of the soldier, but it does not suggest why he should sometimes prefer it to his own. I incline to the view that this problem can be attacked by assuming that thinkers like Hegel and Spengler have two alternating moods. They think like a thinker while in one mood and like a militarist in the other. A contemporary writer speaks of

> two Spenglers: one is Spengler the autocrat, the militarist, the, forerunner of National Socialism; the other is Spengler the scientist, the thinker, the philosopher the visionary; one is the spiritual father of Hitler, the other the spiritual son of Goethe. This dual and conflicting personality must have made itself constantly felt in Spengler's soul, as it does, indeed, in the soul of the whole German nation.[81]

Our purpose in this paper being primarily historical, it is not possible to offer further constructive suggestions.

80. Vide Plutarch's *Lives*, The Modern Library, New York, n.d., pp. 809-10.

81. J. G. de Beus: *The Future of the West*, Eyre and Spottiswoode, London, (1953?) p. 18.



ARCHAEOLOGICAL EXPLORATION AT SHEKHA

By MRINAL KANTI PAL, M.A.

Shekha is a small village lying at a distance of about seven miles to the eastern side from the town of Hazaribagh. The exact location of the village may also be determined to a range of only one mile to the northern side of the Shilwar hill, which is just situated within a stone's throw of the Bogodar-Hazaribagh road. As regards its geographical situation it should be mentioned here that the village, with its plenty



Image of Suryya
(*c. 10th-11th century A.D.*)

of greenery and usual natural profundity in the environs of the hilly regions, is seen lying on a highly elevated mound partly bounded by a shallow stream, which being locally known as Shewane flows by its western side. Besides, there is also a large tank longitudinally bordering round the south-eastern corner of the village.

The importance of Shekha as a promising historical site was unnoticed until November, 1958, when the present writer had an occasion to explore the region on behalf of the Asutosh Museum of Calcutta University, being assisted by two local gentlemen named Sri Bhupal Upadhyaya, a professor of St. Columba's College and Sri Tribeni Prasad, the District Statistical Inspector, Hazaribagh and this exploration resulted in the find of a few sculptural and architertural remains, which, stylistically belong to the 10th-11th century A.D. and would undoubtedly throw some light on the cultural and religious history of Bihar in ancient times.

Sculptural Remains

The sculptural remains at Shekha lying scattered here and there on the mound mainly consist of two stone images of *Suryya* and *Uma-Mahesvara* as well as two decorative stone pieces, both of which apparently seem to have been used as architectural specimens in some religious establishment.* The image of *Suryya*, carved in black stone as represented standing in *samapadasthanaka* pose and wearing *mukuta* (crown) on the head, *yajnapovita* (sacred thread) and *udara-bandha* (girdle) round the body, *hara* (necklace) round the neck, *valayas* (bracelets) on the wrists and *kundalas* (earrings) in the ears is seen holding the full-blossomed lotus flowers by the uplifted left and right hands, while on the stele there are two usual garland-bearing *Vidyadharas* appearing on either side of the halo (*prabhavali*) of the main sculpture. As regards other associated or side figures of the Sun-god, such as, *Usha* and *Pratyusha*, *Dandi* and *Pingala*, *Aruna* driving the chariot of seven horses and other devotees or attendants generally found to be carved on the pedastal and on either side of the lower part of the image, it should be noted here that they cannot be seen at present as the lower part of the image is buried under the earth. It is also interesting to point out that the image in situ is seen within a miniature brick temple recently made by the local people.

* The present writer offers his grateful thanks to Sri Balaram Pal of Calcutta for taking photographs of these sculptures and architectural fragments as illustrated in this article.

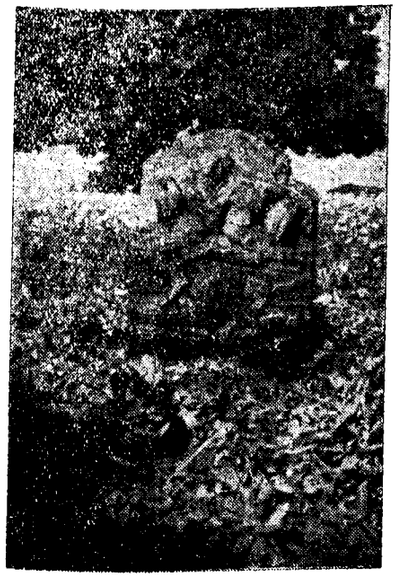
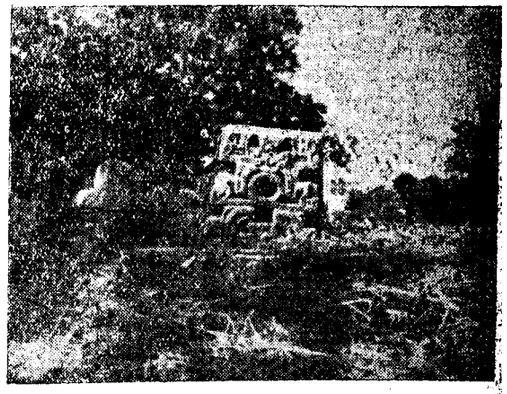


Image of Uma-Mahesvara
(*c. 10th-11th century A.D.*)

The black stone image of *Uma-Mahesvara* on the other hand, appears to be a common specimen of its type so far found in Bihar. The upper part of the *Alingana-Murtti* is broken away and lost, but the principal figures are almost intact. The god and the goddess are represented as closly embracing each other. The goddess is seen seated in the *Sukhasana* pose on the left thigh of *Mahesvara* without placing her leg on the back of her vehicle Lion, while the god is ordinarily represented sitting in *Lalitasana* on a plain pedastal with the pendant right leg resting on the back of the Bull placed below. It should be mentioned here that the sculpture with its scarcity of accessory figures inspite of its upper portion being mutila still possesses some notable artistic cellence in its beautiful balance and pl but soft modelling.

Architectural Remains

Of the two architectural remains Shekha, the horizontal piece of greyi sandstone carved with two semi-circu mouldings in between the three miniatu replicas of a temple of pyramidical sha

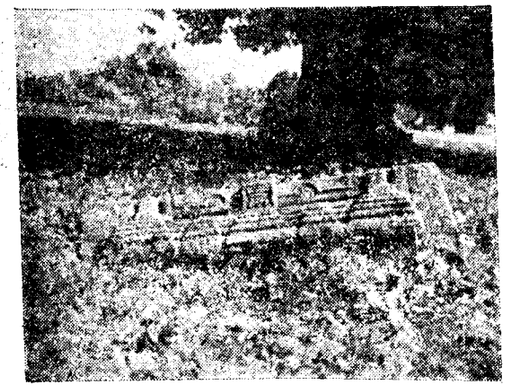


Chaitya window found to be fixed up on partly revealed stone structure (*c. 10th-11t century A.D.*)

with receding terraces recalling the po ches of north Indian temple type seems t be a lintel, which may have orig nally been set up over a door or a windo of a temple, while the other obvious showing a *chaitya* window of the tow (*sikhara*) of a temple may now be found to fixed up on a partly revealed stone structur lying on the south-eastern corner of th mound. In this connection it shoul be specially mentioned here that on th same structure the decorated base of round pillar is also seen to be fixed up jus by the side of the *chaitya* window.

In view of the geographical situatio of Shekha as well as its architectural an sculptural remains evidently belonging t the 10th-11th century A.D., it is not, there fore, unreasonable to suggest that the sit most probably hides beneath its soil no only the vestiges of an ancient civilisation but also the ruins of a temple belonging to the early-mediaeval period. From the

during the agricultural operation of the surface of the mound it may also be presumed that there once flourished a habitation at Shekha at least from the Pala Period and it is not unlikely that at a certain stage of cultural upliftment the inhabitants of the place unitedly constructed a temple with a view to worship their beloved deities the probable remains of which are the contemporary images of *Surya* and *Uma-Maheswara*, now lying in a neglected condition under the soothing shades of greenwood trees. According to Sri D. P. Ghosh, the Curator



A horizontal piece of greyish sandstone obviously showing a lintel of a temple (c. *10th-11th century A.D.*)

of the Museum, "The site of Shekha very probably conceals the vestiges of an imposing group of temples of *Surya*, *Uma-Maheswara* and others, rivalling similar shrine groups of other parts of Northern India". Taking this view into consideration Sri P. C. Dasgupta, Asst. Curator of the Museum observes, "May we stretch our imagination a little bit by surmising that the site originally enveloped some Buddhist establishments, the name Shekha sounding very much like the pali word 'Sekho', the name sometimes applied for Lord Buddha ?"

A general survey of the geographical situation of Shekha as well as its architectural and sculptural remains may, therefore, clearly prove that the site most probably conceals underground the vestiges of an ancient temple awaiting only the due operations of the shovels of archaeologists. It is now obvious that if more scientific explorations and excavations are carried out in this region storehouses of buried treasures may come out not only to reveal the existence of an early settlement in an obscure place like Shekha, but also to throw new light on a forgotton chapter of the cultural and religious history of Bihar in ancient times. The above suppositions that the site of Shekha probably conceals "the vestiges of an imposing group of temples of *Surya*, *Uma-Maheswara* and others," or that "the site originally enveloped some Buddhist establishments," may be true, but on the evidence of present archaeological data it is almost certain that the site at least mantles the ruins of a Pala temple with a central tutelary god or gooddess accompanied by accessory deities, installed for pious devotees of different cults and creeds of ancient *Prachya*.



BRITAIN'S SCIENTISTS HELP A HUNGRY WORLD

Radioactive Materials Give Agriculture New and Better Types of Plants

By J. STUBBS WALKER,
Science Correspondent of the *"Sunday Graphic,"* London

Agriculture, man's oldest accomplishments, is now being helped considerably by the most modern of sciences—nuclear physics. The atom is helping to grow more food for a hungry world.

A great deal of work has already been done at British research centres where different sources of atomic radioactivity are being used to develop new kinds of crops—crops that are more fruitful, hardier and can accommodate themselves to poor soil and "difficult" climatic conditions. At the same time the scientists are using atomic radiations in a quite different but equally important direction: to prevent food from going bad under storage conditions.

At the present time, for example, the research workers at the United Kingdom Atomic Energy Authority's Radiation Laboratory at Wantage, Berkshire, are developing a new kind of tomato. Starting with a particular kind of tomato that grows wild in South America, they are changing its character, inducing mutations by subjecting the seeds to radiation from atomic substances.

Rich In Vitamin C

From the wild South American plant there is developing a special kind of tomato that is particularly rich in vitamin C, yet is much easier to grow and has a hardy resistance to disease. It will need much less cosseting than the standard tomato plant.

The field of application of atomic radiation to agriculture is extremely wide, ranging from pest destruction to research into fertilisers. The most dramatic examples, however, are the changes that can be introduced into the crops themselves. It is really a matter of using atomic substances to speed up the work of nature. Improvements in the breed of men, animals and plants have been going on since the world, as we know it, began. It is evolution by means of mutations, or changes, that nature introduces in random fashion. If the changes are for the good, an improved breed results; if the changes are for the worse, freaks appear and the breed rapidly dies out. It is a matter of the survival of the fittest.



Radio phosphorus 32 is injected through a hole bored in the lower part of the stem

Atomic scientists speed matters up, causing much more frequent mutations by applying radiation from atomic substances to seeds. Many of the mutations are damaging, and the seeds are destroyed. But some of them—about one in a thousand—produce quite remarkable results, giving improved plants of one kind or another, which are then carefully developed.

Extraordinary Results Obtainable

Extraordinary results can be obtained from cross-breeding of the "mutated" plants; in the end the plant with the required characteristic can be developed. A



A selection is being made of disease-resistant mutant seedlings

task which might take nature thousands of years can be achieved in a few seasons.

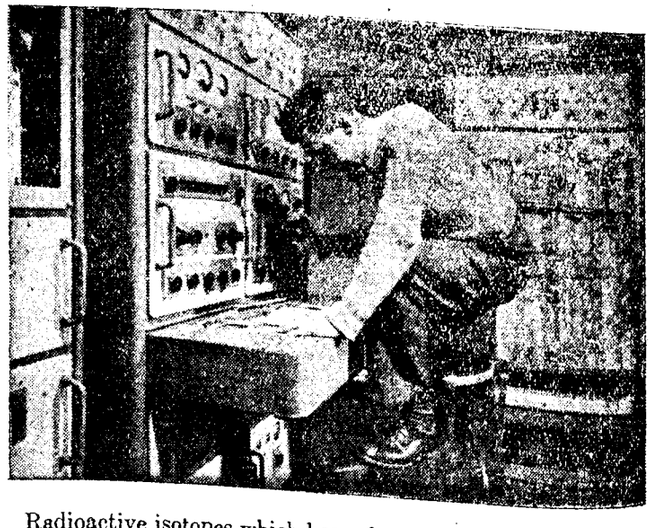
One incidental advantage is that, by means of irradiating the seeds, plants or flowers that will not ordinarily interbreed can be successfully "crossed."

The aim is to produce crops that are particularly resistant to disease and which can adapt themselves to conditions of climate that are alien to them. Much work of this kind is already being done in India and on India's behalf by the British laboratory at Wantage, where some of the most advanced radiation equipment is now operating. Not only are there different types of radiation sources, such as isotopes and the highly-active waste material from Britain's nuclear reactors, but there is a linear accelerator which can produce, controlled radiations up to 4,000,000 electron volts.

Easier-To-Harvest Barley

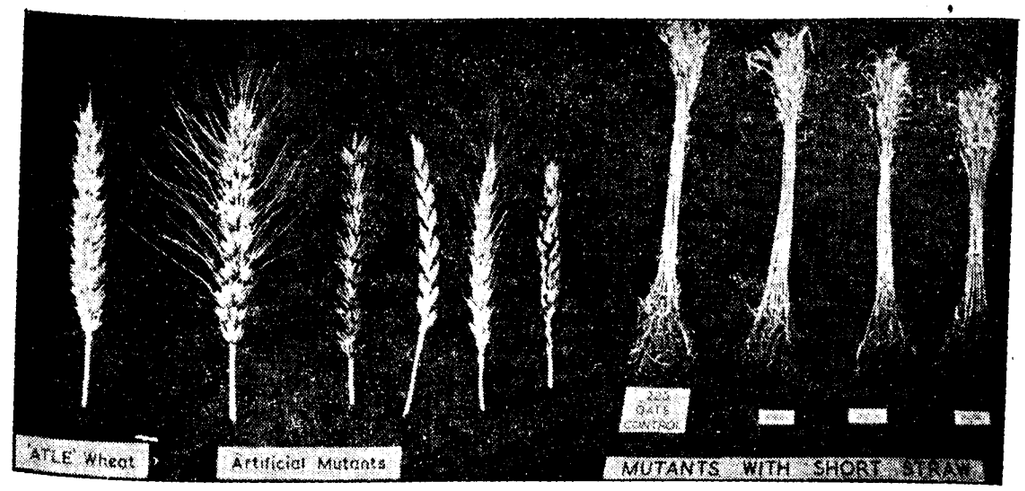
Where particularly powerful irradiation is required, specimens are introduced into the experimental reactors at the Harwell, Berkshire, research headquarters of the U.K.A.E.A.

Some of the results already achieved are worth noting. For instance, a barley has been "invented" that grows on a short stalk. This makes it easier to harvest and gives it the strength to withstand tough storm conditions. Heavy rain or high winds will not beat the short-stalked crop to the ground. A new variety of white mustard has been produced which has a superior yield and a better oil content. Another achievement may soon be a "cabbage-turnip" which is a turnip with a flourishing growth of greenstuff at its head. Both the body of the turnip and its greenery are valuable as food.



Radioactive isotopes which have been added to the fertiliser are being traced with the instrument

In India and other parts of Asia, the major interest is in producing improved strains of wheat and rice which can be relied upon to yield a heavier crop and resist disease. In almost all the Asian experiments, radioactive substances supplied by Britain have been used and most of the scientists engaged on the work have been coached with advice from British laboratories.



A particular strain of wheat (*left*); Artificial mutants (*middle*); Specimens of oats (*right*)

Discovering "Locked In" Fertilisers

It is not only in the development of new strains of crop that radiation processes are valuable. In agriculture, particularly on land that has recently been reclaimed from swamp, sea or desert, the fertility of the soil is always a matter of luck, and it is not easy to decide what kind of fertilisers will do it most good.

A chemical examination of the soil is not difficult, but it does not tell the full story. Phosphates may be present, but they may be "locked" in the soil in a manner which prevents the crop from extracting them. By putting radioactive substances in the ground, it can be discovered just how much phosphate is being taken up by the plants. Once that is known, the correct chemical treatment needed to make the area fertile can be decided.

Easy To Measure Accurately

Radioactivity can be detected and measured very easily and very accurately, and the examination of the growing plant will give an instant indication of the amount of the radioactive material that has been sucked into it through its roots.

Radioactive substances may become important tools in preserving foodstuffs, enabling them to be stored without wastage for very long periods. This is particularly valuable in hot, moist climates, where the rate of reproduction of bacteria or parasites is inevitably speeded-up. Food losses are severe throughout the world.

The annual report of the U.K.A.E.A. says: "The damage done by insects to stored products is enormous: estimates of the annual loss of harvested cereals vary from 5 per cent to 50 per cent in various parts of the world. A valuable contribution would be made by any economic system that prevented or reduced these infestations."

The principal offenders are grain weevils, and the scientists at the Wantage Radiation Laboratory have established a "dose level" for treating grain which will reduce to a few days the life span of these pests and will also prevent them

from breeding. Other cereal pests are also affected.

Quality Not Affected

"Present evidence," the U.K.A.E.A. report adds, "suggests that this dose does not impair the quality of the grain. Strains of grain weevil from all over the world are being tested to determine their sensitivity to radiation."

Potatoes are difficult to store, because they have a tendency to sprout. It has now been found that very low doses of radiation are required to delay sprouting by many weeks. Experiments with heavier radiation doses show that seed potatoes can be prevented from sprouting for a year.

Protection From Danger

Though this, perhaps, is not strictly an agricultural matter, it has been discovered that light doses of radiation can increase the storage life of such foods as bacon, ham and sausage four or five times. The radiation is quite undetectable in the taste, colour or texture of the food and, of course, it is quite safe. The food is not radioactive after treatment any more than the human body after an X-ray examination. The apparatus used in the irradiation process can be a danger, if it is incorrectly used, but new techniques have been developed that make the irradiation a foolproof, automatically protected system in which the source of the gamma rays cannot damage humans.

Control of insects is yet another field where atomic substances have proved their worth. In the fight against the mosquito, radioactivity is used not as a killer but as a method of locating mosquito-breeding grounds. Mosquitoes that have bred in slightly redioactivated pools or swamps can be recognised anywhere they are found, alive or dead, because they will carry a small trace of radioactivity that can be detected by electronic means. This makes it possible to state what area of country is affected by the insects bred on a certain pool. Once the breeding grounds have been accurately located, the pest can be exterminated by conventional insecticides.

There has been a considerable success in a more direct method of attacking insects. It has been used effectively in attacks on screw worm, which infects cattle. Large numbers of males are irradiated and then released in the infected area. They are no longer fertile and, because the female screw worm mates only once in her life, the result is a dramatic drop in the screw worm population.

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FAMILY PLANNING MAKES HEADWAY

PRESIDING over the Central Family Planning Board meeting recently in New Delhi, the Union Health Minister, Shri D. P. Karmarkar, announced the constitution of a committee to review the progress of the Family Planning Programme and to suggest proposals for inclusion in the Third Five-Year Plan.

Earlier the Central Family Planning Board at its fifth meeting held in New Delhi, on November 15, 1958, had recommended that a tentative provision of Rs. 100 lakhs be made by the Government of India for the implementation of Family Planning Programme during 1959-60.

The all-round success of the Family Planning Programme could be judged from the fact that during the Second Five-Year Plan 752 clinics had been established in different parts of the country. The number is almost five times the number of clinics opened during the whole of the First Plan period. The number of rural clinics is about 27 times that in the First Plan period and the target of urban clinics has been exceeded.

A provision of Rs. 497 lakhs for the Second Five-Year Plan period was made and a vigorous broad-based action *cum* research programme was launched.



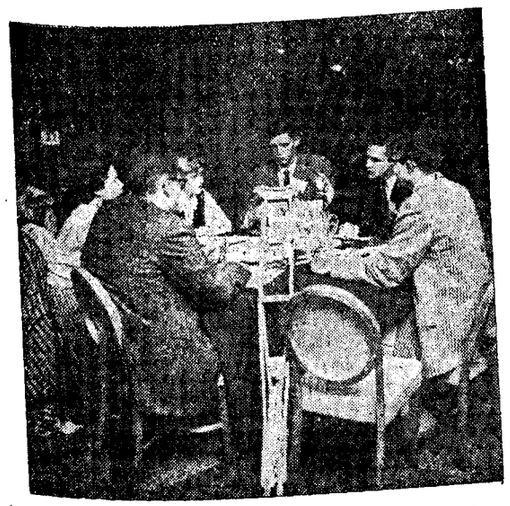
An expert doctor gives advice to one of the visitors to the clinic

Voluntary Social Welfare Organisations Indian Council for Child Welfare, the Bharat are playing an important part in promoting Sevak Samaj, the Central Social Welfare Board, the Family Planning Programme. Among these the Indian Medical Association and the are the All India Women's Conference, the Family Planning Association of India—*PIB.*

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STATE DEPARTMENT— STUDENT-STYLE

THE Department of State saw a youthful image colleges and universities converged on Washingf itself recently as 350 students from 111 ton for the 11th Annual Conference of the



Students from colleges and universities recently met in Washington for the 11th A.I.R.C. conference



Expressions on delegates' faces varied as widely as their costumes



Ten of the AIRC conferees took part in a Washington television program



The Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee addresses the young audience



A student seizes the opportunity for a personal conference with Senator Green



Hugh T. Barr (back to camera) from Mt. Union College has his say as table-mates listen

Association of International Relations Clubs.

The State Department's area pattern provided the frame-work for the conference theme, "The Problems of the Middle East." Each delegate assumed the role of a desk officer responsible for recommending U.S. policy toward a specific country. Each nation's problems were subjected to a barrage of twenty tough questions set down by the Association and each of the 36 nine-member "desks" formulated a policy to be presented before the assembly.



The President of the AIRC shows Hope College's prize winning exhibit of Senator T. F. Green



One of the more ingenious exhibits at the conference is the 'Split Atom'

Expert advice on modern statecraft was available to the young people throughout the conference program. Edward L. Waggoner, State Department officer-in-charge of the Syrian desk, in an address at the students' banquet, told them that modern techniques of diplomacy no longer rest solely on traditional usages; that they now include informational and cultural exchanges through governmental and private organizations.

Dr. John S. Badeau, President of the Near-East Foundation, told the conference in a luncheon talk that the emergence of new political entities in the Middle-East during the past few years has created an entirely new concept. These new national units, Badeau said, have spread a new popular loyalty to a well-defined state rather than to the Faith or to a city-area. The man who formerly told a new acquaintance, "I am a Muslim, I live in Baghdad," now says proudly, "I am an Iraqi."

At the final conference session Senator Theodore Francis Green cited what he regards as the most important action taken by the Senate regarding the Middle-East in recent years: its approval of the Eisenhower Doctrine for that area. The Senator recounted parts of a joint Foreign Relations and Armed Services Committee Report which stated that the authority granted by this resolution is essential to provide an atmosphere in which other measures can be brought to bear and to provide time for those other measures to be effective. Further, quoted the Senator, the joint committee is concerned that other measures be taken, that they be taken promptly and that they be adequate to the task.

Edward Waggoner of the State Department commented in an interview that he found the AIRC delegates a "first-rate group of students". He said some of them kept him answering questions for over two hours following his address. "Their queries showed considerable depth of understanding, great interest, and fervent desire to know more about the Middle-East area," he said.

Waggoner observed that, to him, the surest indication of the success of the conference was the obvious lively disagreement among the students, tempered with the equally obvious intention to work out the disagreements. This, says the State Department Officer, is the essence of international policy.—*USIS.*

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TIBET—HALF WAY TO FREEDOM

BY M. K. TENG, M.A.

WHEN the Red Armies of China invaded Tibet in October 1950, it was under the pretence of 'liberating Tibet' from all 'aggressive imperialist forces.' Tibet, the Communists claimed, was Chinese territory. That, this bluff should have succeeded and Tibetan people deprived of their freedom, is one of the many tragedies of our time. It is difficult to establish if Tibet was ever a part of China, or the Chinese Empire. In fact, it never was.

TIBET THROUGH AGES

Definite relations between the two countries seem to have been established about the year A.D. 633, when the Chinese Emperor T'ai-Tsung managed to send an embassy to the Tibetan Court. Tibet was then ruled by King Sron-Tsan Gampo of the Tsanpu monarchy and was indeed at the zenith of her glory. Many missions were then exchanged between the two countries. Tibet militarily stronger than her eastern neighbour, at times, offered her valuable military assistance. In A.D. 784, the Tibetan troops assisted in raising the siege of the Chinese Capital itself. Intermittently there were conflicts and wars too between the two countries; boundary disputes being the more common. In A.D. 763, Tibetans invaded China and occupied the Imperial Capital for about a fortnight. Sometime after they again over-ran western China. A lone Tibetan chronicle mentions a Chinese invasion of Lhasa. However, this reference finds no support from other Tibetan records and Chinese History. Last, in the line of Tsanpu Monarchy was *Lang-darma*, a great enemy of Buddhist Faith. He was assassinated by a Buddhist monk. With his death the Tibetan power fell into decline and the country sank into isolation.

Mongol terror, though it ploughed China, did not disturb much the conditions in Tibet. Jenghis Khan did not invade Tibet. Only Kublai Khan over-ran a small portion of eastern Tibet while he was leading an expedition to Ta-li in Yunnan. It was only after Kublai succeeded to Khannate that impact of Mongol power came to be felt in Tibet. The Great Khan exhibited considerable favour for Lamaism of Tibet. It was he who invited Sakya Pandita to the Mongol Court. Probably, it was because "Kublai Khan found the warlike Tibetans a difficult people to rule, and resolved to reduce them to a condition of docility through the influence of religion". Perhaps, it was because his convictions had been captured by Lamaism. When he assumed the throne in A.D. 1260, Sakya Pandita's nephew, Phagaspa, destined to play a great role in the history of Tibet, became his spiritual guide and the national mentor of his kingdom. Sometime later Kublai Khan recognised Phagaspa as 'The Prince of the Holy Law' and the King of Tibet. Thus was founded the Tibetan theocracy.

For sometime close relations were maintained between the Imperial Court and Sakyapa rulers; but as the Yuans commenced their decline Tibet again drifted away into isolation. Thus, when the Ming dynasty succeeded the Yuan and Emperor Ming T'ai-ts issued a decree inviting the Tibetan Lamas to the Imperial Court to receive tablets and seals of recognition; there was little response from anybody to it in Tibet. Like Kublai, the Emperor hastened to invoke religion to extend his influ-

ence, sent a Buddhist Mission to Tibet and in return received Lama Missions. However, only after a century and a half, when Emperor Shih-Tsung embraced Toism and set out to suppress Buddhism, this link was broken. Manchus, too, after they replaced the Ming dynasty renewed their contact with the Lama heirarchy of Tibet. The Dalai Lama was invited to the Imperial Court and received by the Emperor as "an equal". The Grand Lama died in 1682. His death ushered in Tibet a protracted period of internecine strife, which ultimately led to the invasion of the country by Dzungar Mongols in 1716. The Manchu Emperor sent two expeditions to Tibet, expelled the invaders, found a successor to the deceased Dalai Lama, installed a Chinese Resident: 'Amban' at Lhasa, and fortified the Capital with a garrison of three thousand troops. Shadows of Chinese hegemony were for the first time cast on Tibet. In 1723, the Peking authorities ordered the evacuation of Lhasa, only to be re-occupied five years later. A third expedition was despatched to Lhasa in 1750 to suppress a local rebellion. A fourth one was also sent in 1791, this time to expel the Gorkha invaders from Nepal. These successive expeditions saw the further consolidation of the Chinese influence at the Tibetan Capital.

After the abdication of the Great Emperor Ch'ien-lung in 1796 and his death in 1799, decay set in Manchu power. With the First Opium War the Empire was disintegrating fast. Its influence at Lhasa wore off faster. In 1841, Zorawar Singh invaded Tibet. The Tibetans fought out the Dogra invaders themselves. The garrison at Lhasa had deteriorated both in organisation and discipline. In 1855, Gorkhas again invaded Tibet. The Tibetans had to reckon with the invaders alone. The Chinese rendered little help. The following year Tibet and Nepal entered into a treaty, former undertaking to pay a regular tribute to Nepal, besides paying a war indemnity and agreeing to grant free trade to her. In 1864, the Chief of Nyrong rose in rebellion. Lhasa authorities suppressed the revolt themselves and appointed a Governor there. In 1883, trouble crept up again between Tibet and Nepal. In the subsequent settlement Tibet again bound herself to pay a huge indemnity. In 1890, Chinese and the British-Indian authorities signed a Convention stipulating the grant of rights to free trade, communications and pasturage to the English in Tibet and the recognition of their protectorate over Sikkim. The Tibetans had persistently refused to accept the English position in Sikkim right from the time it had come under the English influence as a result of the Indo-Nepalese hostilities of 1814-16. Besides, the Convention implied a breach in the traditional exclusiveness of Tibet which the Tibetans were not ready to accept at any cost. The Tibetans repudiated the Convention outright. The Dalai Lama made overtures to Russia for help through one, Buriat Dorjief, a Mongolian Lama who was sent to the Russian Capital in 1900, and again the following year. Fearful of these developments and prompted by a general desire to force upon Tibet, the English hastened to send a military expedition to Lhasa, where the leader of the expedition, Colonel Younghusband succeeded in executing an agreement with the Tibetans under which the Tibetans agreed to recognise the Convention of 1890, and accepted to open fresh trade marts, raze all fortifications and military installations and pay a stipulated war indemnity. They also undertook, not to cede or lease the Tibetan territory pledge revenues and grant concessions for building roads to any foreign power, nor allow any foreign power to interfere with the Tibetan affairs or send agents to Lhasa. In 1906, China recognised the Lhasa Agreement by a separate treaty with the British. The fast increasing influence of the British in Tibet drove the Chinese to adopt a more aggressive attitude towards Tibet. Towards the close of 1906, the Chinese troops under one Chao-Erh-Feng crossed into Tibet conquering the Eastern districts after much difficulty. In 1908, Chao was appointed the 'Amban'. In February, 1910, he marched on Lhasa. The Dalai Lama fled to India. In 1911, Manchos fell. On April 12, 1912, President of the Republic Yuan Shih-kai proclaimed Tibet a province of China and ordered the mobilisation of troops into Tibet. Facing strong opposition from the British and stiff resistance from the Tibetans the military campaign had to be suspended only after three months. Meanwhile, the garrison at Lhasa had mutinised, looted

the town and then the monastries, and had ultimately been defeated by the Tibetans. The Dalai Lama had also returned from India. The defeated garrison was offered transport to China through India. On January 6, 1913, the last of them moved out of Lhasa. Along with them was the Chinese Amban.

Sovereignty Not Impaired

At no place the history of Sino-Tibetan relationships bears testimony to the fact that the Chinese were able to impair Tibet's sovereignty. T'sanpu monarchy was as great as its contemporary the T'ang. In many respects it was greater. The theocracy was also constituted sovereign and though the Chinese came into picture with its institution, it conducted itself absolutely free of any Chinese influence till the Dzungar Mongol invasion of 1716. Great was the strife the theocracy suffered and the unrest often burst out in armed conflicts and internecine wars. Peking authorities, however, never took any note. A chain of important events, involving protracted armed conflict and much bloodshed and ultimately leading to the deposition of Sakyapas and founding of the Sitya regime of priest-kings, went by almost unperceived by the Yuan Emperors who after the new Lama heirarchy was well in the saddle, obediently granted it the seals and tablets of recognition. As the decline of Yuan power became steep, this practice of granting seals and tablets of recognition also ceased. The decree of Ming T'ai-tsu, the first Ming Emperor, inviting the leading Lamas of Tibet to receive their seals and tablets, evoked little response. In fact, the Emperor had to hasten to revive the age-old religious ties only to be broken a century and a half later by the Ming Emperor Shih-tsung, who embraced Toism. Tibet again sank into isolation and the Chinese Court settled to indifference. Till almost the end of Ming Dynasty only peace was maintained between the two countries. During the Mings too, and after them as well, Tibet was seething with strife and dissension, internecine wars and armed conflicts becoming more frequent. Peking evinced little interest in what was brewing in the Tibetan cauldron. By the end of sixteenth century Yellow Sect was spreading fast in Tibet and Mongolia, as a result of which the Tibetan-Mongol ties were strengthened considerably. In 1635, the Sitya Regime was overthrown by the chief of T'sang. Meanwhile, the Chief of Kham, who professed Bon religion, had risen in rebellion and was vigorously suppressing Buddhism and destroying Buddhist institutions. Mongol Chief, Gushi Khan, who patronised the Yellow Sect after protracted armed conflict and bloodshed succeeded in subdueing opposition in both Kham and T'sang and found the third regime of the Priest Kings. Throughout, the Peking authorities were indifferent, though these changes were of far-reaching significance. Tibet with the powers wielded by the Dalai Lama and with the armed might of Mongols at her back overshadowed Peking. In fact, when the Manchu Emperor invited the Dalai Lama it was to seek an adjustment in this new set-up of things. The Grand Lama was received by the Emperor as an equal and with the ceremony befitting an independent sovereign. In fact, the friendly rtlations between the two established an unwritten concordat. The Dalai Lama by lending the weight of his name and authority to the young Manchu Regime added enormously to its prestige particularly in the dangerous Mongolia.

Undoubtedly the Chinese came to wield a considerable influence at Lhasa in the aftermath of the various expeditions that were dispatched to the Tibetan Capital after the Dzungar invasion in 1716. However, the essential sovereignty of the Lhasa Government was always understood and preserved. The extension of the Chinese sovereignty over Tibet would have involved either the elimination of the sovereignty of the Tibetan Government or its surrender to the Chinese, for the Lhasa Government did not at any time draw power from the Emperor at Peking. There is no evidence of either the Tibetan sovereignty having been impaired or having been surrendered to the Chinese in any respect and in any way. On the other hand, there is enough evidence to prove that the Tibetans retained their sovereign status. At the time of Dzungar invasion it was in response to the appeal by the Tibetan authorities that the Imperial forces were sent to Lhasa. The Amban and the garrison was left at Lhasa with the full sanction and approval of the Lhasa authorities and for the protection of the Capital from Dzungar menace which was by no means over as yet. Thus in 1747, after the second expedition had also been sent to Tibet, Imperial garrison was withdrawn at the instance of Gyurmed-namgyal who controlled the affairs at Lhasa then. Even after the third and fourth expedition as well, the theocracy continued to remain intact. It is only in that light, the right of the Tibetans to enter a treaty with the Nepalese in 1856 can be understood. It will be interesting to note the nature of reference the Treaty made to the Peking authorities. According to the Tibetan version of the Treaty both the nations agreed "to regard the Chinese Emperor as heretofore with respect". Apperantly, the the Tibetan authority was in no way affected by the Chinese influence. In 1864, the Tibetan forces marched on Nyrong, although the Peking authorities had expressed their disapproval of the action. The revolt was suppressed there and a governor put up by the Grand Lama. In 1883, in another settlement between the Nepalese and the Tibetans the Chinese could only act as mediators. In 1886, the Tibetans occupied Sikkim and actually took up to fight with the British although it is said the Peking authorities did not favour such a step. In 1895, Tenzing Wangpu, the Tibetan Commissioner on the Frontier Question, clearly told the English political officer at Sikkim that the Tibetans were not bound by the Anglo-Chinese Convention of 1890 since they were not a party to it; meanning thereby that the Chinese could not enter a Treaty obligation on behalf of the Tibetans. While the British expedition was on way to Lhasa, the Chinese neither defended Tibet nor made her to accept the Convention. On the other hand, the Tibetans entered a treaty with the British granting them the rights of 'the most favoured nation.' No reference was, however, made to China. Lhasa Convention was recognised by the Chinese in 1906. Where then, did the ghost of the Chinese sovereignty lurk? Evidently, the ghost had never been to Lhasa. In fact, the Chinese had never intended to extend their control over Tibet. Their main aim—a policy, which they had always followed in relation to Tibet—was to frustrate any rapprochement between the Tibetans and the Mongols, which if effected would present a great threat to the Empire. Thus we see Emperor Shih Tsung order the evacuation of garrison from Lhasa, which had come to be stationed there as a result of the first expedition, after the Dzungar Mongols had weakened. As a matter of fact it was only after the British pressure began to be felt on the southern borders of Tibet and China set her mind to secure it for herself that the 'Amban' with the attending garrison was used, though in vain, as an effective instrument of the Chinese authority at Lhasa.

Half Way to Freedom

On October 21, 1912, the Russo-Mongolian agreement was signed by which Mongolia became a virtual protectorate of Russia. In January, 1913, relentless Dorjief succeeded in getting Tibet and Mongolia sign a treaty whereunder the two countries pledged to 'afford each other aid against dangers from without and within'. These developments prompted the British to urge the Chinese for negotiations with regard to Tibet, which led to the famous Simla Conference in 1913. No agreement, however, could be reached at the Conference. With the outbreak of the First World War the issue fell into background. Friction, however, was freequent on the eastern borders of Tibet where the Chinese troops lay poised all along. In 1934, the thirteenth Dalai Lama died. That year the Chinese succeeded in establishing an 'office of the commission on Mongolian and Tibetan affairs' at Lhasa. A small group 'the Young Tibetan Party' had meanwhile come into existence in Tibet. Many of the group were patriots, but all were for independence of Tibet from the Chinese influence. They also favoured political and economic reform more or less on western lines. In 1940, the new Dalai Lama was installed. In 1941, the Young Tibetan Party was

associated with the government. Next year a 'bureau of Foreign Affairs' was established at Lhasa and the Chinese were directed to refer all communications to it. On August, 1945, China recognised the independence of Monogolia. On August, 25, Chang-kai Shek while addressing the National Supreme Defence Council declared: "If and when the Tibetans attain the stage of complete self-reliance in political and economic conditions the Chinese government would like to take the same attitude as it did toward Outer Mongolia, by supporting their independence." Recognition of the Tibetan freedom was implicit in this statement. Before long, China again fell in civil strife. On July 8, 1949, the Tibetan Cabinet decided to get rid of all the Chinese connected with the Nationalist Government of China. On October 7, 1950, Red Armies of China commenced their march to 'liberate Tibet'. While the Communists were pouring in fast, India sent a note of protest to the Chinese Government. In reply, the Chinese accused India of "harbouring anti-Chinese feelings." On December 7, 1950, the National Assembly of Tibet appealed to the United Nations for help. The appeal was, however, set aside by the General Committee. On May 21, 1951, Communists dictated the terms of an agreement to the Tibetans who under the Agreement undertook to "return to the Big Family of the People's Republic of China." In return the Communists offered internal autonomy to the Tibetans and assured them that their religion would be respected and freedom of worship would be granted them. The Communists, however, chose their own way to fulfil their part of the agreement. In fact, once the bluf of 'Autonomy' had succeeded they cast it overboard. In Tibet, discontent was widespread. The Communists met it with severe repression. They left no stone unturned to stifle every cry that was raised against them. The crisis came to a head in March, 1959, when the Tibetans rose in open revolt.

SCARECROW OF THE CHINESE SUZERAINTY

The scarecrow of the Chinese suzerainty over Tibet, was, first brought in on the scene by the British. In this they were motivated more by an eagerness to secure Tibet from the Russian reach—a step deemed vital for the safety of their Empire in India—than by any desire to make her political status definite. Indeed, Tibet was for long periods of her history militarily less strong than her eastern neighbour. It is only natural that the shadow of the Chinese influence should have hung over her. It was particularly so after the Dzungar Mongol Invasion of the country in 1716 and events that followed it. However, it cannot be assumed that such a relationship implied vassalage for her. In this respect, considerable, though undue, significance has been attributed to the practice of receiving seals and tablets from the Chinese Emperor and paying tribute to him. These practices appear to have been a mark of respect from a small potentate to a bigger potentate, rather than a sign of tutelage. Nepal and Burma sent tribute missions long after they ceased to have anything to do with China. So did Sikkim. A more interesting example is furnished by the Sikh-Tibetan Treaty, signed on August 15, 1842, at Ladak, according to which the Ladakis were to send annual tribute mission to Lhasa despite the fact that Ladak became a part of Sikh domains. The implications of these practices can be better understood if they are viewed against their specific background, i.e., where interstate-relationships are confined to a powerful country on the one hand and a number of less powerful countries on the other, all lying in close vicinity and linked to each other by cultural ties more than by political loyalties; and where such factors of balance as, for instance, the Peace of Westphalia introduced amongst the Nations of Europe do not operate in such relationship.

Even, if it were conceded that the long association of the two countries in which Tibet had always been militarily at a disadvantage, had earned the Chinese a title to suzerainty it goes without saying that before the first half of the nineteenth century was over the Chinese influence had vanished from Tibet and by the time the century came to its end Tibet had shaken off its vassalage. China herself seems to have abondoned her claims in Tibet, for left apart her inability to exercise the rights and fulfil the obligations of a suzerain she did not even defend Tibet from external encroachment and aggression. She explicitly recognised the forfeiture of her rights in 1906 when she extended recognition to the Lhasa Convention of 1904. The Convention, though, it gave the rights of the 'most favoured nation' to the British did not even stipulate a reference to China. China was flung into the position of a foreign power vis-a-vis Tibet. That it was so was clearly demonstrated only six years after when the Tibetans threw out of their country the Amban and the Chinese garrison.

Tibet was always free. When the Red Armies invaded the country it was in violation of her freedom. The Communists claimed to have come in to liberate Tibet and give her a new civilisation. That has always been an apology for aggression and territorial aggrandisement. Once, Fascists too, talked the same language. Communists might succeed with their bluff now, and escape censure at the hands of this strife-torn world. But they cannot escape it for ever.

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ARTIFICIAL PLANETS

BY VASANTHA RAO VENKATA RAO

Some four to five thousand million years back, it is said that a mischievous star in its voyage through space dangerously approached the sun and pulled off a part of the burning globe. Its mischief lies in the fact that it did not care to carry away the booty but left it there. The part of the matter thus torn out started revolving round the parent body. During the rotation it was split up into about ten big slices and innumerable smaller pieces. The big slices cooled in course of time, took spherical shapes and developed crusts. They are the planets. In the natural evolution of the universe the planets are supposed to have thus come into existence. The sun with his retinue of planets, satellites, comets, meteors and interplanetary dust constitutes the solar system.

It is difficult to say whether planetary systems are rare or common. Once it was believed that by a sheer chance the sun was forced to give rise to planets. But a closer examination of the apparently single stars has revealed that most of the stars are binaries, the two bodies revolving about a common centre of gravity. This observation indicates that huge celestial bodies are subjected to fission, which may lead to the breaking up of the parent body into two, three or more parts. When the number exceeds three or four, the outcome is likely to be a planetary system. If that be the case, planetary systems should be common in the universe.

Confining our attention to our solar system we find that there are nine planets revolving round the sun in different orbits and at different distances. The periodic times of revolution—the time taken for going round the sun once—vary from 88 days to 250 years. Our earth makes a revolution in 365¼ days, which we call the year. The planets rotate on their own axis, or spin, the times of rotation varying from nearly 10 hours to 88 days. The earth makes a rotation in 24 hours, which we call the day. This rotation enables the planets to expose different parts of the surface to the solar radiation at different times. Mercury seems to be an exception, since it is forced to present one half of its surface to the sun permanently due to the equality of its periods of rotation on its

axis and revolution round the sun. The spinning is responsible for the apparent rising and setting of the sun.

Man has observed all these facts with great interest, patience and zeal. The scientific method enabled him to construct instruments of great precision for the collection of data and build up hypotheses. While the primitive man merely wondered at the glory of the heavens, the seasoned scientist accepted Nature's challenge and endeavoured to surpass her. To create a planet is an idea which could have been ridiculed even 50 years back. And the wonder is that man has developed the power and capacity to hurl huge masses into space with incredible velocities approaching 25000 miles an hour and add new members to the family of planets.

In the seventeenth century, Sir Isaac Newton, the man responsible for unlocking many a secret of nature, propounded the law of gravitation, which is of universal application. According to him, any pair of bodies attract each other with a force that varies directly as the product of their masses and inversely as the square of the distance between them. There is mutual attraction between the sun and the planets, the earth and the moon and every planet and the satellites that surrounds it. Of a pair of bodies the lighter body revolves round the heavier one; so, the planets revolve round the sun and the moon round the earth.

In the solar system the sun is several times heavier than the planets. The sun's mass is 1050 times the mass of Jupiter, the biggest of the planets; it is 333000 times the mass of the earth. The earth's mass is 81 times that of the moon. So it may be said that there is gravitational field around. Any unsupported body falls down to reach the surface of the earth. The force of attraction generates acceleration in a freely falling body. On the surface of the earth the acceleration due to gravity is 32 ft. per second. It means that a freely falling body has its velocity increased every second by 32 ft. per second. A body that is thrown up and freely rising has its velocity reduced every second by 32 feet per second. The result is that with whatever force we throw a body up, it rises and then turns back only to fall downwards.

Scientists have calculated that for clearing out of the earth's gravitational pull a body must be projected with a minimum velocity of 7 miles a second or 25200 miles an hour. When that is achieved the body never turns back towards the earth but darts into the inter-planetary space. Then it is subjected to the pull of the sun and begins to move in an appropriate orbit round the sun; it virtually becomes a new planet.

So, the problem that faced the scientists was to invent the means of projecting any body with the minimum required velocity of 7 miles a second. Balloons and aeroplanes are of no use because they require air for their journey. It was observed that the rocket is the only type of vehicle that could achieve the feat at any time. In the rocket a jet of used-up gases vehemently shoots out through an appropriate port in a direction and thereby the rocket is propelled just in the opposite direction. The forward velocity of the rocket depends upon the backward velocity of the jet. The jet may be caused by some chemical. If the energy of the chemical reaction is powerful enough to produce the desired jet, the rocket attains the required velocity and soars up into space.

The type of fuel that could give the rocket such a huge power was a problem for a long time. When chemical energy is released by some method, the quickness with which the release is effected is more important than the actual amount of energy. The difference between 'burning' and 'explosion' lies more in the rate of release of energy. As Gamow says: "The burning of octane petrol mixed with the necessary amount of oxygen liberates 2500 calories per gram of mixture as compared with only 1000 calories liberated per gram in the explosion of TNT. On the other hand, the burning of a petrol-air mixture in the cylinder of an automobile engine takes about one-tenth of a second, whereas in an explosion of TNT everything is over in only a few microseconds (millionth parts of a second)".* The fact that the Russian scientists succeeded in putting a mass of about 1½ tons into an orbit round the sun shows that the problem of the fuel has been solved.

On 2nd January, 1959, Russia launched a multi-stage rocket *Lunic I*. The last stage of the rocket weighing 3245 lbs. was intended to reach the vicinity of the moon. It was estimated that it passed within 4660 miles of the moon. After five days of travel it got into an elliptic orbit round the sun and became the first artificial man-made planet. It completes a revolution round the sun in every 15 months and its distance from the sun varies from 91 million to 121 million miles. The American Pioneer IV launched by the army on 3rd March, 1959, also went into orbit. It weighs 13 lbs. It is expected that the fourth stage of the rocket too went into an orbit. If so, there are now three artificial planets going round the sun, if not, there are at least two, *Lunic I* and *Pioneer IV*, as a standing challenge to nature.

A rocket of the type of the Lunic which escapes from the gravitational pull of the earth can take one of the three paths. In its journey through space if it encounters no other force, which is most likely, it continues to travel till it is caught by the sun's force and compelled to orbit like a planet. That is what happened to Lunic I and Pioneer IV. Or, if it gets very near the moon and by that time if its velocity reaches an appropriate value, it becomes a satellite of the moon and keeps on revolving round the moon. The third alternative is that if the moon happens to lie in its path it scores a direct hit, as it happened in the case of Lunic II.

The greatest scientific achievement of recent times is the scoring of moon-shot. The Russian space rocket Lunic II was fired on the afternoon of 12th September, 1959. It was scheduled to travel for nearly 34 hours and hit the moon near about the centre, at one minute past midnight the next day. The hit was actually scored when the moon was at a distance of 233,600 miles from the earth and only one minute twenty-four seconds behind schedule. It is said that it was guided by a ground-based remote control system without human participation. The last stage of Lunic II was designed to be guided by radio to its final destination. Its weight was 3324 lbs. without fuel. The total weight of the scientific measuring equipment, together with the sources of energy and container aboard the final stage was about 860 lbs. The signals sent back to the earth by the rocket were picked up by many observatories. It was estimated that by the time the signals were caught by the giant radio-telescope at the Jodrell Bank observatory, the rocket was 100,000 miles away from the earth.

The rocket was launched with a velocity greater than that required for clearing out of the earth's gravitational field. When it was at a distance of about 62,000 miles from the earth it was estimated that the rocket still had a velocity of about 1.8 miles a second. Its velocity at the time of hitting the moon's surface was calculated to be 2.05 miles a second relative to the moon at an angle of 60 degrees to the moon's surface.

Considering the earth-moon system alone, simple calculation shows that the earth's gravitational field extends up to a distance of 216,000 miles from the earth, so that any body that is directed towards the moon should travel that distance before the moon's pull begins to act on it. When once that distance is covered right in the direction of the moon, the body is thereafter accelerated towards the surface of the moon; no propelling force is required to maintain its motion. The velocity with which the body travels towards the moon's surface goes on increasing and unless it is checked by some means, the body hits the moon and gets smashed to pieces. The moon has no atmosphere to offer resistance to the motion of the body. Lunic II was not provided with retro-rockets to slow down its moonward motion. So, it hit the surface of the moon and got smashed.

The precision and accuracy with which the trajectory of Lunic II was calculated are remarkable. The moon is perennially orbiting round the earth. Supposing that the rocket took 34 hours to reach the target, it is evident that in that time-interval, the moon races through about 77,000 miles in its orbit. If the figure M_1 represents the position of the moon at the

* George Gamow: *Atomic Energy in Cosmic and Human Life*, page 6.

instant when the rocket was fired from the earth, M_2 represents its position at the instant when the rocket hit the moon. The precise nature of the calculations becomes evident when one visualises the situation.

It was also said that special precautions were taken to prevent the earthly contamination of the moon. "All necessary steps were taken to ensure that no earthly micro-organisms were carried there by the rocket." This is an important aspect of cosmic flight. The presence of life in other planets is an interesting and intriguing problem. From the data of the planets collected so far, it is difficult to think that the life of the type we know on the earth exists in any other planet. It is not known whether favourable physical conditions alone were responsible for the birth of life on our planet. The earth is supposed to be receiving just the amount of radiation from the sun sufficient for the sustenance of life. The nearer planets Mercury and Venus are too hot and the farther ones Jupiter, Saturn and the rest are too cold to support life. If life is an inevitable product of natural evolution only, it could as well have developed on Mars, our neighbour, on one side, much earlier than on earth. The other neighbour, Venus, is likely to become an abode of life in future. Any contamination carried to the moon at this stage is likely to put the scientist on the wrong track in his search for the detection of life in other worlds. And yet the moon is probably polluted; the rocket might have carried micro-organisms floating in the dark regions of the interplanetary space.

Lunics are expected to add largely to the treasure of our knowledge which is very meagre in respect of the characteristics of space beyond our limited atmosphere. The *Tass* statement said: "The research programme of the second space rocket included the investigation of the magnetic fields of the earth and the moon, a study of the radiation belts around the earth, a study of the intensity of cosmic radiation, an investigation of the heavy nuclei in the cosmic radiation, of the gaseous components of interplanetary matter and of meteorite particles." Disclosing the first results of the rocket flight it said: "Preliminary data obtained so far make it possible to state that no magnetic field has been found in the proximity of the moon. Measurements of the total flux of cosmic radiation, the fluxes of helium nuclei (alpha particles), the carbon, nitrogen, oxygen and still heavier nuclei forming part of cosmic rays were made all along the rocket's path of flight through outer space. Additional information was obtained on X-rays, gamma rays, electrons of high and low energies and high energy particles. Measurements within the earth's radiation belt were made." Further results are awaited.

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NOTE ON "REMINISCENCES OF SANTINIKETAN"

My article "Reminiscences of Santiniketan" which was published in *The Modern Review* for September, 1959, had been written during my last visit to Santiniketan in 1958 to my son Kula Prosad and his wife Yoyasree, the daughter of the late Surendranath Tagore. Kula Prasad has built a little house there about half a mile from the institution.

During my visit I was asked by some friends there, to write about the Women's Section of the Visva-Bharati when it was newly started and of which I was in charge at that time.

I was an honorary worker as I have said, and my daughter Malati and I were guests of the *Ashram* during the one and a half years I was there. After I left, Malati was enrolled as a regular student and boarder.

SNEHALATA SEN

A PLEA FOR THE REVISION OF THE DEWEY DECIMAL CLASSIFICATION SHEDULES

By S. CHAUDHURI,
Librarian, Asiatic Society, Calcutta

Classification is the language of the library, which is the conveyer and interpreter of man's intellectual, scientific and social achievements.

What should then be the system of classification which is the nerve of a library to the making of which every reader may contribute? And what should it aim at? These questions have to be faced by the librarian who has to find out an answer to them.

The systems of classifications evolved by Dewey and others do not provide satisfactory answer to the above questions. In fact, they are quite inadequate to meet the present-day requirements of a library. The classification should be simple, meaningful and expressive enough to create interest among all classes of readers, specialists or otherwise. The readers generally do not like to go into the details of the system of classification because of its inherent complexities.

It ought to be uniform throughout the world, intelligible to the people of all countries, illustrative of the varied contents of the library but flexible enough to satisfy local requirements. If it is inadequate in these respects, it fails in this mission.

How can it be done? Should a new system be evolved or any one of the existing systems of classification recast? To evolve a new system of classification and adopt it, is a question of time and money. All the libraries may not be in a position to accept this proposal. The only alternative is to recast the schedules of the Dewey system of classification in such a way as will be an accurate index to the contents of a library. This should also be done only where the revision is extremely necessary.

The tables of Dewey do not provide a comprehensive plan of classification for the Oriental and African subjects. But the literature, history and pattern of civilization of these countries demand special attention of the authors of classification and the librarians. The extent of literature* on the frontiers of knowledge contributed by these countries is in no way insignificant from those of the Occidental countries. The space at our disposal does not permit us to go into detail in justification of the readjustment of the Dewey schedules for the sake of Oriental and African Divisions of the Library.

Only a few illustrations from the Dewey, are given below to show the inconsistencies in the allocation of classification numbers:

100 Philosophy

181. Oriental Philosophy (including modern oriental philosophy)
181.4 Indian philosophy (excluding Buddhism and Jainism).
190. Modern philosophy
191. American philosophy
192. British philosophy
198. Scandinavian philosophy

But this section need not be revised in spite of the inconsistencies. Oriental philosophy may be grouped together with Oriental religion.

200 Religion

In the present table of classification Christian religion and related topics have been assigned 7 Divisions (220-289), whereas the entire non-Christian religions including comparative religion have been grouped together under 290-299.

Revision suggested:

220-249: Christian religion and related topics.

250-299: Non-Christian religions and philosophy.

* See the articles in the *Journal of the Oriental Institute, Baroda*, on classification of the subjects, *Buddhism and Buddhistic Studies*, Vol. III, p. 201, and *Vedism*, Vol. II, p. 359.

400 Linguistics *Dewey's table*	*Revision Suggested*
400-419 Comparative and general linguistics.	410-429 Keltic, Germanic, Italic, Greek
400 English	
429 Old English (Anglo-Saxon)	
430 German	430-449 Letto-Slavic, Armenian, Albenian, Hittic, Tokharish, Indo-Iranian
439 Germanic Languages	
440 French	450-479 Dravidian, Chinese, Caucasian, Semitic, Ural, Altaic, Miscellaneous.
450 Italian	
459 Rumanian	
460 Spanish	480-499 Other languages: African, American-Pacific Ocean region.
469 Portuguese	
470 Latin	
480 Greek	
490 Other languages (including oriental languages)	
491 Indo-European languages (Indo-Hittite)	
491.1 Indo-Iranian—Indic	
.2 Old Indic—Sanskrit	
.3 Pali—Prakrit	
.4 Modern Indic	
.5 Iranian	
.6 Italo-Celtic—Celtic	
.7 Slavic—Russian	
.8 Moravian—Slovak, etc.	
.9 Baltic	
99 Other Indo-European languages	
492 Semitic languages	
493 Hamitic languages	
494 Tunguzic, Mongolic, Turkic, Samoyed, Finno-Ugric and Hyperborean languages	
495 Sino-Tibetan, Japanese-Korean, Austro-Asiatic	
496 African languages	
497-498 North and South American languages	
499 Austronesian.	

Table under (Literature) may also be regrouped as above.

900 History

(Political, Social and Cultural)

Before a number is assigned to a country, the following points deserve consideration:

(a) Pattern of civilization of the country and its contigous regions,

(b) Racial, linguistic and religious elements in the people of the country, and its relation with regard to these elements on adjoining countries,

(c) Impact of civilization of the country under consideration on the outlying and distant countries, and vice versa.

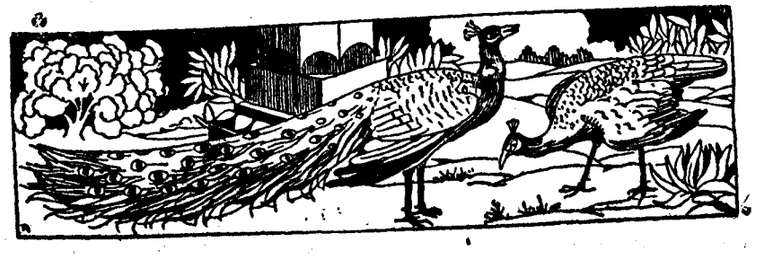
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Dewey's Table		*Revision Suggested*	
900	History in general. History of civilization.	900-909	All the subjects in the Dewey schedules 900-929
910	Geography (includes discovery and exploration)	910-920	American (North and South) and Polar region
911	Human geography	930-940	Europe
912	Atlases	950-980	Asia and Africa
913	Geography of the Ancient World	950	Africa
914-919	Geography of the Modern World	960	South-West Asia, Arabian Peninsula, Eastern Mountain and Plateaus of South Asia
920	Biography, Genealogy and Heraldry	970	Indian Sub-Continent (India, Pakistan and Ceylon)
930	Ancient World History	980	South-East Asia (including Pacific Area)
940	European History	990	Far East (China, Mongolia, Tibet, Japan, Korea, Central Asia, etc.)
950	Asia		
960	Africa		
970	North America		
980	South America		
990	Oceania		

In other sections, i.e. 300, 500, 600, 700 only minor adjustments required.

We have suggested here how the classifications should be recast and the librarians are to work them out in the light of the readers reactions. The librarian's function is to reflect the wishes of his readers in his administrative set-up, as far as practicable, and not to impose any thing upon them. The purpose of writing this note is to elicit comments from both the librarians and the readers, on the issue raised here. The Afro-Asia countries are now building up their libra ries and it is high time that we shoul come to a decision regarding the syster of classification these libraries shoul follow.

Final decisions should however, b taken by an expert body of librarians an scholars, especially from Afro-Asian cou tries under the auspieces of an inte national organisation, say the Unesco.



THE QUEER SPORT

By P. B. LAL

Though combats between man and man now-a-days are not a daily occurance, dogs fighting with dogs, bulls with bulls and sheep with sheep is a common sight. We have heard elephants fighting with elephants and tigers with tigers or elephants. During the course of theatrical performances we have also witnessed fights between men and elephants. But it is rather curious to know that combats between youngmen and elephants, 'the largest of terrestrial beasts,' were one of the favourite sports during the Moghul period. How much thrilling, nerve-shaking and courageous such combats might have been! It is much more strange to note that such a sport was patronised by the Enperor of the greatest of the Muslim dynasties that ruled India. This queer sport was in its full swing during the reign of Akbar the Great. But the name of the originator of this dreadful sport and the period during which it got its roots is not known.

Sath Mar-Khan

The sport had royal patronage. The athletes were rewarded liberally by the Emperor and were maintained at royal expense. Naturally, there was a keen competition between the youths for getting royal patronage and with it earning fame. The leader of the chosen youths used to be the best wrestler. He was called *Sath Mar-Khan*. A Sath Mar-Khan meant a person who could, single-handed, defeat sixty men.

The Preparation

Combats between elephants and men used to take place at the sweet will of the Emperor. The public was informed of the day and time of the combat. Usually evenings were fixed for this purpose. On receiving the news the interested public used to arrive at the royal palace throughout the night previous to the day of the demonstration and on the day of demonstration. Villagers in their bullock carts, Raths, Bahelis and Majholies used to come to the palace. Some of them could be seen on horse-back. Just imagine the roads of the capital full of these conveyances and the villagers coming in colourful clothes with mixed feelings of joy and sorrow in their hearts and the old amongst them discussing such demonstrations which they had witnessed on previous occasions. They must have been proud of the fact that they had earlier witnessed this breath-stopping elephant vs. man sport. The younger ones seemed to be thinking of the would-be event and weaving in their own minds the scenes that could take place before their eyes. Everybody used to try to take a seat at the most advantageous place. The arena generally used to be packed with spectators. People could be seen at the terraces of the walls of the fort, the nearby raised ground and even on branches of trees.

In state stables the elephant selected for the "Man vs. Elephant" sport could be seen enjoying heavy doses of wine. It seemed to be enjoying the drink unaware of what was going to happen within a couple of hours. Again, turning towards the quarters where the Sath Mar-Khans and their men were sitting we could find them engaged in discussions, arguments and counter-arguments. For what? They used to discuss the plans for the coming fight, tactics for challenging the elephant for a fight, fighting with the beast in a spectacular manner and finally defeating it. They seem to be fully aware of the untoward happenings which might take place during the fight. They also discussed about their escape should the infuriated elephant attack them.

At the time fixed for the sport the Emperor would take his seat on the balcony of his fort. His courtiers sat around him. The royal ladies had their seat behind the thin curtains.

The Combat

The drums were beaten and trumpets blew to encourage the combatants. The appearance of the combatants was profusely cheered by the spectators. This gave them further encouragement. The heavily drunk elephants could also be seen in the arena. Frightened by the sound of the drums and trumpets and the thunderous clapping by the spectators the elephant would go to the corner of the arena. Such a scene would continue for a few minutes only during which time everybody seemed to be anxiously waiting for the start of the combat. On receiving the royal consent the combatants would start their feat. It was a surprising trick indeed. They would attack the elephant. Till now the elephant was unaware of it. It felt a sudden attack. This sudden attack was to be paid back. It would chase the combatants. These were the moments when the survival of each and every combatant was a matter of chance. Within a few seconds someone might die. The combatants well-trained in the art of pole-jumping process might save themselves from coming under the foot of the elephant or from being lifted by the trunk of the elephant. The other members of the party would attack the elephant with sticks just to make them more infuriated. Behold! Should the elephant get a chance someone or the other of the combatants may be lifted by the elephant with the help of its trunk and the person hurled into the air. It was the skill, the training and the presence of mind which would save the person concerned from being injured by the elephant. On coming back on the ground the man would again attack the elephant. These were the moments when the spectators watched the feat most anxiously.

The fate might not be in favour of the Sath Mar-Khan, or some one of his party might be torn to pieces or trampled under the foot by the infuriated elephant. If such an unfortunate occasion would arise, the 'mahout', kept in readiness to meet such eventualities, would come forward immediately to pacify and control the beast. If the 'Mahout' should fail in his efforts, the feet of the beast were hurt to check its movements. There were such chances also when the infuriated elephant might run amuck out of the arena and start uprooting the nearby trees and hurting the spectators. On such occassions the Emperor might issue orders for killing the elephant. The most important thing to know is the factor on the basis of which the victory of the Sath Mar-Khans and their party members is judged. It may be mentioned here that the retreat of the elephant meant victory for the combatants.

With the fall of the Moghul empire this queer sport had little patronage and within a few years it became a legend to be told and retold by elders.



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 acknowleged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

EDITOR, *The Modern Review*

ENGLISH

A SURVEY OF BUDDHISM: *By Bhikshu Sangharakshita. Second Edition. The Indian Institute of World Culture, Bangalore, 1959. Pp. 527. Price Rs. 18.00.*

This work has grown out of a series of four lectures originally delivered by the author (an Englishman by birth and a convinced Buddhist by training) under the auspices of the Indian Institute of World Culture in July 1954. From its perusal we have no hesitation in saying that it is one of the most stimulating and comprehensive studies of the far-flung schools and systems of the great World-religion that has appeared in recent years. The author combines wide and deep erudition with high respect for tradition derived no doubt from self-realization of the truths of his faith. In his masterly exposition he unites a thorough analysis of the numerous knotty points with a lucid and forceful expression which cannot fail to carry conviction.. We can illustrate the richness of contents of this work by giving a short bird's-eye view of the same. In Chapter I the author gives his assessment of the scientific method of study of Buddhism as possessing "a merely subordinate and instrumental value" in contrast with the traditional approach required for understanding "the spiritual essence, the transcendental core" of Buddhism. This is followed by an elaborate account of what he calls 'basic Buddhism' involving a thorough discussion of such fundamental concepts as *Nirvana, Bodhi* or the Essence of Enlightenment, *Pratitya-samutpada* or Conditioned Co-Production, the four Aryan Truths and the Middle Path. Of the four Truths just mentioned the last, *viz.*, "The Truth of The Way leading to the cessation of suffering" is explained in terms of the faculties of *sila* or morality, *samadhi* or meditation, and *prajna* or wisdom. In the second chapter the author first explains the fundamental antagonism between the spiritual ideals of the two great Buddhist schools, *viz.*, the Hinayana and the Mahayana. Then comes his general account of Mahayana under two broad heads, *viz.*, its general characteristics derived by way of reaction against Hinayana deviations from the spirit of the Original Teaching, and secondly, the distinctively Mahayana doctrines relating to the Buddha, the Dharma and the Samgha. The third chapter which is the most important explains the principle of schematization of the Mahayana schools. Out of the five spiritual faculties, we are told, the first four, *viz.*, *panna* or wisdom; *saddha* or faith, *samadhi* or concentration and *viriya* or vigour gave rise to the intellectual, the devotional, the meditative and the activistic movements which eventually crystalized into the four main schools of Mahayana Buddhism (the *Madhyamika*, 'the Pure Land,' the *Yogachara* and the *Tantra*), while the fifth faculty, that of *sati* or mindfulness, was represented from its very nature by the various syncretist movements aiming at harmony of the different schools. The fourth and the last chapter deals with the most important general characteristic of the Mahayana schools, *viz.*, the ideal of the profoundly wise and infinitely compassionate Bodhisatta unlike the Hinayana ideal of the *arahat* concerned primarily with his own salvation. This leads the author to describe at great length the three successive stages of the path of the Bodhisatta, *viz.*, the preliminary devotional practices known collectively as "Spreme Worship," "the rising of the Thought of Enlightement" and "the four courses of conduct" of which the third and the most important is the practice of the six (or ten) "perfections."

It will appear from the above that this is a fundamental work on the interpretation of Buddhism in all its ramifications. A select bibliography and a short index appropriately bring it to a close.

U. N. Ghoshal

UTTARA BHARATI (Journal of Research of the Universities of Uttar Pradesh): *Published by the Registrar, Agra University. November, 1958 and March 1959.*

Among the journals of research issued by the Indian Universities, in the branch of humanities, Uttara Bharati, the research organ of the Uttar Pradesh group of universities, is outstanding. Conducted under the general editorship of Dr. A. L. Srivastava, Professor of History, Agra University, it has set a standard for original thought and interpretation. In the November issue under review the following papers are included: (a) Some problems of medieval Indian History by Dr. A. L. Srivastava, (b) Rabindranath as a thinker by Dr. B. C. Chakravarty, (c) Railway Structure Committee Report by Dr. R. C. Saxena, (all from Agra); while Dr. Dubey, and Dr. Devaraja of Lucknow respectively contribute "Political Idea of the Early Leaders of the Indian National Congress" and "Logic and Reality," while Prof. V. S. Agarwal of Benares writes about "Ornaments and Jewelery in Ancient India." March issue contains as many as nine articles of which "Traditional Values of Indian Life" by Dr. A. L. Srivastava, (b) "Political Philosophy of Hegel" by Dr. V. P. Verma, (c) "Basic Issues of Economic Organisation" by Dr. M. L. Seth deserve special mention. Both these issues have material enough for thinking and mental nourishment. There are two papers in Hindi (a) "Ain-i-Akbari" and "Pritheoiraja Raso" by Dr. Mata Prasad Gupta and "Bharatiya Saundarya Chintan me Sahitya Tattva" by Dr. Bhagwat Swarup which would perhaps be an incentive to young scholars to express their thoughts, in their respective mother tongue.

An indication of the decline of English studies in India is the absence of any article of English literary criticism.

N. B. Roy

THE POORBEAH SOLDIER: *By Dharam Pal, M.A., Ph.D. Published by Atma Ram and Sons, Kashmere Gate, Delhi-6. Price not mentioned.*

The 'Poorbeah Soldier' (lit. the soldier from the east, *i.e.*, Eastern India) was the name given to the East India Company's soldiers from Oudh, North-Western Provinces and Bihar. Brave fighters, loyal to the marrow of their bones, they formed the most predominant element in the Hon'ble John Company's armed forces in India.

The author Dr. Dharam Pal writes in the volume under review on the courage and devotion of the 'Poorbeah Soldiers' the growing disaffection in their ranks over years before 1857, and the role played by them in the rising of 1857, which the learned Doctor describes as "India's War of Independence."

The author says nothing which is not already widely known. His work illumines no dark corner. His description of the rising of 1857 as "India's War of Independence" is too tall a claim to be accepted. It had its origin in the discontent of the Company's Indian troops —mostly 'Poorbeahs' and 'derived its strength from the widespread disaffection among the civil population'. The majority of the people had no sympathy for the main object of the upheaval. The peasantry remained unaffected and the villagers disinterested on the whole. Only in Oudh (U.P.) and Shahabad (Bihar) was there evidence of a general popular sympathy which elevates a mutiny to the level of a national war.

SUDHANSU BIMAL MOOKHERJI

YOGA HYGIENE SIMPLIFIED: *By Shri Yogendra. Published by the Yoga Institute, Santa Cruz, Bombay-25. Pp. 155. Price Rs. 2.*

Shri Yogendra, the distinguished author of the book under review, is a direct disciple of the famous Bengali Yogi Madhavdasji of Malsar on the banks of the Narbada like Shri Kuvalayananda, who has also made epoch-making scientific investigations into Yogasana and Pranayama. Shri Yogendra is the author of six yoga publications and the founder of the Yoga Institute in Bombay. He preached the science of yoga in America successfully for four years from 1919 to 1922. To his credit this book has undergone several editions and been translated into Italian. The immense value of yogic breathing evolved by him in 1918 is now being widely re-

commended as the best cure of asthma by the Asthma Research Council of Great Britain since 1935. His yogic treatment for chronic constipation has been effectively demonstrated in 1934 at the Berlin University Charity Clinic. The scientific claims of his yogic methods were admitted in 1938 by the Medicin-General deputed by the French Government. The scientists of UNESCO deputed by the Harvard University in 1953 and the various medical delegations from USSR visiting his Yoga Institute at Bombay in 1955-56 were fully satisfied about the scientific potentialities of applied yoga.

This book is a decent pocket edition with a picturesque frontispiece with as many as twenty useful illustrations. Dr. John W. Fox, M. D., late of the S.B. County Hospital of California in an appreciative introduction to this book rightly observes that this work fills a unique place in the literature on the history of personal hygiene and the author has left no source untouched as far as it was humanly possible to explore In this connection Dr. Fox's observations are sure to open our eyes in this matter. He opines, "We of the West pride ourselves upon the advances we have made but the men of the East may very well pride themselves upon the heritage of knowledge which they possess. Only a few hundred years ago we discovered the circulation of blood, while yoga recorded it thousands of years ago."

This readable handbook of yogic hygiene, divided into six chapters, deals with ideals of yoga hygiene, possibilities of eternal youth as well as care of teeth, eyes, nose, digestive organs and intestines. A working knowledge of yogic hyginene is essential for every individual, male or female, under all circumstances for the sake of health and happiness.

SWAMI JAGADISWARANANDA

SANSKRIT

RAJENDRA-VANSA-PRASHASTIH: *By Pandit Vishnukant Jha, Chauhatta, Patna-4. 1958. Price Rs. 5.*

The account of the life of the President of the Indian Union is bound to be interesting by itself. An additional interest here is due to the inevitable recording of his comrades in arms in a non-violent war. It is in effect a eulogy of Modern India, Independent India, and Pandit Jha has fittingly chosen Sanskrit for his medium. Apart from the claim that Sanskrit has been so long the language of Indian culture more than any other language, Dr. Rajendra Prasad himself has written about the glory of Sanskrit and the method of teaching Sanskrit. In course of 555 slokas, Pandit Jha has admirably done his work of telling the biography of Dr. Prasad.

P. R. Sen

BENGALI

SISIR-BINDU: *By Samir Kumar Gupta. Distributors: Sadharan Publishers, 6, Bankim Chatterjee Street, Calcutta. Price Re. 1.*

Poems rich in thought-content as well as in expression. Like the sunlit dew drops of the morning they reflect the varying colours of the Playful Infinite. A careful reader will particularly like the profundity of note attended with sobriety and restraint.

D. N. Mookerjea

HINDI

VESHYA (A Problem Poem): *By B. K. Narayan. Published by Champa Narayan, 1/1A, Ray Lane, Calcutta-7. December, 1958. Price 80nP.*

It is a long poem of more than 400 lines on a simple subject—the prostitute—full of bitter hatred against the great social evil but pointing finger at the men responsible for it. Where is the time for the victim of the evil to think of herself, to express the bitter anguish which wells up from her depths? She must sell herself again and again to satisfy human lust—for a few pieces of silver, must have a smile and ready embrace for everybody that chooses to come and take her. And society looks on, satisfied that her moral(?) drain is working all right, and that the so-called purity of society is not impeached. Now through various bodies from the Lok-Sabha down to the inmost depths of *Homo Sapiens* has been raised a cry of reform—a cry which the poor slaves will be powerless to resist as ever, but to what end! to what end!

A poem of passion and strength of execution.

P. R. Sen

GUJARATI

(1) BHAKT PRAHLAD: *By Vamanrao Patil, B.A., LL.B. Pp. 64. Price As. 4.*

(2) GAJENDRA MOKSH: *By —Do—. Pp. 77. Price As. 6.*

(3) Jadabhalal: *By —Do—. Pp. 47. Price As. 3.*

(4) SHRI SHUK DEVJI: *By —Do—. Pp. 64. Price As. 4.*

(5) BHAKT KAVI RAHIM AND JAWAL: *By Anwar Afevan. Pp. 90. Price As. 4.*

(6) SAIN DIRI DARWESH: *By —Do—. Pp. 55. Price As. 4.*

(7) KAVI DIN DAYAL GIRI: *By —Do—. Pp. 47. Price As. 4.*

(8) DHRUVA AKHYAN: *Pp. 80. Price 8 As.*

All published by the Society for the Encouragement of Cheap Literature and printed at its own press, Ahmedabad. Card Board Covers. Some illustrated. (1951).

This set of eight works is mainly biographical and comprises the lives and life-work of several saints, some of them mystical, some of them Muslims. The last book consists of the poems of two old Gujarati poets, Kalidas—Dhruva Akhyan and Description of Kalikal, (Iron Age) by Krishnaram, and a few devotional songs of Surdas, Gangaram, etc.

K. M. J.

JUST PUBLISHED

ETERNAL VALUES FOR A CHANGING SOCIETY

By SWAMI RANGANATHANANDA

The book presents the central theme of India's spiritual heritage. It is an answer to many basic problems that beset the modern age—social, political, economic, and spiritnal.

Says the author, 'It is spiritual awareness alone that transforms all knowledge into wisdom and into forms of peace and happiness, love and unity.'

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Indian Periodicals

The Realism of Bertrand Russell

Dr. S. N. L. Shrivastava writes in *The Aryan Path*:

A very prominent name in modern realism is Bertrand Russell. Russell has been considerably influenced by Moore. It is not possible, within the limits of this short essay, to give even the briefest summary of the many important doctrines associated with the name of Bertrand Russsell, who is one of the most influential thinkers of the day and has had a following far beyond the borders of his own country. I can do no more than put down here in a few words the gist of the empirico-realistic theory which he has developed regarding the nature and reality of the external world by what he calls the "logical-analytic" method.

Russell is a robust realist who will not yield to any suggestion, coming from any quarter whatsoever (modern physics included), that would deny reality to the world perceived by our senses. He always holds suspect mysticism, which purports to deny the reality of the sense-world.

"The mystic (he writes), so long as he merely reports a positive revelation, cannot be refuted; but when he *denies* reality to objects of sense, he may be questioned as to what he means by 'reality', and may be asked how their unreality follows from the supposed reality of his supersensible world."

Even the discrepancy between the world-picture of modern physics and that of everyday sense-experience does not deter him from his robust realistic stand. To quote his words again:

"The discrepancy between the world of physics and the world of sense . . . . will be found to be more apparent than real, and it will be shown that whatever there is reason to believe in physics can probably be interpreted consistently with the reality of sense-data."

To understand Russell's theory of our knowledge of the external world, we start with the question: What do we directly perceive in the outer world? "Sense-data," is Russell's answer. There is another word which he uses: "*sensibilia*." "Sense-data are not different from *sensibilia* except in this, that, while the former are *given* to a mind or consciousness, the latter are not. A sensible becomes a sense-datum by being *given* to a mind or consciousness:

"I shall give the name *sensibilia* to those objects which have the same metaphysical and physical status as sense-data, without necessarily being data to any mind. Thus the relation of a *sensible* to a sense-datum is like that of a man to a husband: a man becomes a husband by entering into the relation of marriage, and similarly a *sensible* becomes a sense-datum by entering into the relation of acquaintance."

The sense-data are physical in the sense of being the primary data physics has to deal with: they are not subjective or mental; but they are, as Russell says, "physiologically subjective," being causally dependent on the sense-organs, the nerves and the brain. Now, what is the relation of the sense-data to the thing? The thing is not a "substance" or a substratum underlying the sense-data. The thing is, Russell says—and here is his distinctive theory—a "logical construction" out of the appearances we call sense-data. The "thing" *inferred* as an entity apart from the class of its appearances was, according to Russell, an invention of prehistoric metaphysicians. The supreme maxim of his own scientific philosophizing is: "Whenever possible, logical constructions are to be substituted for inferred entities." Another thing to be noted in this connection is that, though the sense-data are not mental, they do not persist unchanged after ceasing to be sense-data, and Russell sees no incompatibility between the two statements.

Now, Russell's realism is met with a challenge. If sense-data are all that we perceive and if they are not mental but physical, how is it that different people have different sense-data *in the same place*? A table, for example, placed in a room appears to one observer as having a rectangular surface and to another as having a surface with two obtuse angles and two acute angles, to one as brown and to another as white and shiny, and so on. Russell says that all these appearances are not "in the same place." They are in the *private spaces* of the different percipients.

"The question, therefore, of combining what we call different appearances of the same thing in the same place does not arise, and the fact that a given object appears to different spectators to have different shapes and colours affords no argument against the physical reality of all these shapes and colours."

Each percipient carries his own private space with him, for he sees the world from *his* point of view or perspective. The perspective spaces of different individuals are all different from one another, and each is, in relation to others, self-closed, like Leibnitz's monad, which has no windows that open outwards. The one all-embracing physical space in which the different perspective spaces are ordered is, according to Russell, different from them. It, again, is not a datum of experience but a logical construction. The one all-embracing time is also a logical construction.

A few words about Russell's attitude towards religion, and I shall have done with this outline of his thought. Here is a clear-cut and unambiguous statement by Russell on the subject:

"I am myself a dissenter from all known religions, and I hope that every kind of religious belief will die out. I do not believe that, on balance, religious belief has been a force for good. Although I am prepared to admit that in certain times and places it has had some good effects, I regard it as belonging to the infancy of human reason, and to a stage of development which we are now outgrowing."

Russell here is in line with what Freud has maintained in his *Future of an Illusion*. That in all institutional religions there are dogmas, and superstitious beliefs which cannot stand the test of reason and science will be admitted by all thinking people. But is religion simply these and nothing more? Is there not a specific religious experience, *sui generis*, self-authenticated and veridical? What, in other words, can we say about the validity of mystical experience?

Russell has expressed his views on the matter in one of his well-known essays in Mysticism and Logic. Space will not permit me to deal with all the points he has discussed therein. I only wish to suggest here that what Russell takes to be the essential meaning of mysticism or mystical experience is far from being such. I quote some statements from the essay I mentioned to illustrate my point. Here is one: "Mysticism is, in essence, little more than a certain intensity and depth of feeling in regard to what is believed about the universe." In another place he identifies it with a certain kind of "insight" which, though genuine, "untested and unsupported, is an insufficient guarantee of truth." Intuition also is identified by Russell with a certain ordinary kind of insight, as the example given by him makes it clear:

"Intuition is seen at its best where it is directly useful, for example, in regard to other people's characters and disposition .....Apart from self-knowledge, one of the most notable examples of intuition is the knowledge people believe themselves to possess of those with whom they are in love: the wall between different personalities seems to become transparent, and people think they see into another soul as into their own. Yet deception in such cases is constantly practised with success; and even where there is no intentional deception, experience gradually proves, as a rule, that the supposed insight was illusory, and that the slower, more groping methods of the intellect are in the long run more reliable."

It is evident that Russell is talking of anything but mystical insight or intuition, properly so called. The mystical intuition, properly so called, is not only some sort of premonition or insight which may turn out to be true or false or may be required to be corroborated subsequently by reasoning, but is in itself; as the *Yoga Sutra* puts it, a *ritam-bhara prajna* or "a truth-filled gnosis."

I cannot dwell here at length on the nature and grounds of validity of religious experience but I would simply content myself with remarking here in passing that any evaluation or criticism of religious experience which fails to take note of its specific—what Dr. Otto has happily styled its "numinous"—nature, is simply beside the point. Religious experience must be evaluated and interpreted in terms of categories peculiar to it, and anyone familiar with such an experience will readily agree with Dr. Otto that "'Holiness' —'the holy'—is a category of interpretation and valuation peculiar to the sphere of

religion," and that there is an "'extra' in the meaning of 'holy' above and beyond the meaning of goodness" (in the purely ethical sense of the term). Regarding this numinous experience, Otto has rightly observed:

"This mental state is perfectly *sui generis* and irreducible to any other; and therefore, like every absolutely primary and elementary datum, while it admits of being discussed, it cannot strictly be defined. There is only one way to help another to an understanding of it. He must be guided and led on by consideration and discussion of the matter through the ways of his own mind, until he reach the point at which 'the numinous' in him perforce begins to stir, to start into life and into consciousness."

Again:

"It issues from the deepest foundation of cognitive apprehension that the soul possesses and, though it of comes into being in and amid the sensory data and empirical material of the natural world and cannot anticipate or dispense with those, yet it does not arise *out* of them, but only by their means. They are the incitement, the stimulus, and the 'occasion' for the numinous experience to become astir, and, in so doing, to begin—at first with a naive immediacy of reaction—to be interfused and interwoven with the present world of sensuous experience, until becoming gradually purer, it disengages itself from this and takes its stand in absolute contrast to it."

Indology in the Berlin Humboldt University

Hiltrud Ruestau observes in *The Indian Review*:

For the former Indological Seminary of the Berlin Humboldt University which is today directed by Prof. Dr. Walter Ruben, a new designation has been introduced, namely that of Indian Science. This new term is to demonstrate that the old designation and conception of Indology is no longer broad enough to cover all subjects in this line which are to be taught and researched both due to the development of sciences and due to the development of India herself. Thus the old purely philological tasks of Indology have been replaced by a universal study of India. The scientists and students in the German Democratic Republic endeavour to form a clear idea of the significant and interesting development of present-day India on a historical basis. In view of such comprehensive tasks it goes without saying that a merely philological interpretation of texts can no longer be in the centre of research and teaching. Today rather instructive lectures which give a survey on the most different problems of India are in the foreground. Naturally also the scientific text interpretation, such as the *Upanishads*, the *Bhagavadgita*, etc., is duly considered.

It becomes obvious from the tasks of the institute that its main attention is devoted to the research of the great and new development of Independent India. There are friendly relations between the German Democratic Republic and the Republic of India. Thus also the scientists and students of the Berlin Institute for Indian Science are keenly interested in following up and studying the cultural, social and economic development of India which freed herself successfully from the British colonial yoke. They heartily welcome every success in this new development. Formerly Indology was limited to the mere interpretation of texts in the whole of Germany. Today the Berlin Institute for Indian Science has fully overcome the horizon of the "ivory tower" of the German orientalists of the past.

On the other hand, the research of problems of old India is by no means neglected, the more so as the GDR endeavours to continue the long famous tradition of Germany in this line! Thus, for instance, one student is charged with continuing the research work about the Turfan Fragments after having been duly prepared for this difficult work. The schedule of lectures covers the scientific interpretation of the history of ancient India, as well as of the ancient Indian philosophy and literature by way of texts, furthermore Indian ethnography and a number of lectures and exercises dealing with the more modern history of India, especially as from 1870|80. Thus one lecture is held on the economic development of India during the colonial period; another lecture is devoted to India's contemporary history. Furthermore, the students at the institute engage in the study of Hindi literature and modern Indian philosophy. This series of lectures on Indian philosophy was initiated by the study of the philosophical conceptions of Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan, the great Indian philosopher and statesman, during one term. In respective seminaries his works, as far as they are available here, are thoroughly studied.

At the study of the students the linguistic lessons have a large share. A five years' study of Hindi is obligatory for all the students of the institute; over and above, each student has to learn a second modern Indian language, mostly Bengali. Also the Sanskrit lessons are given broad scope. The students are taught Indian linguistic history ranging from the Vedic language to Hindi, that is to say, lessons in Sanskrit, Prakrit, Apabhransha, ancient Hindi, Hindi, Bengali, and Urdu are held. Unfortunately the Institute is not able to teach other modern Indian languages besides Hindi, Bengali and Urdu, as in spite of the great interest in this line, there is not yet teacher for such other language at the disposal of the institute. The linguistic lessons in the modern Indian languages are directed almost exclusively by Indian guests. Thus we are thankful to Pandit Shastri from Santiniketan who comes from Leipzig to Berlin once a week to give lessons in Hindi and ancient Hindi.

Problems of modern India are in the centre of the research work of the institute. Thus the director of the institute endeavours to elaborate an analysis of the modern Indian novels. Furthermore a critical review on Romesh Chandra Dutt is being elaborated, the role of Sanskrit in modern India is being examined and an essay on the philosophical conceptions of Tilak and Vivekananda is being prepared. Some important scientific research work is devoted to Gandhi. One of the colleagues of the institute, an ethnologist, mainly examines the development of the Indian village.

Parts of these works are devoted to the preparation of the International Orientalists' Congress which is to be held in Leningrad in 1960. Thus also the Berlin Institute for Indian Science is being faced with great tasks which it tries to solve by collective research work.

Naturally our institute also participates in the preliminary works for a deeper study on Tagore which is devoted to the international Tagore Memorial Year and is being prepared in the GDR.

Naturally this new orientation of the institute is quite a difficult task. Especially at the beginning many difficulties have to be overcome so as to render the work of the institute fully successful. Above all, there is a shortage of the latest material on important research sectors. Thus, for instance, the institute does not dispose of a complete edition of Romesh Chandra Dutt's work; there is no material available on the Ramakrishna Mission which is required so as to elaborate a critical review on Vivekananda, and many other documents are lacking as well.

These difficulties are mainly due to the fact that the library of the Indological Seminary was destroyed in World War II so that a completely new library had to be established past 1945. In spite of these difficulties the Institute for Indian Science could already record quite a number of successes in its work.

Above all, the colleagues of the institute are interested in the results of the latest Indian research. Naturally the Indian scientists themselves are predestined to inform the scientific world about important and new events in their country. Thus the members of the institute in Berlin would be interested to know, for instance, the conception about Romesh Chandra Dutt, which investigations about modern Indian philosopy have been made, which importance is attributed to Vivekananda in this respect, etc. The colleagues of the Institute for Indian Science would most warmly welcome a close co-operation with Indian scientists. Naturally the scientists of a certain nation can best research their own country; thus the most remarkable contribution in the field of Indian science are to be expected from India today; at the same time we are also interested in the opinions of others on the new development in the German Democratic Republic. Thus we hope that also in India people will be interested in the work of the Institute for Indian Science of the Berlin Humboldt University. Just by such an exchange of ideas one's own experience is essentially enriched. Above all, the study of the scientific conceptions of the scientists from the other country serves the mutual understanding of the people of our two countries —which in fact is the noblest task of our institute.

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Material and Cultural Standard of New Bulgaria

The following are some excerpts from a bulletin named *Fifteen Years of People's Rule in Bulgaria*, published in 1959 by Foreign Languages Press, Sofia:

In a socialist society the national income is created by the toil of millions of people, freed from exploitation, working in the field of material production. Coming from the people, it belongs to the people. Socialism precludes the existence of unearned incomes. The growth and distribution of the national income in Bulgaria is in line with the basic aim of socialist production, i.e., to achieve an ever-rising living standard. That is why the national income is used to meet the personal and family needs of those participating in socialist production, to expand public production, to promote the progress of science and culture; to improve the public health services, to cover the expenses for an administration defending the interests of the working people. The bigger the national income, the greater the possibilities of carrying out constructive socialist activities on a massive scale and of allocating large funds to the promotion of the people's welfare.

The impressive all-round economic development in the heroic years of the two Five-Year Plans gave a powerful impetus to the national income of socialist Bulgaria.

Within fifteen years of people s rule, Bulgaria's national income increased almost 2.5 times. As estimated in the plan for the economic leap forward, in 1959 the national income is to rise by 50 per cent, as compared with 1957, by 1962 it is to double and by 1965 it is to treble. National per capita income in 1957 was 86 per cent above the 1939 figure. From 1948 to 1957 the national income increased at an annual rate of about 9 per cent, as compared with a 4.4 per cent increase during the 1931-39 period. The growth of the national income is not only due to the systematic increase of the productive forces and of production, but also to the larger number of those working in the field of material production. During the Second Five-Year Plan 80 per cent of the national income resulted from the higher growth of labour productivity and 20 per cent from the greater number of hands employed. Having in mind that the proper distribution of man-power between the field of material production and the non-productive field is of great economic importance, the need to streamline the administrative apparatus and slash its cost, stripping it of everything superfluous and increasing its efficiency, is considered to be a matter of the utmost concern.

The welfare of the masses depends not only on the production but also on the distribution of the national income. Though in capitalist Bulgaria the absolute figure of the national income was rising, due to the capitalist way of distribution the overwhelming majority of the people were doomed to pauperization and deprived of the most elementary living conditions. Thus in 1939, for instance, the bourgeoisie appropriated 72 per cent of the national income coming from industry, while only 28 per cent went to the working class. This once more illustrates the unenviable condition of the Bulgarian people prior to 1944.

In socialist Bulgaria an average of 78 per cent of the national income goes to meet the needs of the population, while the remaining 22 per cent go to promote the further development of the socialist

economy, science, the arts, public health and so forth.

In Bulgaria every citizen has the right to work. The feeling that he is working for himself and for his socialist country, not for an exploiter, is a powerful incentive for the working man in socialist Bulgaria, inspiring him to feats of heroic labour. In 1948 the pay-roll included 629,204 workers; in 1952 it grew to 1,015,873 and in 1957 to 1,339,021, i.e., 2.2 times more than in 1948 and 1.4 times more than in 1952. This regular trend of rising employment in the different branches of the national economy bears convincing testimony to the ever-increasing capacity of the socialist economy to absorb man-power. The people's government does its utmost to raise the cultural level and the technical skills of the working people. The modernly-equipped industry, the mechanization of agriculture, the new building techniques require a highly qualified personnel. For its reason thousands of industrial workers, co-operative farmers employees and intellectuals are now working systematically to improve their technical skills and qualification. The working people in Bulgaria take a keen interest in the increase of the gross national product and national income, since this bears directly on their rumuneration and their way of life. As a matter of fact, this is the effect of the economic law on distribution according to the effort put into the work, a law harmoniously combining public and personal interests. The wage fund for the whole of national economy in 1957 has more than trebled as compared to the 1948 figure. The decree of the Government to raise the wages and salaries of low-paid workers and employees played an important role in increasing the average annual income of workers and employees. It goes without saying that in the future the people's government is to pursue its policy of further reducing the retail prices of consumer goods. The material condition of pensioners was improved considerably. Pregnant women and mothers were also benefited by the new measures. The paid leave before and after childbirth



was lengthened from 90 to 120 days. Moreover, they got their full salary during this period.

In new Bulgaria the growing purchasing power of the masses is a mighty stimulus for the further growth of output of consumer goods. More and more products, once considered a luxury, are now with the growth of the general well-being becoming necessities for the broadest strata of the people. The per capita increase in consumer goods is most striking. Thus, for example, in 1939 Bulgaria produced 5.4 cotton fabrics per head of the population, whereas in 1956 this figure rose to 18.7 (measured in meters); the output of woolen fabrics rose respectively from 0.8 to 1.7m; of meat—from 7.9 to 14.1 kg; of tinned goods—from 7.7 to 28.4 kg; of flour from 112 to 210 kg; of rice—from 2.4 to 4.0 kg; of sugar—from 4.0 to 14 kg., etc. In per capita figures the Bulgarian population consumes on the average more rice than France, the Federal German Republic and Austria, and more fats than France and Turkey.

Another indicator of prime importance, conducive to the betterment of the material standards of the people, is the growing purchasing power of money. During the years of the Second Five-Year Plan the prices of consumer goods were reduced by 28 per cent, which means that one can buy now for only 72 leva what cost 100 leva in 1952. The steady decrease of expenditures in the family budget on taxes, fees and services is a telling expression of the growing well-being of the working people. In 1957 these expenditures amounted to only 9.2 per cent of the working people's total income.

During the years of people's rule and especially during the two Five-Year Plans construction work greatly increased in scope, including new houses, public baths, hotels, hospitals, rest homes, schools, theatres and parks. Many settlements were supplied with electricity, water and sewage systems. The highway network was improved, motor vehicle transport and communications were fostered, etc.

The Bulgarian village too had been renovated.

Another indication of the impressive housing construction in this country is the fact that altogether new towns like Dimitrovgrad, Rudozem, Madan, etc., have sprung up.

Bulgaria's post-war record in the extension of water and sewage networks in towns and villages is also quite impressive.

One of the greatest achievements of post-war Bulgaria are the measures for the health protection and social insurance of the working people. Medical services are now completely free of charge. No efforts or means are spared to guarantee the health protection of the people, as well as to render prompt and skilled medical aid. The number of hospitals has increased continually, as did that of out-patient hospitals, polyclinics, maternity homes, nurseries, kindergartens and medical centres in villages and at industrial enterprises. Today there is not a single village without a health centre in Bulgaria, or at least without a midwife and medical assistant. Many medical workers, are now employed in the field of public health protection. Bulgaria holds one of the first places in the world in the per capita number of physicians. Here one physician takes care of 774 people, while in the capitalist countries of Europe one physician tends to over 950 people. The Pharmaceutical Factory turns out over 400 different drugs and preparations, while the Plant for Medical Instruments supplies the hospitals, polyclinics and medical centres with instruments and equipment, produces about 200 kinds of instruments and various equipment which used to be imported until recently. A series of labour-consuming processes have been mechanized and largely automated, mainly in industries noxious to health. The water jet method was introduced in ore-mining as a means of combating silicosis. Comfortable rest homes were created in the most picturesque parts of Bulgaria: the Black Sea coast, the Rila, Rhodope and Sredna Gora mountains, where working people can spend their paid annual leave. Infant mortality too has dropped appreciably, thanks to the systematic measures for the health protection of mother and child.

During the years of people's rule the whole system of public education was reformed. Education was even more closely associated with the needs of life and of socialist construction. The role of the teacher grew immensely. Devoid of rights, humiliated and low-paid in the past, he now is an acknowledged organizer of educational work and an educator of the young generation. The number of school teachers rose from 28,625 in the 1939|40 school year to 46,627 in the 1956|57 school year. The number of professors and lecturers at the higher establishments of learning rose from 453 to 3,026.

Bulgarian science too has made good progress during the years of people's rule. It has its own glorious traditions and achievements in chemistry, mathematics, archaeology, linguistics, philosophy and natural sciences, whose qualities were appreciated only after the establishment of the People's Government. New branches of science, non-existent in the not-too-distant past, are now being created. In the past the Bulgarian Academy of Science, barely subsidized by the bourgeois state, was reduced to the role of a representative establishment. Now it has become a real centre of scientific work, with 34 research institutes in place of the few research establishments of the past. Bulgarian scientists are rendering valuable aid to the nation's economy by working out problems on the improvement of technology and the organization of industrial production, on raising crop yields and the productivity of livestock, as well as on the production of new preparations and drugs. Geologists are lending a helping hand in the discovery, exploitation and utilization of the country's natural resources.

Botanists and biologists are making valuable studies on the flora and fauna. Agrobiologists and selectionists created scores of new sorts of farm crops adapted to local soil and climatic conditions. Bulgaria's well-known scientists, Academician Hristo Daskalov and Associate Professor Nikola Kolev produced a series of new sorts of wheat, rye, barley and other grains. Bulgarian science is developing not only in the research institutes and laboratories but also in the process of production, where bold creative ideas are born prompted by life and practice itself.

During the years of people's rule a number of valuable fiction books were written.

Bulgarian fine arts, sculpture, architecture, theatre and cinema, are making headway as well.

Music has now become fully accessible to the people and has won tremendous popularity amid the broad masses. Folk music is an inexhaustible source from which Bulgarian composers and musicians draw ideas.

Up to 1944 there were only four state libraries in Bulgaria. In 1957 the number of libraries, possessing more than 500 volumes each, amounted to 5,850.

The library clubs occupy an eminent place in the cultural life of this country. These are a peculiar Bulgarian form of cultural and educational activity amid the broad masses, which have existed for over a century. In spite of terror, persecution and restrictions in the years of fascist dictatorship, these clubs preserved their own organization as unwavering bastions of our democratic traditions. The library clubs are not merely libraries and reading rooms, but clubs conducting a most varied cultural, educational, social and political activity. They comprise libraries, reading rooms, movie halls and lecture rooms, museums, a local centre of amateur art activities, a radio centre, a centre of study circles, etc. In short, they are a focus of the nation's cultural life.

The stage reached in Bulgaria's social and economic development and the new big objectives, however, necessitated new structural forms of state and economic management.

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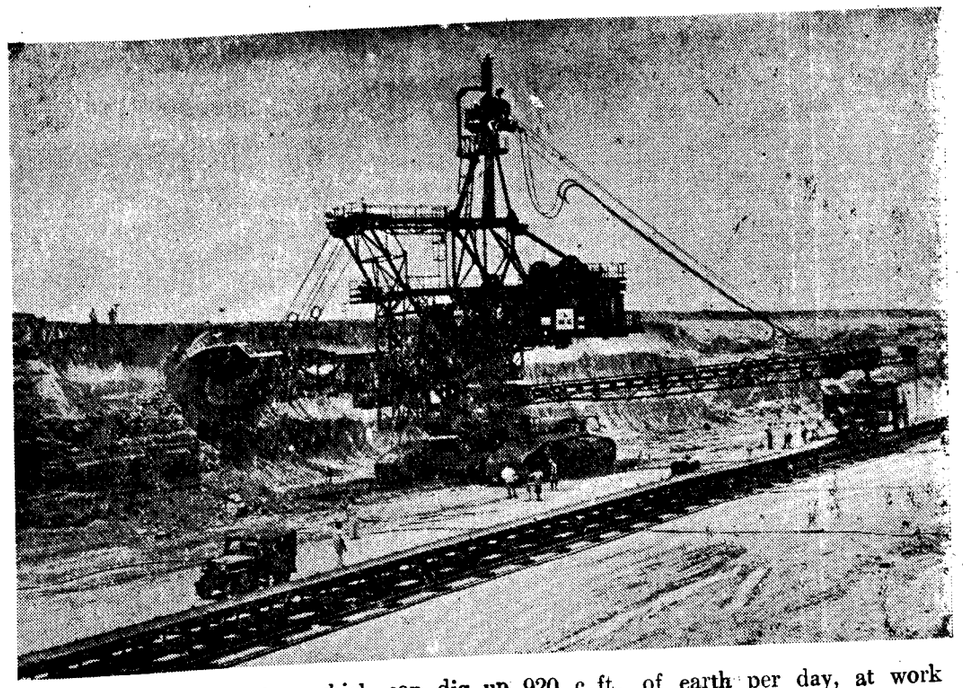
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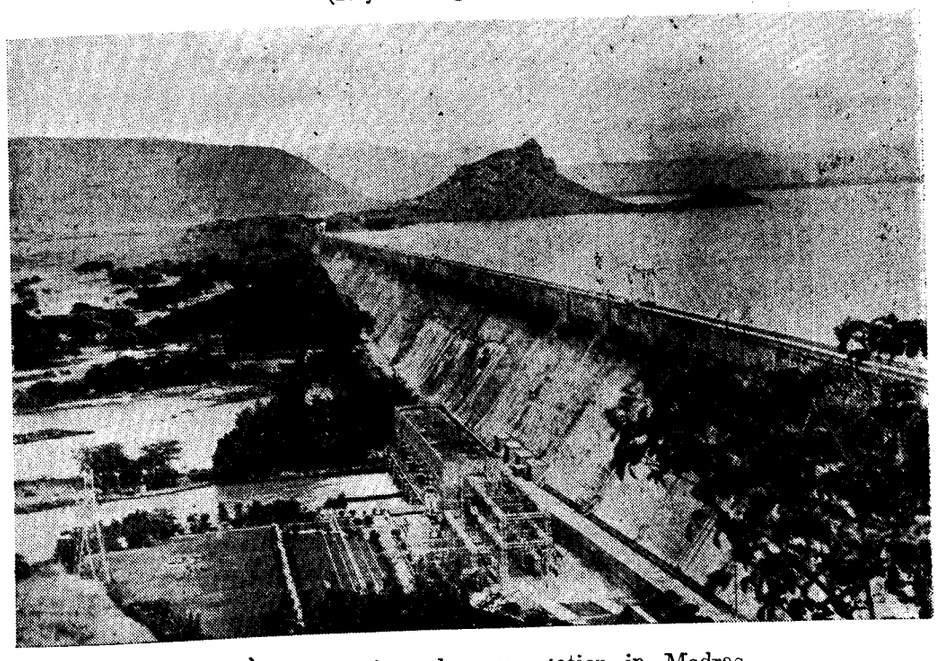
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Bucket wheel excavator, which can dig up 920 c.ft. of earth per day, at work (Neyveli Lignite Project)



Mettur Dam reservoir and power station in Madras



WATER FOR THE THIRSTY
By Birendranath Chakravarty

rabasi Press, Calcutta

Founded by—RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE

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NOTES

The China Debate

The Lok Sabha has had a three-day long debate on the complicated issues following the Chinese incursions on our Himalayan territories. The debates have resulted in some amount of clarification about the official attitude towards this challenge to India's sovereignty. Even so we have as yet to get a clearer picture of the ultimate odds—for and/or against—the territories of the Indian Union being kept intact and our honour inviolate.

We have given, elsewhere in these notes, extracts from newspaper reports, which give the high lights of the first two days' debates. We have deliberately left out the useless verbiage and the petulant and undignified sallies by our spokesmen on both sides. Indeed, even Pandit Nehru, despite his call for a clear direction from "the House" on the extremely grave issues involved, indulged in undignified and personal remarks on occasion.

The debate ended with the unanimous acceptance of a motion approving and endorsing the Government's policy in regard to the dispute with China. This acceptance followed an eighty-minute speech by Pandit Nehru, winding up the debate.

Pandit Nehru's concluding speech was far clearer than his oration on the opening day. We are using the term "oration", deliberately because the only other term we can think of is "homily", there was so much about Peace, Non-alignment, World policy and Panch-sheel and so little about the crucial questions of India's security and independence in it. We have to thank the opposition, particularly Acharya Kripalani and Sri Asoke Mehta, for bringing down to earth the thoughts of Pandit Nehru from the high heavens of world politics to the holy soil of our fatherland, which has been defiled by the intrusion of an aggressor.

A clearer and a firmer tone was evident in the concluding speech of Pandit Nehru, and it was evident that the remarks made by the leaders of the opposition had helped to clarify the issues. And with this clarification came some statements which were unambiguous and categoric. We have not got the full texts of the speeches at the time of writing but the news-reports are clear on most of the issues.

There is recognition of the gravity of the situation in the statement: "If, unfortunately, the situation worsens, we shall have to be a nation in arms. Let there be no mistake about it. Every single activity and planning will have to be conditioned by the major fact, that is the struggle for life and death." He also said, "When the challenge comes and the danger comes, we cannot be complacent. We have to be wide awake and face it. Meanwhile we have to steer a course avoiding extremes."

Regarding the recent incursions by the Chinese he said:

"It seems to me a definite breach of faith with a country which has tried to be friendly with them not only because of

the past but more so because of the present and the future."

He was equally clear when he said: "We have followed a certain policy. There is no question of appeasement. Certainly it (appeasement) is a policy which is objected to and disliked."

Pandit Nehru has followed up his speech in the Lok Sabha by statements, made by him while addressing a huge gathering at Ahmedabad, which add further light to the view taken by him of the situation. The *Statesman's* reports contain the following:

"Mr. Nehru said that although his government will try to solve the border dispute with China by peaceful means, the nation should be prepared for all contingencies, since this was a 'question of life and death' for India."

"War was a bad thing, but a fear psychosis would be suicidal. It was good to live, but a time came in a nation's history when death was preferable to living with one's head bent in submission."

We have had statements from our Defence Minister, particularly with regard to the stepping up of defence industrial potential, which show that the Government is now definitely trying to prepare for eventualities.

But even after all these have been taken into consideration there are certain gaps left in our visualization of the Government's stand. We understand fully that the whole picture cannot be revealed to the public for reasons of security or diplomacy. But even so, there are certain points, some essential questions, on which the people's mind must be cleared of all doubt or uncertainty. Even in the China Debate, Pandit Nehru had put, in the beginning, more emphasis on the consideration of World Peace, Non-alignment, Neutralism, etc., than on the burning question of the defence of our land and the preservation of our hard-won Freedom. As for the Defence Minister, even taking for granted all the great qualities ascribed to him—not without any justification, we would like to add—by our Prime Minister, we have to say that he seems to be labouring under two obsessions, one of neutralism and non-alignment at all costs, and the second the justification of his moves at the U. N. O. for the inclusion of China. Together with these we have statements like, "We shall defend ourselves *to the best of our ability*," etc., and about obtaining defence equipment from abroad by paying for them, while strictly keeping aloof from all the world. Even in his latest statement, made at Ishapore Metal and Steel Factory on the morning of November 29, he is reported to have stated again—according to the *Statesman*—that the day India went in for military alliances, *she would begin to lose her independence*, and further again, "whoever came from across the border would be resisted *to the best of the country's ability*."

With all due deference to Mr. Menon's wisdom, we would venture to say that the first illogical statement, connecting military alliances of any kind with the inexorable consequence of losing our independence, is based more on the particular inhibitions under which he and his Prime Minister labour, than on any historical foundation whatsoever. As regards the second statement, that of resisting aggression "to the best of the country's ability," it is disturbing in the extreme. Is the country going to be sacrificed, in the event of that "ability" not being found adequate, just like a *sati* on a funeral pyre, to prevent Mr. Menon and Pandit Nehru from losing face before the comity of Nations?

We have no claims to supernatural wisdom. But the history of all the conquests of India by the foreign invaders that "came from across the borders," is the history of similar inhibitions and obsessions on the part of the defenders, together with that of treachery from within. We know, and the country knows, that both these factors, one leading to isolationalism, and the other to betrayal, are present today to a most alarming degree.

We would like, therefore, a plain statement, from Pandit Nehru, that nothing shall be allowed to stand in the way of the preservation of the integrity of our soil and of our Independence, no "isms" or metaphysical considerations, however profoundly conceived and stated.

We are expecting a friend to visit us, a friend whose country has extended 760 crores worth of aid, without any attached conditions whatsoever. We do not suggest any alignment, alliance or pact, but we believe that if Pandit Nehru would discuss the situation frankly with him, out of record, without any obligation and without reservations, he would gain far more, than from his own advisers, in the way of a clear idea of the problems that face us and of the wherewithal, in armament, logistics and security measures that would be needed to solve them. If there be war, and the initiative be always left to the aggressor, as it is today, then we are bound to lose in the long run, if we put fetters on our freedom of action by all kinds of inhibitions, however profound their metaphysical premises.

Indian Reverses

India seems to be in a period of suffering international reverses. The incursions on the northern border have of course been the greatest jolt which tends to overshadow others which are not of such great importance at the moment. But if we continue in our failure to see the reality behind what is apparent as we did in formulating our relationship with China, there is little doubt that the future will have in store for us many surprises which will be no less shocking. India's failure to secure a seat in two organs of the United Nations is a matter for the most serious concern not so much for the disappointment caused as for reasons operating behind that failure. There have been occasions when India was deprived of her legitimate share of authority and responsibility in the United Nations on account of block rivalry. People here quite correctly refused to be swayed by those adverse votes. The matter, to the country's misfortune, is different this time. India's failure to get in the Economic and Social Council or in the UN advisory committee on administrative and budgetary questions has openly been ascribed to her estrangement from many members of the uncommitted Afro-Asian bloc. If the policy is not adequate even to retain the friendship we have with countries who have traditionally been our friends, it evidently deserves the closest scrutiny and reappraisal.

S.S.

Naga Problem

The Naga problem has defied a satisfactory solution for over twelve years. The demand for a separate Nagaland to function as an independent State was evidently too preposterous to be accepted. But if the real problem was an alternative between this demand and the straightforward offer of a really satisfying place for the Nagas in the Indian Union the solution of the problem would certainly not have taken so long to come. There was an evident failure to wean away the allegiance of the general body of Nagas from the disruptive elements.

It is admittedly not easy to assess the official claims for a success of the policy towards the Nagas. It is stated that the number of rebel Nagas is now less than 1,500 whereas some ten years ago it was 10,000. People in many areas are reported to have "disowned" the rebel Nagas. The Governor of Assam also had stated during the last budget session of the State Assembly that the Naga area had been 'quiet' except for 'minor' incidents. Yet about the beginning of October, the Indian Army encountered one of the most determined onslaughts of the Naga rebels, at Chakasang of Kohima district in the Naga Hills-Tuensang area. Official circles maintained a significant silence over this affair which is believed to be the biggest hostile ambush within the past four years resulting, as it inflicted, in the second highest (nine) casualties in the army, since the troubles had started in the Naga Hills.

It is against this sombre background that the second Naga people's convention assembled at Mokokchung to work out a permanent solution of the Naga problem. There seems to have occurred an initial hitch which had led the Chakasang Naga representatives to withdraw from the deliberations of the Select Committee. News about the conference has been very much scanty because of the refusal to allow the newspaper reporters not only to cover the convention but even to visit Mokok-

chung, the official explanation being that the Nagas do not like newspaper reporters.

The convention, which was in session from October 22 to 26, adopted a 16-point draft constitution to form the basis of negotiations with the Government of India for the final Naga settlement. The proposals envisage the formation of a separate Nagaland within the Indian Union, the restoration of peace, the further extension of the period of the general pardon to the underground Nagas, and the release of all political prisoners in the Naga areas. The proposed Nagaland, covering about 6,300 miles of territory lying on the strategic far eastern part of India with a total population of over four lakhs, will comprise the Naga Hills-Tuensang area with twenty-two district Naga tribes speaking two different dialects. It will be headed by a Governor with a council of ministers elected by, and responsible to, a popularly-elected legislature which will have supreme voice over all matters connected with cultural and tribal affairs of the Nagas. No Act of Parliament touching these matters can be effective without the concurrence of this Naga council. A working committee consisting of two or three members from each tribe is to be constituted for conducting negotiations with the underground Naga leaders to facilitate whose movement the convention has urged for the relaxation of security measures. The results of the negotiation are to be made known by the end of November.

Following this convention, Dr. Inkongliba Ao, who presided over the convention, has made an extensive tour of the Naga areas to assure the situation and generally apprise the people of the decisions reached at the convention. Discussions are also stated to have taken place in Kohima and other places in the Naga Hills among Naga leaders themselves and underground Nagas on those points. Dr. Ao also has had preliminary discussions with General Shrinagesh, the Governor of Assam, who is in direct charge of the administration of the Naga areas, about the future administrative set up of the proposed Nagaland. Meanwhile, Shri P. N. Luthra, Commissioner of the Naga Hills-Tuensang Area has also had consultations with the Central Government over these latest developments.

Before the actual discussions between the Naga representatives and the Government can take place, the Nagas will have to decide upon the composition of the committee that is to represent them in the discussions. In coming to a decision, the Government will have to bear in mind the utter impossibility of allowing the present uncertainties to continue in a part which is strategically one of the most important areas as also the moral obligation of a democratic government to respect the wishes of the people within the framework of national unity.

S. S.

Demand for New States

The prospects of the bifurcation of the Bombay State have led many to raise the cry for the creation of new States. The call for a Punjabi Suba has been renewed by Master Tara Singh. There is a strong sentiment among a section of the Maharashtrians for a separate Vidarbha State. The Delhi Pradesh Congress Committee's political conference, meeting in Delhi on November 19 passed a resolution demanding the establishment of a full-fledged State Government in Delhi. There has also been a demand for extending the boundaries of the Himachal Pradesh by incorporating certain areas of Uttar Pradesh and Punjab. An adjournment motion was moved in the Himachal Territorial council on November 19 to discuss the situation arising out of the hunger-strike of Shri Satyadev Bushahri, convenor of the Vishal Himachal Samiti, in the council compound.

Earlier, an "all-party" convention in New Delhi met in the first week of Nevember and formed a committee, with Mr. S. K. D. Paliwal of Uttar Pradesh as President and Shri Sher Singh of Punjab as Secretary to pursue the proposal for the formation of a Vishal Haryana State, including the Western districts of Uttar Pradesh, the Hindi-speaking areas of Panjab, the Alwar and Bharatpur Districts of Rajasthan and the Delhi Municipal Corporation.

The arguments of the sponsors of the new move were that the formation of the proposed State was dictated by historical, economic, and political considerations alike. The historical continuity of Delhi as a separate political entity had been disrupted by the British in 1858 as a measure of punishment to the patriotic people of the region. Sardar K. M. Panikkar, they pointed out, in his minute of dissent to the report of the States' Reorganization Commission had clearly stated the political and economic grounds on which the division of Uttar Pradesh was desirable. Even Mahatma Gandhi and Mr. Jinnah, Mr. Sher Singh added, had actively encouraged the idea of a partition of U.P. Last of all, the virtual decision to split up bilingual Bombay into two distinct Maharashtrian and Gujerati speaking areas left no sense in sticking to the bilingual principle only in the case of Punjab where the experiment of regional languages was a demonstrated failure. The demand for a Vishal Haryana State comes as a reaffirmation of the fears expressed by Shri Pannikkar that the discontent of the people of the western parts of Uttar Pradesh about the state of things there was likely to gain grounds as time passed. "The argument put forward by some of the MLA's from the Western districts (of U.P.) in their memorandum submitted to us", Shri Panikkar said, "clearly shows that the claim of homogeneity and the desire of the different areas of U.P. to remain together have, to say the least, been overstated."

When the Government has decided to reopen the question of reorganistation of states with regard to Bombay, it should take the opportunity to review the minority views expressed in the Report of the S.R.C. to be assured that conditions now do not justify any rearrangement in any place.

S.S.

Foreign Capital and Indian Industries

Before independence the people in India always opposed the inflow of foreign capital to this country, as if but for the foreign capital invested in this country, the indigenous capital would have played a more effective and efficient role in the industrial development of the country. That outlook dominated even after the attainment of independence. After independence the Government of India had to redefine its attitude to the inflow of foreign capital and the Indian industrialists tried to oppose by various means the inflow of foreign capital. As a result of the threat of socialism and the opposition by Indian industrialists, there was the repatriation of foreign capital on a large-scale. Industrialists in India thought at that time that if repatriation of foreign capital takes on a larger scale, they would step into these existing concerns without much trouble and that actually happened.

But now the thing is otherwise and it is being realised both by the industrialists in India as well as by the authorities. And it is that mere finance capital does not create an industry nor does the acquisition and possession of an industry necessarily mean smooth sailing. Entrepreneural piloting is an essential basis of the successful functioning of an industrial enterprise. Now the outlook is changed. Both the industrialists in India and also the Government of India are ardent in inviting foreign capital to this country, simply because the indigenous capital has become stagnant and sterility has overcome the entrepreneural initiative of the industrialists of India. They cannot start a new industry without the co-operation of foreign capital and foreign initiative. The lack of technical knowledge on the part of the Indians is not the main hindrance towards the growth of industries in this country. The Private Sector lacks the foresight, initiative and the courage to take the risk. In the post-independent era, nearly all big industries in the Private Sector in India have developed either solely by foreign capital or by Indian capital in co-operation with foreign capital.

The progress of the Indian capital alone in the field of industrial enterprises in this country is insignificant. Now the Government of India has realised that the Private Sector in India has not the ability to undertake rapid industrialisation of the country. Retardation of industrial growth means increasing poverty of the people and unemployment. The mixed economy which was regarded as just a passing phase a few years ago is now being regarded to be the permanent phase and feature for some

time to come. Socialism is fast receding both in concept as well as in practice. Steps are now being taken by the authorities to provide larger incentives to the inflow of private foreign capital and also the foreign technical knowledge. In his report to the Lok Sabha on his foreign tour, Sri Morarji Desai, the Union Finance Minister, said that he had made it clear to foreign private investors that India did not believe in nationalisation as a creed, and had, therefore, no programme of nationalisation as such. This did not mean, however, that particular industries would not be nationalised if public interest demanded it. In such an event compensation would be paid. He further said that there was no scope for apprehension on the part of foreign investors, in regard to the security of their investments in India. To reassure such investors further, the Government of India have expressed their readiness to consider entering into suitable agreements with those countries which had programmes for insuring investments of their nationals in foreign countries, in cases specially approved by both Governments concerned, against expropriation without payment of full compensation.

With a view to providing incentives to foreign capital, the Government of India will, it is reported, shortly negotiate with the U.S. Government a scheme of incentives for increased flow of U.S. equity capital to India. The incentives will be in the form of repatriation guarantee of basic investments and profits, expropriation guarantee against possible nationalisation and guarantee against war risks. India has already provided a great incentive to the inflow of U.S. capital by entering into an agreement on double taxation. The guarantee in respect of repatriation of the basic investments and profits has already been given by the Government of India in its policy declaration on foreign capital made in 1948. This guarantees in effect the convertibility of the U.S. investments in this country into dollar payments in case of nationalisation by India. Under this policy declaration, American investors in India are assured by the U.S. Government about the repatriation of the basic investments along with profits and assets into dollars.

Under the agreement on guarantee against expropriation, the U.S. Government desires some kind of a bilateral arrangement which will specifically indicate the quantum of compensation to be paid by India in the event of nationalisation. The Indian Constitution, however, guarantees compensation in case of nationalisation. These reports indicate that the private indigenous capital has failed to do its part of the job. It may be recalled that in 1956, the World Bank advised the then Finance Minister of India to scrap socialism with a view to providing larger incentives to the inflow of private foreign capital. In the view of the World Bank at that time, the economic regeneration of India will be accelerated by the inflow of private foreign capital.

N.R.

International Development Association

In the field of international development finance the World Bank occupies the apex position. It is the main international institution from which member-countries obtain financial assistance for their economic development and resources. Notwithstanding its creditable achievements since its inception, there are many limitations to its lending capacity and policy, and with a view to supplementing its activities the International Finance Corporation was set up a few years ago. The IFC's role is to render assistance to the industries in the private sector without requiring any guarantee of the government of the country wherein is situated the industrial enterprise concerned. In other words, the IFC is designed to bring about an effective flow of private capital through an international organisation to the industries based on private initiative and enterprise.

This year another organisation has been brought into being and this is known as the International Development Association. Both the International Finance Corporation and the International Development Association will function as affiliates of the World Bank. The IDA has been set up mainly on the initiative of the USA. Its main object is to help the underdeveloped countries in the task of raising their living standards. In recent years it is being realised that the international liquidity as well as the movement of capital has not been taking place on an equitable basis. When international liquidity is retarded, concentration of gold holdings take place in certain countries beyond the needed level and as a result the surplus gold is immobilised. The increase in the share capital of the IMF and the IBRD was a step towards raising the liquidity of surplus gold holdings of member-countries. The setting up of the IDA is another step towards increasing the international liquidity.

The capital of the International Development Association will be $1,000 million. Of this amount, nearly three-fourths will be taken over by the developed countries, including Japan. The USA will subscribe $320 million and the U.K's share will be $140 million. Thus, nearly, half the share capital will be subscribed by the USA and the U.K. In view of the fact that the USA is losing heavily gold holdings in recent years, her contribution to the share capital of the IDA may be in the form of non-convertible dollars. That is, the quota of its cash can be available for purchasing U.S. goods in the USA. The establishment of the IDA has for the time being put off the scheme of the Commonwealth Development Bank.

The main difference between the IFC and the IDA is that while the former is designed to render assistance to private enterprises in underdeveloped countries without requiring Government guarantee, the IDA will help industries in the public sector of the member-countries for which loans will not be available from the World Bank. The IDA will thus complement the activities of the World Bank where the latter is not in a position to render assistance. The International Development Association is an international pattern of the U.S. Development Loan Fund. It is being set up to lend at a low rate of interest for a fairly long period. Such type of loan is now called the "soft loan," that is, a loan which is given for a long period at a low rate of interest, even if it becomes uneconomical to the lender. The IDA will mainly assist the underdeveloped countries and the bulk of the repayment may be in the currency of the borrowing country. Thus the borrowing country will have an additional advantage in that it can repay the major portion of the loan in its own currency and that will be another way of increasing its exports.

At the Commonwealth Finance Ministers' conference held in London, India stressed two points with respect to the IDA. The first was that the IDA should be an additional source of development finance and not a substitute for any of the existing sources. Secondly, that less developed countries should not be required to "lock up" their scare foreign exchange resources in the share capital of the IDA. Many countries are, however, not convinced that the IDA could function effectively on the basis of most of its loans being repaid in local currencies. The difficulty will inevitably arise when the borrowing countries will insist upon the bulk of their loan being paid in their own currencies. It may happen that most of these currencies cannot be converted in dollar or gold an account of the balance of payment deficit of the borrowing country. The difficulty will also arise if the borrowing country has not the adequate types of commodities which the lending countries may require in repayment of the loan. To allow the borrowing countries to repay the bulk of the loan in their currencies will no doubt be a great incentive for borrowing. But instead of increasing the international liquidity, such a practice may act as a clog on the free movement of international capital. The repayment envisages practically a barter deal in terms of which the borrowing country may be enabled to repay the loan. But if the currency of the borrowing country is not in demand in international money market or if her goods are not wanted in sufficient quantity, then repayment will remain a problem.

N.R.

International Trade and Restrictions

At the fifteenth session of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT),

held in Tokyo during the last week of October this year, discriminatory restrictions on international trade were discussed and most of the member-countries were in favour of abolition of such restrictions. They declared that discriminatory trade restrictions were no longer justified. Since the end of the Second World War, while there has been much preaching for the free convertibility of currencies and free and multilateral trade, member-countries themselves, notably countries of the West, have put up trade barriers by the imposition of high tariffs and did not allow their currencies to be freely convertible. While the USA has been an ardent advocate of free trade and the abolition of zonal currency areas, she herself has put up high tariffs against the import of primary goods from underdeveloped countries of the world. Similarly, Britain so long stoutly resisted the free convertibility of sterling, apprehending that this would affect her foreign trade. The sterling has been made convertible within certain limitations in 1958.

The IMF., the IBRD and the Havana Trade Charter were designed to bring about free and multilateral trade in the world. But the imposition of high tariffs and the restrictions on convertibility have deferred the Havana Trade Charter being put into effect. The communique issued by the fifteenth session of the GATT welcomed the action taken during 1958 by certain countries to make their currencies convertible for non-residents. The member-countries agreed, that as a result of this development there was no longer any justification, on balance of payments grounds for discriminatory restrictions by countries whose export earnings were largely inconvertible currencies and noted the measures already taken by a number of countries to reduce discrimination. The member-countries considered that rapid progress could now be made in the elimination of all quantitative restrictions on imports by countries no longer experiencing balance of payments difficulties. The countries felt that the present favourable climate of international trade made it important to press on with the GATT programme for trade expansion.

It may be pointed out that the IMF has been in favour of free trade and it views with dismay the existence and continuance of any restriction on trade. At the recent annual session of the IMF, the following resolution was adopted:

"In some countries, considerable progress has already been made towards the elimination of discriminatory restrictions; in others, much remains to be done. Recent international financial developments have established an environment favourable to the elimination of discrimination for balance of payments reasons. There has been a substantial improvement in the reserve position of the industrial countries in particular, and widespread moves to external convertibility have taken place. In these circumstances, the Fund considers that there is no longer any balance of payments justification for discrimination by members whose current receipts are largely in externally convertible currencies However, the Fund recognises that, where such discriminatory restrictions have been long maintained, a reasonable amount of time may be needed fully to eliminate them. But this time should be short and members will be expected to proceed with all feasible speed in eliminating discrimination against member-countries, including that arising from bilateralism."

The IMF further makes the observation that the extensive move towards convertibility has been halted because a substantial portion of the current receipts of some countries is still subject to limitations on convertibility, particularly in payments relations with State-trading countries.

The USA recommended abolition of discriminatory trade restrictions during the next few months. In its view, the continuation of discrimination can only weaken the world economic system and also the international trade and financial institutions. The USA is at present running a surplus of exports of goods and services at a rate of about $3,500 million a year. But this surplus has not been adequate to cover America's payments to the rest of the world resulting from its policies of aiding less developed countries, encouraging private investment abroad and helping to maintain defensive strength overseas in the interest of the security of the free world. The U.S. representative said: "If we measure the overall deficit in the U.S. balance of payments by the net transfers of gold and liquid dollar assets from the U.S.A. to the rest of the world, we find that the deficit was $3,400 million in 1958 and is expected to be around $4,000 million this year."

It is now well recognised that the quantitative trade restrictions constitute the major obstacle to trade expansion. In recent years there has been considerable improvement in the balance of payments position of the industrially developed countries. But the chairman of this year's GATT session, Mr. Fernando Garcia of Chile, pointed out that the terms of trade, which had favoured the industrialized nations, had been secured at the cost of lower prices for raw materials from the less developed nations. He said that the parties to the agreement should now devote more time to the problems of the developing countries. He also pointed out that if differences of opinion about agricultural protectionism continued much longer, "they might endanger the solidarity of our institution."

But that is the crux of the problem which the GATT has not been able to solve during the last fourteen years of its existence. The developed countries today have built up high trade and tariff barriers against the import of primary goods from the less-developed areas of the world. India, being a major producer of primary goods, has suffered most as a result of high tariffs imposed by industrially developed countries of the West on its export of agricultural commodities. India has been receiving not only lesser amounts on its export of primary goods, her foreign trade has also shrunk considerably. The countries which are predominantly agricultural have experienced a set-back in their export trade and this is bound to continue until and unless the developed countries see their way to liberalise their import trade, particularly from underdeveloped areas.

India's Minister for Commerce, urged the GATT organisation to launch a positive programme for the expansion of the export trade of less-developed countries. He put forward three proposals to achieve this aim at the GATT session. These proposals are: firstly, reduction of levies which tend to restrict consumption of goods originating in less developed countries; secondly, lowering of the high tariffs imposed on the import of semi-processed and processed goods while allowing raw materials to be imported duty-free or on a low duty. And, thirdly, tariff negotiations scheduled for next year must aim at a relatively greater expansion of trade of less-developed countries.

The Indian representative expressed regret that discriminatory quantitative restrictions were being applied against goods of underdeveloped countries which had no balance of payments difficulties and whose currencies were convertible. "This position is clearly illegal under the GATT." The Indian Commerce Minister drew the attention of other countries to attempts which were being made to justify these restrictions on the ground that wages in the underdeveloped countries were low and said that if this argument was accepted as valid, then there was no place in the GATT for underdeveloped countries. India refuted arguments that goods produced in underdeveloped countries cost less because of low wages. If a producer is to be discriminated against, merely because his cost is lower, "then we might as well write off international co-operation in the matter of trade."

India cannot leave unchallenged the stand of countries which maintained that low wages in underdeveloped countries provide an adequate reason for keeping out their goods from international trade. If the discriminatory trade restrictions imposed by the industrially developed countries on exports of agricultural commodities from less developed countries were withdrawn, then many of the problems that face today the GATT would have been

solved and the world today might have witnessed an expansion of trade.

The formation of the European Economic Community provides another stumbling block towards the achievement of free trade. The European trade arrangements in the shape of the common market of the "inner six" and the Free Trade Association of the "outer seven" will hinder the world trade. Britain however gave the assurance to the Commonwealth countries that in negotiating the Free Trade Association, Britain had kept the Commonwealth interests to the fore, and that these would continue to be safeguarded to the best of Britain's ability. At the Commonwealth Finance Ministers' conference held in London, the Finance Ministers of Australia and New Zealand criticised the formation of the Free Trade Area and pointed out the likely adverse effects of it on their export trade. Other Commonwealth countries also criticised the formation of the Free Trade Association. The Indian Finance Minister demanded that Britain must not accept any commitment under the F.T.A. which might inhibit India's exports of textiles to the U.K. But the latest development is that Britain has taken away the import of Indian textiles from the O.G.L.

The association of member countries of overseas dependencies with either the Free Trade Association or the European Common Market would be inimical to the economic interests of the Commonwealth as well as of Asia and Africa. The rules of the European Common Market will adversely affect the exports of South-East Asia, Africa and Latin America. These areas are mainly the exporters of raw meterials and their balance of payments position will further be retarded by the restrictions to be imposed by the European Economic Community. India has chronic trade deficits with the six countries of the Common Market. While India made representation to the six countries of the European Common Market about her trade difficulties with them, India was called upon to prove evidence of actual damage to her trade. It is common knowledge that nearly one-third of deficit India's balance of payments position occurs in her trade with the OEEC countries. The matter is so obvious that it does not call for further proof. Unless the European Free Trade Association works in consonance with GATT principles, it would be a tragedy for the GATT. If the growth of regional arrangements of this kind were to mean a going back on the fundamentals of the idea of the most favoured nation treatment on which the GATT is based, the end of the GATT may be visualised in the near future.

N.R.

Disarmament

The resolution passed by the Political Committee of the United Nations on October 27 did not denote any new departure in the discussions on disarmament. The resolution which was jointly moved by the Soviet Union and the Western Powers merely called for agreement to be reached on disarmament "in the shortest possible time" and, by refraining from commenting upon the merit of the specific plans of disarmament submitted by the various powers and forwarding all of them for discussion by the ten-nation disarmament committee announced in August, only shifted the arena of debate from the General Assembly to that committee which is scheduled to meet in Geneva in 1960. Of the eight sponsors of the resolution Great Britain, France, USA, the USSR, Italy, Canada, Brazil and India—the first six are themselves members of the new ten-member committee, which also includes Poland, Czechoslovakia, Rumania and Bulgaria—an embodiment of the recognition of the persistent Soviet claim for parity of representation of communist and non-communist states in the disarmament commission the refusal to concede which had immobilised the United Nations Disarmament Commission for nearly three years. The proposal is thus assured of an easy (if not actually unanimous) passage through the General Assembly.

The unanimity between the West and the East—at least at this stage—must be regarded only an apparent one dictated by the already published agreement of the Heads of these states to meet for a summit conference early next year. It is certainly not reasonable to expect that the deliberations of that high level conference should have been anticipated by the discussions in the United Nations Disarmament Commission or the General Assembly which virtually means the same thing—the political composition of both being identical (a vain attempt to bypass the Soviet claim for parity, as the appointment of the 10-member committee has since demonstrated). This accord does not go beyond the point reached in August last when the USA, the UK, and the USSR almost simultaneously announced their decision to continue their ban on nuclear arms tests until the end of this year.

This does not mean that the new unanimity is without significance. The fact that the two sides have decided to desist from mutual recrimination is a notable achievement. However, some amount of caution with regard to optimism about disarmament prospects is counselled by history, which bears the record of deliberations extending over many years and running to about fifteen thousand printed pages having led to the only result of producing the Second World War, which was incomparably far more devastating than the First. The specific points of disagreement cover a wide field and are rather too numerous to admit of early reconciliation—not to mention the difficulty of overcoming the sustained suspicion on both sides.

Yet the goal is unmistakable as also is the need for an early agreement on the methods of reaching it. If it is held, as all right-thinking persons do, that war has become obsolete as a means of reconciliation of international differences which even the statesmen of nuclear countries find it difficult to deny, the stock-piling and developing of destructive armaments become not only totally meaningless but also debilitating. The only means of averting this vast wastage is disarmament. And the primary responsibility naturally vests upon those who have the largest number of the most lethal armaments. Already a vast amount of the world's wealth has been buried in the production of nuclear weapons which cannot serve any conceivable human purpose and, unless an early agreement is reached among the major powers, far larger amounts will go down the drain of inter-space and inter-stellar weapon production.

S.S.

Developments in Ceylon

Developments in Ceylon, which followed the assassination of Shri Solomon Bandaranaike, have borne out the fears expressed in these columns that there was deep political involvement behind the murder of the Ceylonese Premier. The disclosures are astounding. The revolver with which Shri Bandaranaike had been shot belonged to a person whom the Finance Minister of Ceylon described as his friend; the present Prime Minister, Shri Dahanayake, had very intimate connections with the high priest of Kelanyia temple, Reverend Buddharakhita Thero, who was arrested as one of the suspects in the murder plot, and had actually consulted him upon the expulsion of a Cabinet Minister (Shri Philip Gunawardene) and the reconstitution of the Cabinet.

During the discussions in Parliament over the motion of no-confidence against the Dahanayake Cabinet, the Opposition leaders openly charged many of the members of the Government with complicity in murder or with thwarting the proper investigation of the murder. The way the Opposition spokesman, Dr. N. M. Perera, spoke accusing the Government was unparalleled in the history of Parliamentary Government. And the Government have not as yet refuted any of the facts in his statement, which were most devastating—particularly for the Prime Minister, the Finance Minister, Shri Stanley de Zoysa and Mrs. Vimla Wijewardene, the dismissed Minister for Local Government and Housing. The subsequent arrest of Mrs. Wijewardene and Shri Dickie de Zoysa, elder brother of the Finance Minister in connection with the Bandaranaike assassination case brought added significance to those charges.

The new Prime Minister's half-hearted performance did little to dispel the public scepticism about the ability and willingness of the present Government to conduct an impartial

and thorough investigation into the circumstances leading to the assassination, which was openly shared by several important members of the Cabinet itself. Shri Dahanayake did not dismiss Mrs. Wijewardene until he was forced into this action by his Cabinet colleagues who had approached the Governor-General, Sir Oliver Goonetilleke to seek her dismissal. Similarly he continued in his refusal to order for her arrest until November, 19. The extraordinarily confused character of the whole situation was revealed by the fact that only a few days earlier the Deputy Inspector-General of Police, Shri Sidney de Zoysa, another brother of the Finance Minister, whose interdiction from police service had unsuccessfully been demanded by many including ten sitting Cabinet Ministers—had issued a public statement, on the authorization of Shri Valentine Jayawickrema, the Minister of Justice, that there was no evidence to warrant the arrest of Mrs. Wijewardene in connection with the murder.

The cabinet earned the vote of confidedce in the last week of October with the bare majority of 48 votes to 43. But its moral defeat was beyond doubt not only because of the fact that without the votes of the six nominated members in its favour the Government would have lost, but also because of the none-too-concealed dissatisfaction of several of its own members about the composition and functioning of the Government. For example, immediately after the vote of confidence had been taken in the House of Representatives where they had supported the Government, seven Cabinet Ministers went to confer with the Governor-General to express their dissatisfaction with the manner in which the investigations into the assassination were being carried out.

The Minister of Finance, Shri Stanley de Zoysa, was a particular target of attack. After the arrest of his elder brother and the public complaints against his other brother, Shri Sidney de Zoysa, and his alleged intimacy with persons suspected in the murder plot, the Opposition demand for his resignation, which was openly shared by members of the Cabinet, seemed to be the only decent course for him to take and for the Prime Minister to insist upon. Meanwhfle there was a renewed effort to seek a new Parliamentary election by the Opposition which the Government would find it difficult to resist unless it acted resolutely to recover part of its lost prestige. The arrest of Mrs. Wijewardene, Shri Dickie de Zoysa and Ossie Corea, through whom the revolver with which Shri Bandaranaike was killed had passed into the assassin's hands on November 19 indicated that such an effort was under way —if belatedly. The position of the Prime Minister, Shri Dahanayake, continued to be extremely vulnerable.

Since writing the above, the two de Zoysa brothers have had to bow to pepular demand.

S.S.

Nathdwara Report

The report of Chief Justice Sarjoo Prasad of Rajasthan High Court on the unlawful removal of jewellery belonging to the deity, Shri Nathji of Nathdwara in Rajasthan by the high priest of the temple, comes as a further confirmation of the popular belief that religious institutions and funds are not being managed properly, a sort of vested interest having grown in such mismanagement. The report also shows how a great idea can degenerate into an instrument of exploitation of the unwary by people of lost character. The temple of Shri Nathji had continued to be managed by the descendants of Vallabhacharya, the Vaishnava saint of the fifteenth century. In the course of time the temple had acquired a rich store of property and valuables worth untold lakhs of rupees, through the contribution of Vaishnava devotees from all over India. The valuables used to be stored in a room called *Gahanaghar* which had an inner apartment called the "Akhand Kotha" the existence of which had remained a mystery for about twenty years because of the refusal of the family of the priest to vouchsafe its location to the committee which had been appointed by the Maharaja of Udaipur to manage the affairs of the temple and of the Tilkayat (as the high priest was known) during the infancy of Shri Govindlal, the 14th high priest of the temple who had been nominated to succeed his grandfather, Shri Govardhanlal in supersession of the claims of his father, Shri Damodarlal, who had become extremely unpopular because of his infatuation with a woman of easy virtue.

The family of the priest never looked upon the committee with favour and in collusion with certain court officials did everything to prevent the committee from being effective. At any rate the committee had never the opportunity to prepare an inventory of the articles in the 'Akhand Kotha' or 'Akhoot Bhandar' as it was also popularly known. Govindlal came of age in 1948, but like his father he also fell victim to evil company and began to squander money belonging to the temple which caused much discontent among a section of the Vaishnava devotees. During the period of his management between 1948 and 1952, there was a total deficit of over 32 lakhs of rupees, the deficit in the account of the estate of Shri Nathji the deity, being about 23 lakhs of rupees and that in the personal account of Govindlal being nine lakhs and a half. Among his misadventures with the public money belonging to the deity were the purchase of pleasure-bungalows in Bombay at inflated prices and the purchase of allegedly spurious shares in the Mundhra concerns from the father of Shri Haridas Mundhra of LIC affair.

Under public pressure Govindlal was obliged to entrust his power of attorney to a managing committee of twenty-one persons of which he, as the high priest, was chairman and Shri Moolraj Kersondas, a very able and public-spirited man was Vice-chairman, and whose efficient handling of affairs not only made it possible to repay the debts in about two years' time, but actually created a surplus. The Tilkayat managed to dissolve the Committee and appoint another Committee of eleven of which Shri Moolraj was one of the members. While this committee was in charge, on December 25, 1957 Govindlal broke open the "Akhand Kotha" and took away all the valuables without the Committee's knowledge or authorization. Provoked by public agitation, the Rajasthan Government constituted a Commission of Enquiry on March 12, 1958 with the then Chief Justice of Rajasthan, Shri Wanchoo, as the member. That Commission could not be effective for various reasons and the Sarjoo Prasad Commission was appointed on March 10, 1959.

Thus nearly two years after the incident of the removal of the treasures of Shri Nathj of Nathdwara we have an authoritative report on the actual happenings. The Commission leaves no doubt about the criminal intention of the priest (Talkayat shri Govindlal) of misappropriating the treasures in which he was willy-nilly helped by the employees of the temple and two local members of the managing Committee. "His (Govindlal) claim both in regard to title and possession (of the valuables in Akhand Kotha)" Justice Sarjoo Prasad says, "has been found against him. The title to the Kotha and its contents was in Shri Nathji. Even possession he (Govindlal) had lost. . . . . The *de jure* or even *de facto* possession of the *Gahanaghar* was with the the power of attorney holders who exercised control on the spot through the Executive Officer. Therefore, the Tilkayat had no right at all to break open the *Gahanaghar* and remove the valuables. It was a reckless act on his part for which he incurred grave and serious liability—I should think both civil and criminal" (p. 93 of the *Report of the Nathdwara Inquiry Commission*, Jaipur, 1959).

The Commission emphasises the deliberate attempt made by Shri Govindlal and his associates to suppress the truth. The Tilkayat's evidence, to quote the Commission's words, was "an impudent lie, which no one with any modicum of self-respect would have ventured to do."

The Report of the Nathdwara Commission indirectly bears out the superiority of Committee management of religious funds and trusts. The Chief Justice of Rajasthan High Court has paid a glowing tribute to the Managing Committee of Shri Nathji's property (except the two local members whom he has sharply criticised). "One may not accept the validity of all that they did but the record leaves no scope for thinking that they did not act in the best interest of the temple and with a view to protect the properties of Shri Nathji", he says.

The Commission has absolved the present Chief Minister, Shri Mohanlal Sukhodia, of any complicity in the removal of the valuables by

the Tilkayat. However, there are certain references in the report which require further clarification. For example on page 94, of the *Report* it has been said: "There can be, therefore, no doubt about the responsibility of the Tilkayat. . . . . I do not think his conduct was at all *bona fide*, as his counsel suggests. *He even got possession of the relevant files on the appointment of the Wanchoo Commission with a view to hamper or retard the investigation.*" (Italics added).

The question is how the files got into the hands of an outsider?

S.S.

Karnal Murder Trial

The Karnal Murder Trial, judgement on which was delivered on November 12, is one of the most remarkable court trials of modern India. The proceedings of the trial are as interesting as the story of the case which reads like a first class mystery tale. It was alleged in the prosecution case that Shri D. S. Grewal, former Superintendent of Police in the Karnal district of Punjab and nine other police officers of the district had conspired to kill three citizens—Shri Hazara Singh, his brother Pyara Singh of Samana Bahu village and Gian Singh of Shahabad—and, in pursuance of that conspiracy, had actually murdered those three persons by shooting them to death after tying them to a tree at a place on the Grand Trunk Road near the Samana Bahu village on the night of July 14-15, 1957. The accused pleaded not guilty to the charges of conspiracy and murder saying that the deceased had been habitual offenders of law and that they had met with their death in an encounter with the police party which had gone to that place to prevent a dacoity with murder which the three deceased had planned to commit that night. In his 873-page judgment, the judge absolved all the accused of all the charges brought against them and asked them to be set at liberty.

The Karnal Murder trial naturally aroused great public interest which was well founded. The accused were all high police officers and it seemed that rather far too many in number implicated in a case of conspiracy and murder of three citizens. To this was added the allegations made by the accused that they were victims of a foul conspiracy and that the present Chief Minister of Punjab, Sardar Pratap Singh Kairon, was unduly interested in punishing them. The accused further alleged that they would not receive a fair trial in Punjab which necessitated the case to be transferred to the court of a Special Judge at New Delhi. Another interesting point was that while the prosecution produced 158 witnesses in the court, the defence produced none. Yet the verdict went in favour of the accused. The Judge remarked upon the delay in bringing up the case. The incident occurred in July 1957. The accused were arrested only in November 1958—about a year and a half later on.

The Karnal Murder trial raises a few points of fundamental importance which goes far beyond the merits or demerits of the contestants in that case. The very fact that the prosecution failed to prove the charges is a serious reflection upon the ability of the police administration in Punjab. The proceedings of the trial provided one of the rarest opportunities to the public to have a glimpse behind the facade, into the inner working of the Government departments—and the police department in particular—primarily of Punjab, which however cannot be far different in other States which have a similar administrative set-up of procedure and personnel.

The evidence given in the course of the trial by senior police officials, who are still in service holding positions of great authority and responsibility, showed that many—far too many, one would say—police officers felt, no compunction of conscience in recording which the judge pronounced to be false evidence tampering with records and in doing much else that was still worse and would have landed any other citizen behind the prison bars. Shri S. D. Singh, the Special Sessions Judge, who tried the case said: "If the prosecution were, in fact, fair and above-board, there is no reason why those witnesses should not have been put in the dock and made to stand their trial along with the accused." He characterised Shri Vishwamitter, Deputy Superintendent of Police, who was one of the prosecution witnesses, as a "comical liar" and named an Inspector of Police as having perjured himself in court. "The high police officers" the Judge said, "Shri Ram Singh, Additional I.G. of Police and others, appear to have believed that they would be pleasing the Chief Minister, and thereby serving their own ends, if they went out of their way and arranged false evidence, which might somehow secure the conviction of the accused, particularly Shri Grewal."

The conduct of the magistrates and the doctor giving medical evidence came in for equal condemnation by the Judge, bearing out the defence fear that there were influential elements in Punjab bent upon their liquidation. Three magistrates had failed to follow the ordinary regulations regarding verification proceedings. Referring to that fact the Judge said: "And this may well indicate that there has been the same undercurrent working behind the minds of the different magistrates."

The administration of Punjab stands self-condemned from the judgment. What is of particular concern is that the name of the Chief Executive of the State Government should also have been brought in in these irregularities. The Judge understandably refrained from making a definite comment upon the conduct of the Chief Minister but his related remarks make it extremely desirable that some high-powered committee review his role in the matter. The Private Secretary to the Chief Minister, Shri Asa Singh, also came in for very adverse remarks for lack of his courage and sense of responsibility.

The chief lesson to be derived from the Karnal Murder trial is the demonstration of the inescapable necessity of making the police processes subject to review in all cases including those of preventive detention as well as in cases of other executive action affecting the fundamental rights of citizens to employment and movement. The disclosures of the Karnal case, in the perspective of the criticism voiced by judges from other States on the performance of the police administration, further show that it is high time that a national commission was constituted to review the administrative processes with particular reference to the working of the police departments with a view to increasing the responsiveness and responsibility of the administration and improving the tone of its integrity and efficiency. The actions of the Punjab Government on the observations of the Judge about the various officials serving the Government will also be watched with interest throughout the country.

S.S.

Pandit Nehru's Statement

Below we append the high-lights of Pandit Nehru's speech in the opening of the China debate as reported in Statesman:

Mr. Nehru said that though there were innumerable hurdles and difficulties in the way, "I should like this House, even though we are confronted with our problems and difficulties, to send its good wishes to the efforts of the great leaders who are working for peace."

The Prime Minister said: "A great responsibility rests on us and on the Government, but that responsibility can only be discharged if the House itself shoulders that responsibility in a very large measure as representing the country. Therefore, it is my intention to keep the House informed of every development in this situation and take counsel as to what policy we should adopt, for the present. We have especially to deal with certain recent developments—proposals made by Premier Chou En-lai and my reply containing alternative proposals.

"The House will no doubt consider them and express its views in regard to them. But behind those proposals lie certain basic approaches and basic principles. Our reactions must be conditioned and controlled by the basic policies that we pursue and the objectives we have.

"If we give up those basic policies, then our reactions sometimes may take us in the wrong direction or lead us in a direction not of our choice. Therefore, I think it is important that those basic policies should be kept in mind. Naturally, even basic policies have to be implemented in the light of the conditions that arise and, in this world of changing situations, we cannot ignore what happens. But we have to measure what happens in the light of any basic policy that we may hold.

"Therefore, I should like this House to consider in all aspects those basic polices

which have governed us and which I hope and trust will govern us in the future. If there is a vital difference in regard to those basic policies, then of course the steps we may think of taking may be different.

"In the old days, these policies were taken for granted and not put to the test of experience and danger. They are being put to the test now and it is necessary, therefore, that we should not merely take them for granted, but accept them or reject them as the House chooses. There should be no half way house in our thinking in matters of such importance.

"We are faced with grave problems. I do not mean to say there is an immediate danger of some magnitude. But the gravity of the problem lies certainly in the present and even more so in the future, and any step that we may take will be pregnant with possibilities. It is a problem obviously of much greater and much wider significance that what might be called a party problem. It transcends all party issues. It concerns the whole country, to some extent it concerns issues beyond our country, the issues of war and peace in the world.

"It is a tremendous responsibility for any individual or group like our Government to shoulder, to face these questions and decide wisely and firmly our policy and what steps we should take. No individual, if I may say so, no Government, is good enough by itself to shoulder this grave responsibility, because the consequences that flow from it do not flow for the Government only, but for the country and to some extent for the world.

"Therefore, I would beg this House to shoulder that responsibility and tell us what we should do about it. If we carry out those directions, well and good for us. If we cannot, let others carry out those directions, but let the directions be clear. We cannot deal with these matters in a half-hearted way, in a destructive way, in a party way, because the issues before us are grave and vital and by every step that we may take we sow certain seeds for the future which may bear good or ill fruit. It is in this mood and with this feeling of humility, that I approach this House. I seek its indulgence, if I say what I feel about these matters frankly, because frankness is desirable."

The Prime Minister then referred to India's policy of peace, friendship with all nations, non-alignment with Power blocs and avoidance of military pacts and said: "It is not for us to judge what others do about it. May be, circumstances are different or difficult for them. Other countries have to decide their policies and their alliances as they think best. Certainly I do not feel myself competent to criticize them or offer them advice. But certainly I feel, so far as our country is concerned, it is we who should judge and we have followed this policy. Now recently a cry has arisen in this country from some people criticizing and condemning that policy of non-alignment and Panch Sheel.

"It has been said that it has collapsed because of what has happened with regard to China. Some people have allowed themselves the pleasure of being humorous about it. It is not a particularly happy action being satirical or humorous about this issue. This policy has been our consistent policy for the last 10 years and indeed even before the words Panch Sheel came into use.

"Some years ago, some great countries in the world spoke rather lightly and casually of our policy, imagining or thinking that it was a policy of weakness, of sitting on the fence. But as years have gone by, wisdom has come to them—not all but many and the biggest of them—and today it is one of the bright features of the developments that take place before us that basically that very policy has not only been appreciated in so far as India is concerned, but it is also colouring and conditioning the activities of great nations. Let us not forget that," he said amidst cheers.

"I firmly believe that a right policy always yields right results. You may call me an idealist. I have been conditioned by this belief throughout my life and I cannot change at 70.

"By a strange turn of the wheel of fortune or fate, we, who have stood for peace, are faced with the possibility of even a war.

"I do not think a war will come, I am speaking about the possibilities only. I do not think the world or any country will be foolish enough to jump over the precipice into a war. But I do say that these possibilities come into our mind. Some people imagine that it is due to our policy of Panch Sheel and non-alignment. Any other policy would have brought infinitely greater dangers and brought them sooner, and at a time when we would not have the privilege (which we undoubtedly have today because of our policy) of wide friendship which we enjoy.

"Some Hon'ble Members also think that India has no friends. Their idea of friendship is to have a strong iron chain of pacts. It is not a chain of friendship, it is a chain forged by the compulsion of events. We do not want such chains to bind us. We want the friendship of all nations—great and small—with whom we may not agree on many matters, but with whom we want to remain in firm friendship.

"Some people talk loosely or casually about Panch Sheel or non-alignment. I would like them to tell me which of those principles they disapprove, which of them are bad and which of them they would not like India to act upon."

The Prime Minister felt that party advantage should not be sought in dealing with this matter at a time when the country was facing a "grievous situation." "Normally, a country does not function in a partisan way when questions of this magnitude are raised and when Parliament has to give the direction," he said.

Dealing with a "complaint" that the Government of India was not swift enough to inform the country of the Ladakh incident, Mr. Nehru said the complaint was based "on a complete misapprehension." The incident took place on October 21 and the information was given to the Press on the afternoon of October 23. He was in Calcutta with the Foreign Secretary on October 22 and they were told that a brief message had come about the conflict, wherein some persons had died. On the following day (October 23.), the Government got a fuller account. It was said that the Chinese had sent a protest Note a few hours earlier. The reason was obvious. The Indian party had to return to their base from the scene of the incident before sending a message. The Chinese were at their outpost.

Continuing, Mr. Nehru said: "We now face a situation which is partly a political situation, but partly also a military one, not military in the sense of a war coming, but military in the sense of taking steps to meet it. We have to prepare for all contingencies, in the sense that it is a military situation. Now obviously this House will not expect me to reveal what defence arrangements we are taking. But we can tell this House that at no time since independence were our defence forces in a better condition, in finer fettle and with far greater industrial production in the country to help them, than today: I am not boasting about them or comparing them with other countries, but I am quite confident that our defence forces are quite capable of looking after our security."

Mr. Nehru said that those people who expected the army to guard the 9,000 miles of India's borders at every point were the least acquainted with military matters. There was no point in rushing the army from this point to that on the border and getting it entangled. It should be in a position to hit hard at the right place to score the maximum effect against any intruder.

The Prime Minister reiterated that the real strength of the army lay in the growth of industrialization. The whole question of defence had to be considered in the context of the growth of industrialization, maintenance of defence and other industries and technological advance. The Five-Year Plans were meant to do this.

Referring to his reply to Mr. Chou En-lai's last letter, Mr. Nehru said: "I do feel that the approach we have made in our letter is a fair and reasonable one. It is an honourable one. It is certainly an honourable one for our country and, I

would repeat, it is an honourable one for China, unless you are bent upon war and you want drum-beating and strong language all the time—well, that is a different matter. I regret to say that I do not agree with that. I think that it is a wrong and dangerous policy. War is a dangerous policy. If war is thrust upon us, we have to defend ourselves. If war is thrust upon us, we shall fight with all our strength. That is a different matter. We shall, however, try to prevent it with every means in our power because it is a dangerous thing."

Mr. Nehru said that other countries, including China, should realize that these border incidents had a special significance for India, because it concerned the Himalayas. "These mountains are, of course, high, but they are something much more to us, more intimately tied up with India's history, tradition, faith, religion, beliefs, literature and culture than, to my knowledge, any other mountain anywhere. Whatever other mountains may be, the Himalayas are something much more than mountains to us. They are part of ourselves. I want everyone to realize how intimately this question affects our innermost being, quite apart from this question of the border."

The Opposition's Reply

Acharya Kripalani charged the Government with adopting a policy of appeasement towards China.

Acharya Kripalani, who spoke for about an hour, vehemently criticized the policy being adopted by the Prime Minister towards China, and said the "estimate made of the character of the Chinese revolution and rule" had been proved incorrect.

The Acharya said that whenever, this issue was sought to be discussed, the Government side started accusing the others of having said things which they had never said.

The Prime Minister had repeatedly stated, as also the Communist Party, that some people thoughtlessly talked of war with China without realizing the consequences.

"I am yet to know of any responsible public man who has talked of war with China. All that has ever been said is that the Chinese aggression must be stopped and the pockets occupied (by them) cleared. Any action to assert our sovereign rights to our own territory does not amount to war."

The Prime Minister and the Communists had always called the "Chinese aggression not as an invasion of India but border incidents." The Chinese had called their action an episode in their 2,000-year-old friendship. "If that is so our recovery of what is our own will be only an accident, or an episode in the 2,000-year-old friendship."

It was not the critics of the Government who had raised the scare of war but the authorities, Mr. Kripalani declared.

"They do so to silence the criticism of a policy which has been confined up to now to sending lengthy protest Notes which remain unanswered for months together, and sometimes are not answered at all."

A second misconception created by the authorities was that any suggestion of effective action against aggression would mean extension of the cold war to India and the end of India's neutrality. The principal parties to the cold war were the U.S.A. and Russia. If they had taken no sides on the issue, the question of extension of cold war to India would not arise.

Mr. Kripalani said that no responsible leader of any party had suggested that India should abandon her policy of non-alignment and join the Western bloc. What the critics of the Government wanted was "not the abandonment of neutrality but of passivity. They want an assurance that the defence of our borders will no more be neglected."

"No country in the world today can hope to resist successfully foreign aggression singlehanded, not even America or Russia. The critics want the authorities to make our position clear in this respect. It is that India will not hesitate to get military aid from any quarter to defend the country.

"As the Chinese aggression has nothing to do with world Communism, we shall be entitled to seek help, in a military emergency, both from the East and the West and from neutral countries, even as we get economic aid from every quarter. Help may be had on a lend-lease basis or on any other honourable terms."

Mr. Kripalani pointed out in this connection that Yugoslavia did not hesitate to take military aid from the U.S.A. in 1948, when under the threat of attack by Russia. It did not because of this give up its faith in Marxism, he said and added: "Nobody here has suggested that India should allow the establishment of foreign military bases here. But a declaration of readiness to accept foreign military aid in an emergency I feel, will be very helpful at the present juncture. It does not in any way minimize our present strength to deal with the limited problem that has arisen. It only provides for a contingency which we hope will never arise.

Such a declaration, he thought, would convince the Chinese that India had no intention of standing alone. "if the area of conflict is enlarged by their vicious attitude."

No nation could wait to resist aggression till its industrial potential had risen, he pointed out. By the time its "industrial potential" had expanded, it may have had lost its independence as well as its right to the industrial potential it had created.

The Prime Minister in one of his speeches was reported to have jeered at his critics and said that none of them would be found anywhere near the Ladakh border. This was a "strange way of arguing."

"I am sure none of the members of the Cabinet will be found anywhere near the front, if effective action is taken. This is not because they are mostly ailing and old men or because they lack courage, but because their presence at the front will be considered an unmitigated nuisance by the military authorities."

Criticizing the Government for neglecting communications in the border areas and minimizing the danger of Chinese activity there, the Acharya said that even as late as October 21 the Prime Minister said in Calcutta that he did not expect any fresh aggression. The very day nine Indian policemen were shot dead and ten kidnapped in Ladakh.

"I submit that the estimate made of the character of the Chinese revolution and rule was incorrect. Our attitude to their aggression has been one of appeasement. Even after the debate in Parliament in August, the Government did not put the Ladakh area under military control, though a motor road had been constructed there (by the Chinese) and thousands of miles of our territory occupied."

It should have been clear to the Government, he said, that the Chinese would claim almost the whole of Ladakh when earlier they had refused to allow Ladakhis in Lhasa to register as Indian citizens.

Mr. Kripalani said the people were "apprehensive" that the defence of the country was not in proper hands and the Defence Minister did not enjoy public confidence. In a democracy, he added, a Minister must enjoy the confidence of his chiefs as also of the public.

"To add to the country's misfortunes, every criticism, however mild or any suggestion for effective action, irritates the Prime Minister. I wish he would extend at least as much courtesy to his countrymen as he extends to foreign aggressors."

Referring to the first White Paper, he said it made "painful and humiliating reading." The Chinese Notes were arrogant, bullying and aggressive. Indian Notes are apologetic or mildly protesting.

He said it was held in some quarters that the Chinese had dug themselves in now for the winter in the positions they had already occupied. "We may as well expect further advance and be prepared for it. We must remember the usual Communist tactics of keeping up constant tension and conflict to create uncertainty and confusion. One day it is aggression, another day talk of negotiation. We must, therefore, be vigilant whether in defence or negotiations."

The Opposition appeal that India should not hesitate to seek foreign military aid in an emergency such as it faced today received some further support. Neither Mr. Mehta nor an Independent member Maharaja Karni Singh of Bikaner, though that such aid should necessarily infring India's sovereignty.

Mr. Asoka Mehta said that if Chin did not accept the traditional frontiers, an if negotiations were not confined to mino rectifications of the border, there was n alternative for India except to see that th

areas occupied were vacated. "We would like to have a clear and unequivocal expression on this from the Prime Minister," he said amidst cheers.

"It is to rekindle national hope and national endeavour and unity that we would like the Prime Minister to step forward and rally the nation behind him to meet the crisis and not denounce us as a motley crowd. Yes, we are a motley crowd, because this country, as the Prime Minister himself has said, is a motley country. We have to be together on this question and the only group about which we have to be careful are our Communist friends."

He appealed to Mr. Nehru not to withdraw Indian forces. A corridor of 11,000 square miles was being created (by the interim arrangement proposed by India). Why should India withdraw from her own territory? Mr. Mehta asked.

He said if China accepted Mr. Nehru's latest proposals then "we must be sure that the traditional frontier will be maintained in all circumstances. Any rectification by discussion or negotiation must be of a minor character. That must be made clear."

In a reference to the recent speech by Mr. Krishna Menon at Bombay, where he was reported to have asked if there was any country whose frontiers had not been violated, Mr. Mehta said: "Are we approaching this whole development (on the frontiers) in a routine way or do we think there is a crisis we have to face and that for the next 10 years we will be confronted with a menace which is going to become more and more difficult. That is what the Prime Minister should answer. This, is a quiescent attitude at its best and a cavalier attitude at its worst."

Satyakinkar Banerjee

Satyakinkar Banerjee, ex-Manager of The Modern Review and Prabasi Office, passed away at his Calcutta residence on 5th November, 1959, in the age of seventy-five. Son of the late Haradhan Banerjee, a well-known legal practitioner of Bankura, Satyakinkar was born in May, 1885. At the end of his school career about 1905, he went to visit at Allahabad his elder sister who had been married to the late Ramananda Chatterjee. Ramananda Babu was then the Principal of the Kayastha Pathsala and had already started his famous Bengali journal *Prabasi*. It was printed at the Indian Press of the late Chintamani Ghose. Ramananda Babu secured a job for Satyakinkar at this Press. By the order of the Government (a twenty-four hours' notice was served upon him) Ramananda Babu along with all the members of his family was all on a sudden compelled to leave Allahabad in 1908. *The Modern Review* had also been started in Allahabad in January, 1907. He settled in Calcutta and went on publishing his two journals from his Calcutta office. Satyakinkar also came down to Calcutta and began to serve the firm whole-heartedly. Ultimately he became its Manager. He had completely identified himself with the firm and looked upon its interest as his own interest. He was intelligent, energetic and hard-working, and was sympathetic towards his colleagues. For forty-eight years he served the firm with singular devotion and retired in 1956. He died after a short illness. May his soul rest in peace.

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MANAGER, *The Modern Review*

RECENT ARCHAEOLOGICAL DISCOVERIES IN CHORASMIA

In Connection with Some Problems of Ancient History of India*

By Dr. S. P. TOLSTOV

Historical and Cultural ties between India and the countries of Soviet Central Asia —particularly those of the epoch of the late Middle Ages, at the times of the great Mughal Empire—are well known. The nature of these ties is less known as far as the more early epochs are concerned; it is so in spite of the fact that the Bactrian Greeks (Yavanas), Sakas, Kushanas, and Hunas occupy no less prominent place in the history of India than in that of Central Asia; and in spite of the fact that Central Asia must have been the most suitable route for the Aryans to follow to penetrate into India.

Until lately, however, the former was confirmed by only a few authentic works of art, numismatics, and epigraphics; while the latter remained on a rather slippery ground of hypotheses, upheld, only too inadequately, by comparative linguistics.

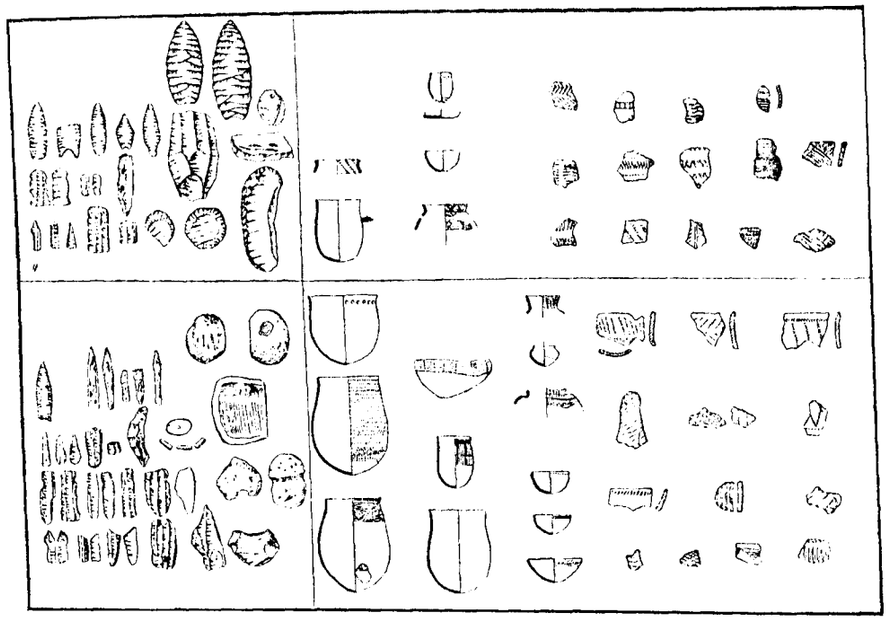
At present this state of affairs is undergoing radical changes. The industrious results of recent discoveries in Indian archaeology, published in several articles, allow us to solve in the modern way the main problems of ancient history, especially those concerning one of the historical periods known, in Indian archaeological literature, as the "Dark age" (the second part of II to the end of I millennium, B.C.). At the same time, during the 40 years of the existence of the Soviet State, a great number of large-scale Soviet archaeological expeditions have done so much that they have actually converted Central Asia, which now includes the territories of the prosperous Soviet Republics of Uzbekistan (with Karakalpakstan enjoying autonomy) Tadjikistan, Turkmenistan, Kirgizstan, and the Southern part of Kazakhstan, into one of the most archaeologically examined parts of the Soviet Union; although prior to the October Revolution the region used to be a "white spot" on the archaeological map of the Tzarist Empire.

I should like to speak about some of the latest discoveries of only one of the expeditions which singles out because of its scale, (the excavations were conducted over the territory of about half-million square kilometres), because of the special characteristics of this territory (Kara-Kum and Kzyl-Kum deserts with their ancient depressions and river-beds), and because of its duration (over 20 years). This expedition is known as the Chorasmian Expedition of the Academy of Sciences of the U.S.S.R.; and I have had the honour to be at the head of it from the very outstart.

Chorasmia is a region of ancient culture, situated in the lower reaches of the Great Central Asian Two-Rivers Basin of the Amu-Darya and Syr-Darya or of the Oxus and Jaxartes, as the rivers were called in ancient times. This was an outpost of an ancient eastern civilization advanced far north into the Scythian steppe. Its special geographical position made Chorasmia a most important confluence of the routes of cultural exchanges between the North and the South, the West and the East. Chorasmia itself with its lakes formed by flood waters of the great rivers beyond control of man of those times, which was called the "Country of Great Lakes" and was referred to in the *Avesta* as the "Vurukasha Sea Country," played a significant role in these exchanges. The modern map of this vast ancient common delta of the Oxus and the Jaxartes, as it was in the epoch of Bronze Age and Early Iron age, based on the modern science-data taken together,[1] in its principal features only develops the scheme of the history of the Amu-Darya.

* The text of the Report read on the 45th session of the All-India Scientific Congress in Madras (January, 1958).

1. S. P. Tolstov and A. S. Kes. Istoriya pervobytnykh poseleniy na protokakh drevnikh delt Amu-Daryi i Syr-Daryi. "Voprosy geographiyi". Sbornik statey dlya VIII Mezhdunarodnogo geographichechskogo Kongressa. *Moskva*, 1954, pp. 321-336.



The Kelteminar culture: the end of the IV—the early III-rd millennium B.C.; II—the late III-rd—the beginning of the II-nd millennium B.C. Made by A. V. Vinogradov

created in the eleventh century by a great scientist Abu-Raihan al-Biruni, Chorasmian by origin. All troubles of his life connected him with many countries of the East—Iran, Afghanistan and especially India—peoples of which, as well as the Soviet people, cherish his memory.

I should like to speak briefly about one of these routes.

The ancient monuments of Chorasmia: many settlements of tribes belonging to the Neolithic and Chalkolitic Kelteminar culture, dated as far back as IV-III millennium which were left by hunters and fishermen using stone microlithic blade industry and peculiar incised pottery, testify beyond any doubt to the existence of strong ties both with the North and the South. The Neolithic culture of the Urals, Kama region, and Western Siberia does not differ essentially from the Kelteminar culture, preserving its traditions, perhaps, for too long.[2]

The Kelteminarians had ties with the Southern countries as well. These ties, so far, were traced down to Iran and Eastern Iraq in similar geographical conditions—in the deserts, along ancient river-beds.[3] Unfortunately we do not know about archaeological explorations in similar geographical regions of Western Afghanistan, Padistan and India. If such explorations did take place, the publication of the results have not reached us.

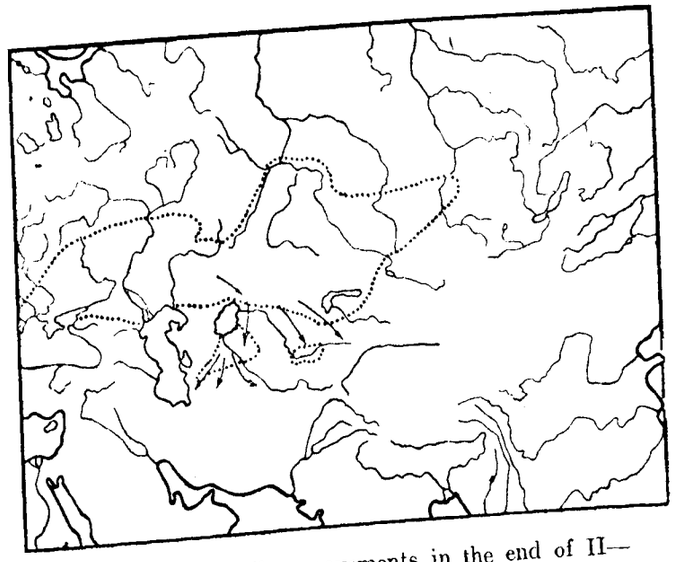
There are, however three groups of facts which throw some light on the ties of the Kelteminarians with India.

It is firstly the fact that the Kelteminarians used as adornment among other things sea-shells (Dentalium) and among them are species which are to be found only on the shores of the Indian ocean.[4]

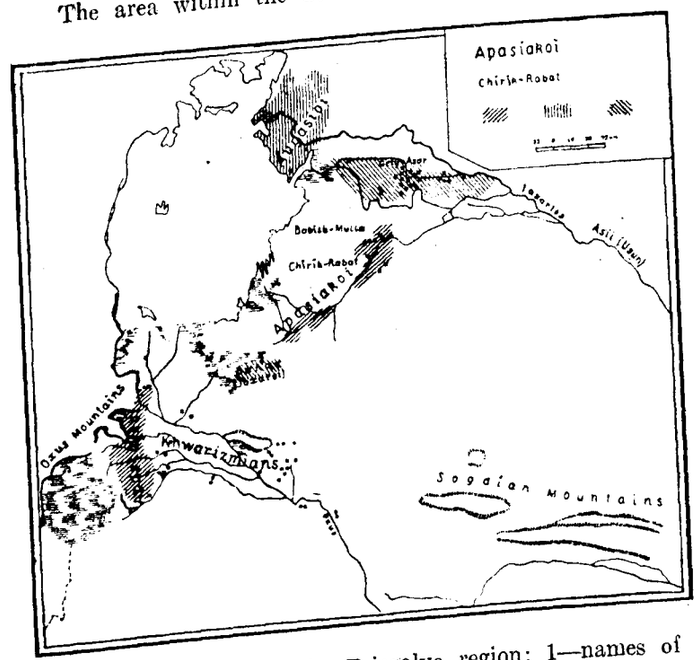
2. V. N. Chernetzov: Drevniaya istoriya Nizhnego Priobya MIA, 35, 1953, pp. 7-62.

3. A. V. Vinogradov: K voprosu o yuzhnykh svyazyakh kelteminarskoy kultury. *Sovetskaya Ethnographiya*, 1957, No. 1, pp. 25-45.

4. S. P. Tolstov: Drevniy Khorezm. M. 1948, pp. 64-65.



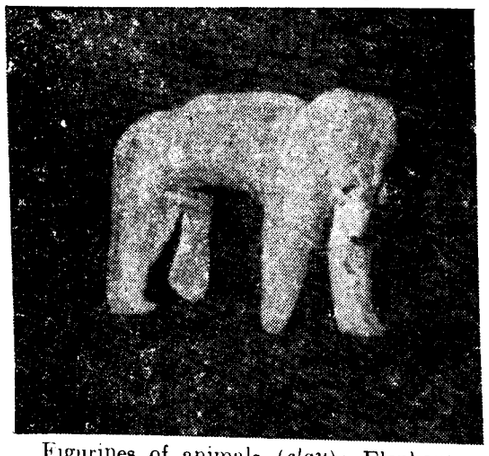
Map of steppe-tribes movements in the end of II—and beginning of 1 millennium B.C.
The area within the dots—'Steppe-Bronze' Cultures



The antique tribes of the Priaralye region; 1—names of the tribes according to the antique authors (Ptolemy, Polybius, Strabo, Stephan Byzantine and others); 2—modern names of the monuments; 3—archaeologically distinguished territories of the antique tribes

Secondly, there was discovered among the Bronze Age population of Chorasmia (the second part of the second millennium —B.C.), a pronounced admixture of the anthropological type peculiar to Southern India and known as the Dravidoid type.[5] The burial-ground Kokcha 3 which gave us the Craniological materials have suggested at the same time the ties leading us north.[6] I think that this Indian admixture must have been of an earlier Neolithic origin that belonged to the times of the Kelteminar culture (the anthropological type of the Kelteminarians themselves unfortunately, is not yet known).

Thirdly, as I have already pointed out in my Ancient Chorasmia[7] the epoch of the



Figurines of animals (*clay*): Elephant (Gijauz-kala)

Kelteminar culture was the most probable period of ethnic contacts between the population of the pre-Aryan India (the Dravidians and the Munda) and the inhabitants of Western Siberia and the Urals whose languages belonged to the Ugrian group of the Uralian linguistic family; these contacts left ample linguistic evidence in the vocabulary of these languages which had been noticed by many scientists (Caldwell, Schrader, Burrow, Hevesy, Uxbond, Bannerjee).[8]

During the following periods the contacts of this nature became impossible, while during the preceding ones they were highly improbable. All doubts can be dispelled provided that the archaeologists of India and the Soviet Union have carried out their plans for excavations in zone of probable contacts, provided also that the



Figurines of animals (*clay*): Monkey (Koy-Krylgan-kala)

5. More details on the subject, see S. P. Tolstov, *ibidem*, pp. 65-66.

6. T.T.A. Trofimova: Palaeo-anthropological remains coming from the territory of ancient Chorezm. *East and West*, Year VIII, No. 3, October, Roma 1957, pp. 3-20.

7. S. P. Tolstov: *Ibidem*, pp. 65-66.

8. See Caldwell: *A Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian or South Indian Family of Languages*, III ed., L. 1913, p. 67. Burrow. O. Schrader. Dravidisch und Uralisch Zeitschrift fur Indologie und Iranistik, III, 1925, p. 81; M. Hevesy. On W. Schmidt's Mundo-Mon-khmer Comparison. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*. London 1930, VI, pp. 187-200. *Idem*. Finnish-Ugrisches in Indien, Wien 1932, *idem*. Obougriens de Siberie et Munda de l'Inde. L. Anthropologie, XLVI, 1936, p. 316. G. A. Uxbond. Munda-Maguar-Maori. 1928; B. Banerjee: *Traces of Ugrian Occupation—Indian Culture*, V. III, No. 4, Calcutta, 1937, pp. 621-632.



The burial-ground Kokcha-3: the boy's head. Reconstructed by M. M. Gerassimov



Toprak-kala. "Hall of Warriors": Sculptural head of a bronze-faced guardsman (*clay*)

archaeologists of Pakistan, Afghanistan and Iran have carried out some work in this direction too.

The newly discovered archaeological monuments of the Chorasmian Bronze Age (dated from 1500 to 1000 B.C.) are of no less interest for prehistory of India. This was an epoch of migrations of the Eastern Indo-Europeans, Indo-Iranians and Aryans from the steppes of Eastern Europe and today's Kazachstan, that is from the region of multitude of cultures of the so-called "Steppe Bronze," into Central Asia and through it into India. The new data which our expedition has gathered show that the nomad "Tazabagyab" tribes of the Bronze Age Chorasmia must have come from the north-west—from the lower part of the basin of the Volga and from that of the river Ural. It was in Chorasmia and in its neighbouring territories of the above-mentioned "Country of Great Lakes" that the *formation of the Aryan*, that is Indo-Iranian, ethno-linguistic community was completed.

At the time of about 1000 B.C. the descendants of the Tazabagyab tribes having already merged with the descendants of the Kelteminarians; and with the Suyargan ancient tribes the origin of which too, had been connected with the Southern countries, headed in large numbers down along the ancient Caspian river-bed of the Amu-Darya—the Uzboi; and up the principal river-bed of the Amu-Darya of the present times and across the desert towards Murgab and Herirud and towards the Kopet-Dag mountains.

The latest discoveries by the archaeologists of Turkmenistan, made all over these southern regions, testify that exactly during this period which R. Pumpelly called "the time of Barbarian occupation"[9] there appeared intruders from Chorasmia,[10] bearers of culture peculiar to the end of the Bronze Age called the "Late Suyargan Culture."

Thus, our materials confirm the hypothesis advanced by Andreace[11] and Benvenist[12] that the legendary fatherland of the Aryans, "Airyanem-Vaejo" of Avesta, was in Chorasmia.

It is possible to trace down that many other mythologic and legendary personages, ethnic and geographical names common to India and the ancient Iranian world, had their origin from Chorasmia. For example the Vedas are telling us that the Dasa or Dasyu were the enemies of the Aryans. The Dasyu was evidently the scriptural name for the Dravidic and Munda tribes. The origin of the name itself, however, requires additional research. It is probably connected with the forefather-land of the Aryans; for in the sacred book of the Iranian Zoroastrism—*Avesta*—the enemies of the Aryans were called 'Dana' while real, not legendary, neighbours of the ancient Chorasmian Aryans were people named Dahae, who originally lived along the left bank of Lower Jaxartes; later on they partly migrated to Hirkania, a region known in the Middle Ages as Dikhistan and situated near the south-eastern shore of the Caspian Sea. Dahae and Dasyu are one and the same word according to the rules of Indo-Iranian sound correspondence.

The monuments of these descendants of the legendary Dasyu of the Vedas known as Jety Asar ('Seven Ancient Cities') we have examined for several years along the ancient river-bed of the Kuvan-Darya a

9. R. Pumpelly: *Explorations in Turkestan*, V. I, Washington; 1908.

10. A. A. Maarushchenko: Stariy Seraks (Otchyot o raskopkakh 1953 goda). Trudy Instituta Istoriyi Arkheologiyi i Ethnographiyi A. N. Turkmenskoy SSR., V. II, Ashkhabad, 1956, pp. 173-174; *idem*. Itogi polevykh arkheologicheskikh rabot 1953 goda Instituta Istoriyi arkheologiyi i ethnographiyi, A. N. Turkmenskoy SSR, *ibidem*, pp. 7-8; V. M. Masson. Poseleniya pozdney bronzy i rannego zheleza v delte Murgaba. K.S. IIMK, 64, 1956, p. 64; *idem*. Isucheniye drevnezemledelcheskykh poseleniy v delte Murgaba. K.S.I.I.M.K., 69. 1957, p. 63.

11. See A. Hermann: Alte Geographie des unteren Oxusgebiets. Berlin 1904.

12. E. Benveniste. L'Eran-vez et l'origine legendaire des Iraniens. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*. VII, No. 2, pp. 265-274.



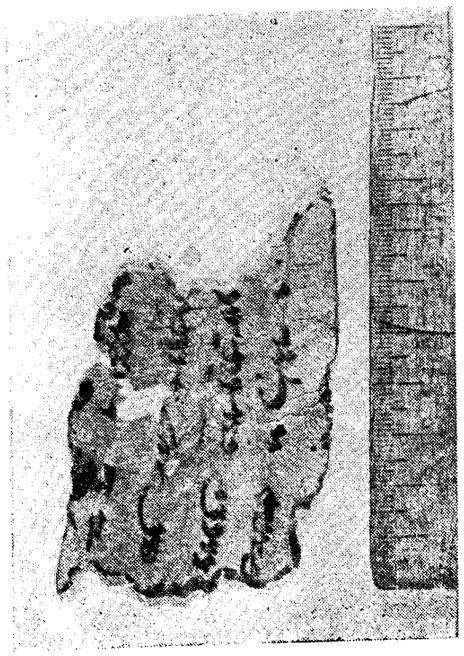
Koy-Kryl-gan-kala: After the excavations. Air view



Varakhsha. Detail of wall-painting



The ruins of Kabish-Mulla



Manuscripts on leather found in Toprak-kala Palace

branch of the Jaxartes.[13] The Dahae culture differs greatly from that of the neighbouring Scythian tribes, to say nothing about the Chorasmian culture. A broad "No-man's land," a best testimony of frequent wars, divides the zones of the Iranian, that is Aryan monuments and the Dahae monuments. True, all this belong-



Koy-krylgan-kala: Figurine of Chorasmian Dionysus (*Terra-cotta*)



Koy-krylgan-kala: Figurine of a woman (*clay*)

ed to much more recent times than the times when legends about the feud between Dasyu and Arya appeared.

13. On the excavations at Jeity-Asars, see S. P. Tolstov: Khorezmskays Arkheologo-ethnographicheskaya expeditsiya Akademiyi Nauk, SSSR (1945-48). "Trudy Khorezmskoy archeologoethnographicheskoy expeditziyi," V. I, M. 1952. pp. 16-31; *idem*, Raboty Khorezmskoy arkheologoethnographicheskoy expeditziyi, A. N., SSSR, V 1949-53 godakh. "Trudy Khorezmskoy Arkheologoethnographicheskoy expeditziyi," V. II, M. 1958, pp. 235-252.

As it was in the first case, we wanted to ask our Indian colleagues to collaborate with us in searching among the monuments of Northern India, dated round about 1000 B.C., for traces—most probably worn-out traces, of the so-called "Barbarian occupation," for pottery and bronze implements of the nomadic tribes belonging to the late Suyargan type, similar to these found in many places along the Northern edge of the Iranian plateau.

Our expedition has gathered a lot of materials which may help Indian archaeologists solve one problem they are interested in; it is the Saka-Kushan problem set by the new migration of the Central Asian barbarians that had resulted in the destruction of the Greco-Bactrian Kingdom. During a few recent years, while searching the region between the Oxus and the Jaxartes, we compiled extensive data that enables us to determine exactly what the territories were that belonged to at least three of the four tribes that had taken part in the conquest of the Bactrian Greeks. I have already spoken of Dachs-Tochars that lived in the valley of the Kuvan-Darya.

In 1957 we devoted a good deal of time to excavations of several monuments belonging to the Apasiaks (Pasians) which means 'water' or 'river' Saka that had once been built along the Jana-Darja, an old river-bad of the Syr-Darya.[14] We examined the ancient capital of the tribal alliance of the Apasiaks; it turned out to be a great fortress built according to the samples of Chorasmian fortification, around a group of imposing "Kings' burial mounds", towering even now high above the desert. The whole region is abundant in monuments of those times; besides fortresses there are numerous settlementts of the village type which were abandoned in about 150 B.C. that is at the time when the Saka and Tochars set against the Bactrian Greeks.

At any rate the name "Shaka" stops to be only an ethnic name in the history of India.

The Shaka, or Saka as the Greeks' called them, became for us now a real people who had their own fatherland with fort-



Toprak-kala. Clay sculpture

resses, settlements and villages; and we have come to know what their dwellings, weapons and implements were, what their

14. About these monuments, see S. P. Tolstov: Po sledam drevnekhorezmiyskoy tsivilizatsiyi. M. 1948, pp. 55-59.

religion was and now we know in great detail their highly peculiar funeral rituals.

After they had gone to Bactria and India we lost sight of them for a considerable period of time. It was only round about 100 A.D. that the name of one of these tribes made again its appearance in Chorasmia itself. It were the Kushans who ruled, at that time, a gigantic Indian empire, dividing the ancient world between theirs and the Roman, Parthian and Chinese Empires.

During the reign of Kanishka, the founder of the Second Kushan Dynasty, this empire was in its prime and subdued to its rulers the better part of Central Asia including Chorasmia and the Aral steppes and deserts, that is the lands of their forefathers.

The Palace of the kings of Chorasmia is the best monument of the Kushan culture in Chorasmia, from the middle of the third century and the beginning of the fourth A.D. It is situated in the dead city of Toprak-kala on the right bank of Amu-darya. The nonument belonged to the time when the political domination of the Kushans over Chorasmia had gone but the cultural influence of India, overwhelming during the Kushan epoch, remained as strong as ever.

The Palace at Toprak-Kala is a monument belonging to one of the last stages of history of the antique Chorasmia; this history, beginning from the 8th or 7th centuries B.C., became now known in great detail.[15] Particularly interesting were the results of our excavations at the Koy-Krylgan-kala—a temple and stronghold, an unique monument representing the classical period (the 4th century B.C. to first century A.D.) to which we devoted seven years of our field-work.[16]

It would, however, be outside the theme of this article to dwell upon this monument and the epoch it belonged to. I might only remark in passing that, as I have already asserted, the classical culture of Chorasmia had left its imprint upon the culture of the Sakas—those Scythian tribes that played such an important role in the history of India; and that, the late antique culture remnants of which we find at Toprak-kala, can be quite understood only in the light of the history of the antique Chorasmian culture taken as a whole.

The Palace at Toprak-kala is a magnificent building of brick erected in the North-Western corner of this ancient city which was the capital of Chorasmia and residence of its kings up to the beginning of the 4th century A.D.[17] The size of the building is 80×80 metres complete with three massive towers each of 40×40 metres, rising about 20 metres above the plain. Both the central two-storey building and the towers are erected, on a pounded earth platform about 16 metres in height, and consist of numerous festive halls, dwelling rooms and household premises.

Of all the numerous finds that offer a many-sided characteristic of the late Kushan culture of Chorasmia, two complexes draw our attention: it is firstly the festive halls which are so abundant in painted sculpture for the most part in raw clay and in some cases in alabaster, and secondly the remains of the kings' archives which proved to be the first find of the ancient Chorasmian written documents.

15. S. P. Tolstov: Drevniy Khorezm, pp. 77-127; *idem*. Po sledam drevnekhorezmiyskoy tsivilizatsiyi, pp. 91-123, 154-190.

16. On the excavations at Koy-Krylgan-Kala, see S. P. Tolstov: Raboty Khorezmskoy expeditsiy, A. N. SSSR po raskopkam pamyatnika IV—III vekov do novoy ery.—Koy-Krylgan-kala (March-May. 1952). V.D.I., 1953, No. 1, pp. 160-174; *idem*. Itogy rabot Khorezmskoy arkheologoethnographicheskoy expeditziyi, A. N. SSSR, V. 1953 .V.D.I., 1955, No. 3, pp. 201-204; *idem*. Raboty Khorezmskoy arkheologoethnographicheskoy expeditziyi, A. N. SSSR, V 1949-1953 godakh. T. Kh. E., V. II, M. 1958, pp. 168-192.

17. On the excavations at Toprak-kala, see S. P. Tolstov: Po sledam drevnekhorezmiyskoy tsivilizatsiyi, pp. 164-190; *idem*. Khorezmskaya arkheologoethnographicheskaya expeditsiya, A.N., SSSR (1945-1948); T.Kh.E., V. I, M. 1952, pp. 31-44; *idem*. Raboty Khorezmskoy arkheologoethnographicheskoy expeditsiyi, A. N. SSSR, V 1949-1953, godakh. T.Kh.E., V. II, pp. 195-216.

The "Hall of Kings," "Hall of Victories," "Hall of brown-faced Guards," "Hall of the Deers,' "Hall of Dancing Masks" and others, contain sculptures which can be characterized as bearing the imprint of the artistic style known in scientific literature under the name of "Gandharian," "Indo-Buddhic" and "Indo-Hellenistic" style. This style which became common in India, particularly in its northern part, precisely in the Kushan epoch, and which greatly influenced the further development of arts over the whole of the Far East where it had penetrated together with Buddhism, is in itself a new stage of development of the ancient Indian traditions, combined with creative borrowing from the wealth of the Hellenistic culture which had reached India through the Greco-Bactrian and partly through Parthian kingdom.

The influence of "Gandhara" school is easily to be noticed in the sculpture of Toprak-kala; it is to be seen in the interpretation of human figures, especially in the curve of waists so typical of Indian sculpture, as well as in the peculiar interpretation of the folds of garments and in a series of other less significant details. It is well worth mentioning, that the elements of the Hellenistic influence to be found in Parthia and Sogdiana brought there directly from the Hellenic world by the Greek colonists, manifest themselves in Chorasmia only in terms of Indian art, in terms of Indian-Hellenistic culture. This influence of Indian art, from the point of view of style and theme, manifests itself not only in monumental sculpture but also in terra-cottas; side by side we find here figurines of women and all sorts of images of animals peculiar to India and not known in Chorasmia—monkeys, elephants, Indian rhinoceroses, etc.

Among the festive halls of the Palace the "Hall of Brown-faced Guards" occupies a prominent place. It was the night chamber of the king adorned with figures of warriors as if guarding the sleep of their sovereign. The figures are of short men clad in scaly iron armour, holding spears and oblong basketry shields of reeds in their hands, with tiara-wise head-gear on. It is the men's faces that are of particular interest. They are brown varying from deep brown —almost black—to yellow; their lips are



Pyanjikent. Detail of wall-painting

thick and are originally embellished with inlaid adornments; their black hair is straight and wavy. In short, they are an exact replica of the anthropological type peculiar to India, especially to its Southern

part, and mentioned above as the Dravidian type.[18]

Soon after we had examined the "Hall of Brown-faced Guards" at the other Western end of Chorasmia in the frontier fortress of Kalaly-Gyr, we came across a common grave of warriors dating also from the third century A.D. and found a large number of skeletons whose skulls were of the same Dravidian type.[19]

Thus, the Dravidian type appeared in Chorasmia twice. In pre-historic times this type comprised of but an admixture mingled with the other, Northern types; at the close of antique times it turned out to be almost pure, which proved that it appeared in Chorasmia for a second time.

It is well known that the ancient rulers often resorted to the principle "divida et impera" when they manned their frontier guards. The Sarmatians guarded the Roman frontiers in Britania and warriors from Chorasmia served in the Persian garrison at the Egyptian city of Elephantine. By analogy, the contingents from Southern India must have been used in Central Asia to guard the Northern frontiers of the Indian Empire of the Kushans. New rulers succeeded the Kushans in power but the Indian soldiers remained and were made use of by the new rulers—just as the Sarmatians remained in Britannia.

A few words about the Chorasmian archives from Toprak-kala :[20]

They consist of financial and administrative documents written in ancient Chorasmian that belonged to the Iranian linguistic family; the alphabet is of the Aramaic origin very close to that used in Parthia.

Our interest was heightened when we found that four of the documents bore dates of an unknown era. In three cases the lines with the dates ramained virtually intact, the figures are as follows : 207, 201, 231 years of some era.

Taking into account all the archaeological data we can fix the time when both the palace and the archives were abandoned at the end of the third and the beginning of the fourth centuries A.D. As far back as 1948, long before the archives were found, we considered that the palace had been abandoned, because the capital had been transferred from Toprak-kala to the city of Kyat, situated on the Amu-Darya (later on this city was called Shabbaz and is called now Biruni); by all accounts the transfer took place during the reign of Afrig, a Chorasmian king. According to Biruni, Afrig came to power in 305 A.D.; consequently the era of the dated documents was started in the last quarter of the first century A.D. Exactly at the same time (78 A.D.) the *Indian Shaka Era* was started, too. And if we assume that the documents had been dated in chronological terms of the Indian Shaka era, they then belong actually to 285-309 A.D. which is in conformity with all the archaeological data.

And further, according to numismatic data, the time when Chorasmia was subjected to the Kushan rule and the time when Kanishka was in power, coincide; and seeing that Kanishka's successors—Khuvishka, Vasudeva and others—ruled over Chorasmia up till about 250 A.D., there is every ground to consider that "Kanishka's Era" of many Indian epigraphic documents and the "Shaka's Era" (as it is called in India epigraphics of much more recent origin) *are one and the same era*. This identification is traditional; and, if we take into account new Chorasmian dated documents, there is no reason whatever why it should be reconsidered in favour of a much more recent dating of Kanishka's Era as suggested by J. Marshall,[21] R. Ghirshman[22] and other scientists.

18. T. A. Trofimova: Kraniologicheskiye materialy iz krepostei Kalaly-gyr I i 2. T.Kh.E., V. II, pp. 607-614.

19. *Ibidem*., pp. 553-570, 591-604.

20. See T.Kh.E., V. II, pp. 207-212.

21. J. Marshall: *Taxila: An illustrated account of Archaeological Excavations*, 1913-1934, V. I, Cambridge, 1951, pp. 71, 85a, others.

22. R. Ghirshman: Begram: recherches archeologiques at historiques sur les Koushans, Cairo, 1946, p. 99a, seq.

We have taken four examples belonging to four different epochs, that prove the existence of strong mutual ties between Central Asia, Chorasmia in particular, and India over a period of about four thousand years.

We might extend our review to cover the more recent times, the epoch of migration of the Huns (the Huna as they are called in Indian chronicles and the Chionites or the Hephtalites as they are called in Western sources), concerning which we have at our disposal new and rather interesting materials; or to cover the epoch directly preceding the spreading of Islam in Central Asia (600-725 A.D.) when, according to the materials of our expedition and especially to those of other Soviet expeditions that examined the monuments of Sogdiana, the influence of the Indian culture this time brought over by the Hephtalites was again on the increase; and it found vigorous expression in remarkable paintings of those days such as are to be seen at Varakhsha (near Bukhara)[23] and at Pyanjikent (near Samarkand).[24] But all this would be outside my theme and the size of this article.

In conclusion I should like to emphasize that all we have done so far, is only a beginning. If we could carry on our work for solving the problems I have spoken of in close co-operation with our Indian colleagues, I am quite positive that all these problems would be solved convincingly and to an extent we can hardly dream of new.

KSIIMK—Kratkije Soobschenia Instituta Istorii Materialnoy Kultury.

MIA—Materialy i Issledowanija po Archeologiy SSSR.

TKhE—Trudy Khorezmskoy archeologo ethnographicheskoy Expeditziyi, A.N. SSSR.

VDI—Vestnik Drevneiyi Istorii.

23. V. A. Shishkin: Varakhsha. "Sovetskaya Archeologiya" V. 23, 1955, pp. 101-130

24. Zhivopis drevnyego Pyanjikenta, M 1954.

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LOKMANYA BAL GANGADHAR TILAK

By JOGES C. BOSE

Bal Gangadhar Tilak was born at Ratnagiri in Maharashtra on 23rd July, 1856. His father Gangadhar Sastri, a teacher highly proficient in Mathematics and Sanskrit, accepted life as a sacred calling and never spent himself over paltry ends. His mother lived a pious, austere life such as to make her illustrious son think of her in terms of a *tapaswini*, devotee.

From Poona, where the family had shifted on his father's transfer, Tilak graduated with Honours in Mathematics and very high marks in Sanskrit. By the time, however, his parents were dead and he was married. What the poor family desired of him was to get employed in a gainful occupation. He could not, however, see to this in preference to a life, which would at the same time leave him free to serve the Nation. Ere long, he had come under the influence of that extraordinary character V. K. Chiplankar, who flared into a sombre prominence by challenging Madhav Govinda Ranade, the maker of modern Poona, for his conviction that British rule in India was 'a divine dispensation'. Chiplankar resigned his Government service and described it as 'kicking off the chain.' In collaboration with Tilak, Agarkar and a few other enthusiasts, he started the New English School. They gradually broadened their scheme and founded The Deccan Education Society to function on the self-denial of its promoters. Their one looming passion was to rear up the youth in the love of their country, whereas the governmental institutions were designed to foster a sense of admiration for the ruling race. The school developed into a college; and Tilak, in addition to teaching Mathematics in the school, took up Sanskrit in the college.

A leading Anglo-Indian paper of Bombay compared them with the Jesuits of old. It warned the Government that the future generation was bound to be moulded by these patriotic young men and not, as hitherto, by the European scholars, they came in contact with. What they, in fact, aimed at was best summed up by Principal Apte before the Education Committee, presided over by Dr. William Hunter. He said, "We have undertaken the

work of popular education with the firmest conviction and belief that of all the agents of human civilization, education is the only one that brings about material, moral and religious regeneration of fallen countries and raises them to the level of advanced nations by slow and peaceful revolutions and in order that it should be so, it must ultimately be in the hands of the people themselves." In affinity of thought and purpose, it is the same as Rabindranath Tagore's cult of National Education, promulgated at about the time—he was then in his early twenties. Tagore had pressed home the absurdity of begging of our rulers to give us an education, which will help us to liquidate their rule!

A year after they started the school, they brought out one Maharatta and one English weekly, the *Kesari* and the *Maharatta* respectively. In another year's time they got involved in a defamation case instituted by the Dewan of the Kolhapur State. What influence high government officials had directly to do in the matter cannot be ascertained with any certainty. It was, however, absolutely clear that the Dewan was edged on to the step by the Anglo-Indian Press. *The Times of India* described the *Maharatta* as 'the most perverse of prints dabbling in Kolhapur politics.' It is nobody's pleasure to recall that Ranade declined to come to the witness-box to say what he had said in so many friendly circles, *e.g.*, that he believed fully in the authenticity of the offending letters, for which the prosecution was launched. A Kolhapur Sardar, who had written to Tilak about the complicity of the Dewan in the conspiracy against the prince, implored piteously not to divulge him. Tilak and Agarkar were given a sentence of four months.

Differences arose between Tilak and some other members on the question that no member, as Tilak passionately pleaded, was to employ himself in any other work for money or if he did it, he was to credit that money he thus earned to the account of the Society; and no less for the reason that his colleagues too readily fell in line with the Government and shirked an independent stand, as originally planned. Tilak resigned. A line from his letter of resignation bears truly and well how he took it. "I bid you goodbye," he said, "in the hope that by severing myself from you, I may, perhaps be able to help you in preserving the harmony, so very essential to the welfare of the institution and it is for the sake of that harmony that I make a sacrifice of myself." It was, therefore, not without a wrench that Tilak separated himself from colleagues, with whom he had weathered many a storm for eleven years. He would rather accept the position than a compromise, which was fatal to the principle, he had taken pains to embody in the constitution, that the work of the Society was due to be taken up right in the spirit of the self-effacing Christian Missionaries, as belonging to a Mission and living for it.

In the new dispensation Tilak became the sole proprietor of the *Maharatta* and the *Kesari* with a debt of Rs. 7,000 hanging heavy on them. There were offers of help and patronage from dependable quarters if he joined the Bar. There were a good many, as well, coming forward to help him if he started another school. Tilak would not avail himself of either and brought to bear upon his public life a single-minded devotion.

Surendranath Banerjea had convulsed Bengal, which thought anew, thought ahead and radiated India with a new faith. Rabindranath Tagore took to preaching: The problem of India is the problem of her village and the real Nation lives in million poor hamlets. Ever since the founding of the Indian Association in Calcutta to make it the spearhead of people's discontent and resistance against foreign rule, India was energetically in high hopes—what next? The Indian National Congress came into being. The new-born intelligentsia was instinct with a confidence to forge ahead for a place amongst the go-ahead nations of the world. But the mass was as far removed from the current of this new life. There was, in fact, a pathetic outlandishness in the Congress leaders, immaculately dressed in European style, calling the mass in high falutin English as their flesh of flesh and bone of bones. It is silly to question their sincerity; but the vital touch of appeal was lacking. Tilak's entry into Indian politics was, therefore, well-timed. Here was the sure-footed trod of a giant in his stark simple habits living in all fours their humble life and speaking their

tongue. He cudgelled all that tended to a cultural indoctrination and said that the well-being of India lay in not being a distance-walker of the West and cluttering our life with her frippery and tinsels. He was for reviving the villag Panchayet, which gave us the training in democracy and which, as an instrument of moral chastisement, was more effective than the Law enforcible by the Penal Code making us, in a sense, sneaks and cowards. When the amendment of the Bengal Tenancy Act was on the Legislative anvil, he declared that the land in reality belonged to the community collectively. So early as that, he stressed the need of organising the industrial labour. Such radicalism in the eighties of the last century was a misfit. It alarmed the ruling race. Their mouth-piece, the Anglo-Indian Press, was perpetually alert and missed no chance to have a fling at him. Most of the Congress leaders, as well, were not at home with him. One of them had the vulgarity to characterise his utterances as 'whining' and call him 'the boss of the Reay market'. But he exercised a strange fascination on the rising generation. "Among the thousands assembled at the Congress" (1890 Calcutta Congress), says J. Chowdhury, then a young Barrister and later on the Editor of *The Calcutta Weekly Notes*, "it was Tilak who made a profound impression on me."

Tilak had always been for the nationalists to capture as many seats in the Legislative Council as feasible. His view-point was that it was the one sure way to keep out 'yes men' out of the harm's way and help grow the sanction of the people. Whatever, he said, be the current Act by which India was being governed, it was to be fully exploited as the jumping-off ground for a better one. He was himself a member of the Bombay Legislative Council and a Fellow of the University of Bombay. He made either feel the weight of his blow.

It is so very surprising that with such a hard, exacting life, Tilak found time to write his thesis, he published in 1893 under the title *The Orion or Researches into the Antiquity of the Vedas*. Professor Bloomfield of the John Hopkins University, U.S.A., hailed the book as 'an event which is sure to stir up the world of Science and Culture'. Stuck up in one gruelling fight in an adoption case, when all the malign forces, official and non-official, which could muster strong, were arrayed against him, with the death of his eldest son to match, Tilak wrote his masterpiece *Arctic Home in the Vedas*. In it he challenges the well-accepted version that the original home of the Aryans is the Caucasus mountains. It is, he argues to a logical finish, a region of the North Pole. One test of his transcendental intellect is his capacity to preserve inviolate the serenity of concentration in the midst of all sorts of troubles crowding round him thick and fast. The spark of his genius manifested itself when he was just sixteen and questioned the validity of Sankaracharya's interpretation of the *Geeta* emphasising *Jnan* (Knowledge) to the exclusion of *Karma* (Action) or at least to the extent it is not tempered by *Karma*. National activities, to which Tilak always gave the priority, stood in the way and he could not pursue the subject. It was only when he was in the Mandalay Jail in 1908 that he completed his *Geeta Rahasya*. Tilak's book *Vedic Chronology and Vedanga Jyotisha*, published after his death, only adds to the sense of awe and admiration, one feels about him. Even if engrossed in day-to-day fissiparous politics, he studied these rather abstruse subjects with the analytical brain and insight of a trained scholar.

In 1897, there was an outbreak of bubonic plague at Poona. Tilak wrote in the columns of his papers that it was an extraordinary situation justifying, without question, extraordinary measures and exhorted the people to co-operate with the Government. He, however, minced no matters to criticise it for having placed the plague operations in charge of one Mr. Rand, who had created a bad name for high-handedness. He also expressed himself in strong terms against employing soldiers in such large numbers for relief works, because people, as he said, took fright of them for their forthright manners. As much he pin-pointed cases, where people were segregated without any provision being made for their stay, and where men and women of all ages were stripped of clothes, lest these carried infection, without a prior arrangement for their covers. At the same time, he was all-praise for the Plague

Committee but for which Poona streets, he accepted, would have been littered with decomposed bodies. Inscrutable are the ways of the bureaucracy, which gave a go-by to all that Tilak did in line with it, but what he did to criticise a Government measure or individual officers was suffered to fester into a gangrene.

Another trouble was brewing on a parallel line. As a rallying point of national honour, Tilak celebrated the Shivajee festival. With regard to Shivajee, there was a controversy, which persisted long, as to whether it was at all justifiable on his part to have waylaid Afzal Khan for murder. It gave a handle to the Anglo-Indian Press to popagate the view that Tilak supported murder if it was for a political purpose.

Seven days after the celebration meeting, Rand and Lt. Ayerst of the Plague Operations were shot dead. The Collector of Poona, as instructed by the Government of Bombay, said in an open meeting that the murder was instigated by sedition-mongers. Tilak was no man to take it lying down. He hit back to say that such a wild charge against people at large was no less criminal than the murder itself.

He was hauled up to answer the charge of sedition. Surendranath Banerjea and Rabindranath Tagore took the initiative to raise for his defence funds in Bengal. They also arranged to have him defended by Mr. L. P. Pugh, an eminent Counsel of the Calcutta High Court. Justice Strachey of the Bombay High Court gave him a sentence of eighteen months. Henry Asquith, later on Prime Minister of Great Britain, argued his appeal before the Privy Council, which rejected it.

Such was the awesomeness of the ruling power and the mentality of some leaders of West India that there could be no resolution on Tilak in the following Congress at Amraoti. In fact, they also stood in the way of Tilak's portrait being one of those to adorn the Congress pandal. But Surendranath Banerjea made a full, ample compensation. Called upon to speak on the detention of Natu brothers, he said in the open session that 'the entire nation was in tears for Tilak' and struck his note of manly challenge—"Though I am here physically my soul is in jail attuned with Tilak's." The house rose to a man in one spontaneous homage—*'Tilak maharajki jai'*.

A memorial was sent to the Secretary of State for India praying to remit Tilak's term of sentence. It was signed amongst others by Max Muller, Sir William Hunter, Dadabhai Nourajee and Romesh C. Dutt, then in full blaze of the Indian Civil Service. One of the grounds urged was that the conviction of Damodar Chaphekar on the strength of his confession of having murdered Rand and Ayerst and in no way being influenced by any writing of Tilak knocked the bottom of the suspicion, that gathered round Tilak. He was released when he had yet six months to serve. It is one sure proof of Tilak's nobility of heart that when Chaphekar, who had not even a nodding acquaintance with Tilak, approached him in jail to help him write his prayer for pardon, Tilak never for a moment thought that it was this man's rash act, which had in no small measure contributed to his incarceration. He drafted his petition, in scorn of the consequence that it was being as meticulously reported to the authorities.

Vinoba Bhave says that as Bengal rose, Tilak ran to stand by her side and prepared Maharashtra to follow suit. Tilak, in fact, took to the Swadeshi Movement with its Boycott of British Goods, National Education and Civil Disobedience as the occasion justified, as fish does to water. Nothing short of these would provide the mighty and volcanic Tilak a more adequate outlet. In collaboration with Bepin Chandra Pal, Aurobindo Ghose and Lajpat Rai, Tilak sought to make the aforesaid tripple issues an All-India question. The old-school leaders would not, because India was not yet prepared for the challenge. From a difference of opinion there was conflict and from conflict a conflagration in the last week of December 1907, at the Surat Congress. It was rather the inevitiable which happened in its relentless course. In the context of imprisonments, deportations, press-prosecutions and the Black and Tan in the form of communal barbarities etcetera in Bengal, what Shri Aurobindo Ghose says in the *Bande Mataram* of December 1, 1907, gives a clue to the split in the offing.

"They have now learnt truth", he says, "that every drop of tear, each day of their suffering has been for them a preparation for complete redemption . . . . The bureaucracy will not have to reckon this time with a few self-styled leaders, who are only too eager to fall down and worship the idol of the hour, but with a newly-awakened people to whom the political freedom of the country has been elevated to the height of religious faith. . . . . Those who want liberty must buy it for themselves, and it is poor statesmanship to try to hide the real nature of the struggle by a falsehood which, after all, deceives nobody and least of all our alien lords. . . . . Those hugely credulous worthies, who have still the heart to lend their ears to the siren voice of a Morley, have never understood the true way to salvation, and dismayed by the greatness of the undertaking, have contented themselves by scoffing at an enthusiasm they seek to extinguish by their timidity and hesitation."

I have quoted the lines above, because nowhere, as I should think, is so succinctly stated and stated with a lyric fervour the difference of thought that divided the two schools. Though Tilak failed to 'swamp'—the expression is Tilak's own—the Congress, he set the ball rolling for a new set-up in the country. H. W. Nevinson of the *Manchester Guardian*, who was present at the Surat Congress, recalled the prophetic line of Goethe at Valmy that he witnessed the closing of the old and the beginning of a new era—*The New Spirit in India*.

No less engrossing and of deep concern to Tilak was that a section of the Bengal nationalists had taken to the cult of bomb. They had grown restive and were determined to force the issue. Tilak wrote in the *Kesari*, "The Muzafarpur incident is a grave tragedy. We denounce and disown it."* At the same time, Tilak warned the Government: "Occasions like the present demand a consideration of the limit within which those in authority can flout public opinion and the limit beyond which they cannot try the patience of the ruled." The ruling oligarchy read it in the context of Tilak's forthright denunciation of their Tsarist methods and hauled him up again for sedition. Bengal leaders were speaking in identical strain in the Press and on the platform. "My Lord", said Dr. Rash Behari Ghose to Lord Minto on floor of the Supreme Legislative Council, "I sincerely trust I shall not be now called upon to study the jurisprudence of Russia." Why then, I pause to reflect, was Tilak tracked like this? To me it seems to be remorselessly revealing that the Government of Bombay in running down Tilak had the moral backing of the local leaders of the opposite school. It was not so in Bengal despite sharp, irritating dissensions between the two. To take an extreme case, when the approver of the Alipore Conspiracy Case—the first case in India for waging war against the King—was shot dead within prison walls, Surendranath Banerjea distributed sweets to those who were seated with him at the *Bengalee* office in connection with a Committee meeting of National Education; and the venerable patriarch Dr. Sir Gurudas Banerjea participated.

Be that as it may, Justice Davar of the Bombay High Court, who was Tilak's junior counsel in his first sedition case, gave him a sentence of transportation for six years. Much more poignant than the sentence is the intemperate language, the judge used attributing to Tilak 'a diseased mind' and 'a perverted intellect', etc. These out-Herodings of Davar were of incalculable value to Sir Edward Carson, Chirol's counsel in *Tilak* vs. *Chirol Defamation* case. He pegged himself on them, nay, Davar's words precisely, for his cross-examination and address to the Jury. In all fairness, it needs being said, however, that Morley as Secretary of State for India writes, "I am watching with the deepest concern and dismay the thundering sentences that are now being passed for sedition,"—*Recollections*. Possibly, it was for this attitude of Morley that the Bombay Government sent Tilak to Mandalay instead of the penal settlement Andamans and commuted the rigorous into a simple imprisonment.

The moving finger writes and having writ moves on. As India celebrated Tilak's birth centenary, Chief Justice Chagla of the Bombay High Court unveiled a plaque in honour of Tilak in the very room, where he was twice

* 'It is a mistake to think of Mr. Tilak as by nature a revolutionary leader; that is not his character or his political temperament'—Aurobinda in his Introduction to *Speeches and Writings of Tilak*.

convicted of sedition. Possibly, in expiation of Davar's pestilential acid—contrast the dignified language of Beachcroft sentencing prisoners of the Alipur Conspiracy case to various terms of imprisonment, nay, death and the urbanity of Broomfield convicting Gandhi to six years' imprisonment—Chagla said, "The inevitable verdict of history is that these two convictions are condemned as having been intended to suppress the voice of freedom and patriotism."

After Tilak had served almost the full term of six years—a month and odd days were yet to go—he was one day brought back to Poona and set free at two in the morning. He had in the meantime lost his wife and was now in a condition of health that did not permit him, as he said four days after at a public reception, 'to indulge in the exertion of talking.' Surendranath Banerjea welcomed him editorially in *The Bengalee* in the following terms: "Like the sun emerging from an eclipse he has once more flooded the atmosphere of Poona with joy and brightness." There were like congratulations from other parts of India. For days together there were streams of people in their holy treck to pay him their respects. It upset the 'feather-brained'* Willingdon, the Governor of Bombay, because he had reported to the India Government that Tilak would not be able to rehabilitate himself to the force he was before conviction. Nine days after release, students and Government servants were forbidden on pains of penalty to visit him at his residence. The programme of Ganapati festival were under Government orders clipped of any demonstration in honour of Tilak alongside. He was placed under a ban not to participate in the immersion ceremony. His house was picketed by C.I.D. spies reporting arrivals. By now, The First Great War broke out. There was unanimity amongst Indian leaders to help England win the war. Tilak made a statement and the Government order, which was tantamount to an order of surveillance, was withdrawn. In the statement, *i.e.*, the letter to the *Maharatta* Tilak said:

"The Reforms during Lord Morley's and Lord Minto's administration"—they came into operation when Tilak was in the Mandalay Jail—"will show that the Government is fully alive to the necessity of progressive change and desire to associate the people more and more in the work of the Government. It is also claimed and fairly conceded that this indicates a marked increase in confidence between the rulers and the ruled and a sustained endeavour to remove popular grievances. . . . . I confidently hope that in the end, the good arising out of the constitutional reforms will abide and prevail and that which is objectionable will disappear. . . . . It is an article of faith with me and in my opinion such a belief alone can inspire us to work for the good of our country in co-operation with the Government."

With regard to the Revolutionary Movement Tilak said:

"I have no hesitation in saying that the acts of violence, which have been committed in different parts of India, are not only repugnant to me, but have, in my opinion, only unfortunately retarded, to a great extent, the pace of our political progress."

To complete the picture it needs being as much stated that Tilak said:

"It has been well said that British rule is conferring inestimable benefits on India not only by its civilized methods of administration but also thereby bringing together the different nationalities and races of India, so that a United Nation may grow out of it in course of time."

The aforesaid statement enunciates a political creed, which is basically at one with, say, Mehta's or Gokhale's. There were people to accuse Tilak of a climb-down. There were people to praise Tilak attributing to him the sagacity of a change in tactics. He had already indicated it in the public reception immediately after release. Tilak said in the meeting, "I am willing and ready to serve in the same manner and capacity which belonged to me six years before, though it may be, I shall have to modify my course a little." To interpret the above in its entirety, it needs as well being stated what he told Lord Willingdon, fairly a month and half after the aforesaid statement in the *Maharatta*. He told Willingdon that if he could he

*The expression is Montagu's.

would resort to "unconstitutional and revolutionary methods" in order to "uproot the British Government, but it is impossible, impracticable, and even suicidal for us to follow such Irish methods in the present state of the country."

Now that Tilak was back, the Bengal leaders renewed their efforts to work out a rapprochement between the two wings of the Congress which split at Surat in December, 1907. Tilak had eloquently praised as worthy of emulation, what they did to compose the differences amongst Congress workers of Bengal and in having a joint session of the Provincial Conference at Pabna in February, 1908, Rabindranath Tagore presiding. The Bombay leaders Mehta and Wacha, however, would suffer no talk of a compromise. Gokhale at times betrayed his great anxiety for it. He was, however, sharply pulled by the other two. It is painful to recall the truculence with which Sir Pherozeshah Mehta scotched all attempts of a compromise. He went so far as to say, "I cannot help saying that there is a great deal of mawkish sentimentality in the passionate appeals for union at all costs. . . . . For God's sake let us have done with all inane and slobbery whine about unity where there is none." There were loud, stinging retorts in the Bengal press. Surendranath Banerjea thought fit to raise his voice of protest in language, which is strong and calculated to read Mehta a homily on politeness. "Sir Pherozeshah Mehta", says he editorially in *The Bengalee*, "has described the desire for a united Congress as a mawkish sentimentality. We regret he should have used such language in relation to a wide-spread and deep-seated sentiment which inspires the political world of Bengal. What Extremist would have said anything more saucy and strident than what Surendranath said—"Bengal feels that a sectional Congress is not a National Congress and that this sectional Congress has no right to speak in the name of the Nation." It was, however, in 1916, that they were, in Tilak's words, united in the United Province and met their luck at Lucknow. Ambikacharan Mazumdar, the President-elect, had sent Tilak a personal invitation to attend the Congress.

Tilak had in the meantime started the Home Rule League in order to activate the Congress demand for *Swaraj*. It had evoked such enthusiasm that the Government proposed to halt his march by prosecuting him for the third time for sedition. Tilak was bound down by the District Magistrate of Poona to enter into a bond of Rs. 20,000 to be of good behaviour for one year. The order was set aside by the Bombay High Court. To propose to teach the man to be of good behaviour, who as a school boy taught the *mali*—the menial tending the garden—of the Governor's house that the house belonged to the people and that he was being paid by the people to tend the garden, as such, he (Tilak) and his friends, as belonging to the public, had the right to the fruits thereof, has been one of the toughest propositions of British Rule in India. It was now the question of *Swaraj*, to the exclusion of any other, that Tilak sleeplessly devoted himself to. Edwin Montagu came to India for an on-the-spot study to help chalk out the line of governance in terms of the Declaration he, as the Secretary of State for India, made on the 20th Aug., 1917, on behalf of the Cabinet. The Declaration promised 'progressive realisation of responsible Government in India as an integral part of the British Empire'. It speaks well of Montagu that he rose above the dense, accumulated prejudice of Englishmen in India against Tilak. It was of a kind as even to construe Tilak responding to offer recruits for the War as 'a factor of sinister portent'. Montagu treated Tilak with great respect and consideration. Tilak told Montagu, "We shall accept what the British Democracy gives to the people of India and we shall ceaselessly struggle to secure what is withheld."—*An Indian Diary*. Tilak's political opponents taunted him for rallying round the Moderates. It was however no volte-face. Much earlier in 1907, he told H. W. Nevinson of the *Manchester Guardian*, "Our object is to obtain eventually a large share in the administration of our country."—*The New Spirit in India*.

It was Tilak's lot, right from the beginning of his public life, to be traduced by the Anglo-Indian Press. It was a long, relentless crusade. Even with the ashes of his funeral pyre reeking hot, some of them were as vituperative. Tilak once caught the *Globe*, a paper of the Conservative Party, and the *Times of India* in the hip

and made them apologise to him. Because of Morley's attitude in the matter of Davar's sentence and a notion in England that Tilak was being harshly dealt with by the Bombay Government, some forces were at work to prepare a non-official brief against him. Sir Valentine Chirol proved handy. He came to India in 1910, and wrote his book *Indian Unrest* from out of his despatches to the *Times of London* and dedicated it to Morley. Tilak sued Chirol for Defamation in England. His counsel Sir John Simon told him in the plainest manner that he had absolutely no chance of a verdict in his favour from an English Jury and asked him to withdraw the case. But Tilak would not. The astute lawyer Sir John made a capital of such observation of Chirol as to constitute sure libel. They are that Tilak 'made the tepid and recalcitrant pay him from fear of the lash of his pen' and that 'his gymnastic clubs resolved into bands of dacoits to swell the coffers of *swaraj*'. It was a heinous charge and there was not an iota of evidence oral or documentary to justify it. And yet Sir John with all his forensic skill and eloquence made no headway with the Jury. Rather, they lightheartedly skipped over it and enjoyed Chirol's counsel Sir Edward Carson's counter-offensive. "You might as well tell me", he told the Jury, "that if a man is accused of murdering his mother-in-law and of stealing a pipe from his father-in-law's pocket, and it was proved that he did murder his mother-in-law but did not steal the pipe, he would get the damages." Sir John pointed his unerring finger of attack on Sir Valentine having drifted afield from Indian politics and given a perverted account of Tilak's part in an Adoption Case, even if he was upheld by the Privy Council. But nothing availed against Sir Edward Carson, as he charged Tilak having indoctrinated a generation of youth of Bengal and Maharashtra with the cult of bomb. He was described as the 'champion-libeller' of those England had sent to India to do their jobs, nay, against whom he had 'promoted crime and assassination in the vilest language unequalled in audacity.' It was a shattering perplexity for Tilak to be told before the English Jury if he could point out a single sentence in Chirol's book which was more severe than the comment Justice Davar had made on him, *e.g.*, that his articles seethed with sedition; that he preached violence; approved of murders and welcomed the bomb 'as if something has come to India for its good'. The verdict of the Jury, as Sir John had warned Tilak, was a foregone conclusion. They took precious twenty-seven minutes to return their verdict in Chirol's favour after a hearing of eleven strenuous days, when they were asked to consider a barrel-load of evidence and documents. And for this Tilak spent near about three lakhs of rupees.

Sir John drew out from Chirol in cross-examination that the Bombay and India Government archives and officials were at his disposal for what information he chose to collect for his book to the extent that one would not be wrong to suggest that it was written at the instance of the Government. It also came to light that he was being freely supplied such official information as were denied to Tilak even, on request, for the purpose of his case, leave alone the privileged documents of the sacrosanct C.I.D. Two officials, present in the Court, were pointed out as being deputed from India to help Chirol conduct his case. It was further confirmed that to assist him in the Defamation case, the India Government was fully at one with the Bombay authorities and in between them they made a merry use of the Indian taxpayer's money. The Secretary of State, Austin Chamberlain, was stampeded into it by the elaborate notes of the Home Member and Law Member of the India Government. Their one plea was that if Chirol failed, Tilak would sue the Secretary of State for damages. Chirol had already had his other reward in Knighthood. There is some sauce in recalling that years back Chirol came to India to report Lord Curzon's Delhi Durbar. He happened to insult an Indian doctor, who sued him in a Court of Law. Chirol approached Curzon to save him the public ignominy. Curzon declining, the lusty John Bull had to apologise.

Relieved of the strain of his case, Tilak concentrated on his Home Rule mission. The India Office refused to forward his Representation on behalf of the Indian Home Rule League to the Peace Conference at Paris and refused him pass-port for a trip to France. He was, however, eminently successful in establishing contact with the leaders of the Labour Party and enlisted their active sympathy for India. At the Trade Union Congress at Glasgow Ramsay Macdonald spoke of him as the embodiment of India's grievances and desired him to convey their message to India that the Labour Party would stand by her. Through the good offices of Montagu, Tilak appeared as a witness before the Joint Parliamentary Committee of Reforms. Lord Sydenham, a member of the Committee, left the room immediately as Tilak was announced. No member asked him any question by way of clarification, obviously, to take no notice of him as of no importance. Montagu, however, made amends by calling him a second time for an interview. But the greatest compensation for Tilak was that to the extent he was ignored by the ruling oligarchy and the diehards, he was hailed in India as her symbol of redemption from bondage.

On his return, December 1919, Tilak was given a civic reception by the Poona Municipality—the first non-official to receive such honour. It was however too much for Raghunath Paranjpye, the Principal of the Fergusson College, Tilak took great pains to found. He descended to the length of presenting through the columns of the *Bombay Chronicle* a charge-sheet detailing Tilak's many 'sins of omission and commission.' This was to justify his opposition to the other address which was being arranged for Tilak in the name of the 'citizens of Poona.' The time chosen to assail Tilak was singularly inappropriate. In fact, if the shade of Gokhale—he died on 19-2-15—still lingered round his loved haunts, it was, without question, disturbed by such vandalism, as much as Tilak's definitely was by Khaparde calling Gokhale a Government spy.*

* Jawaharlal Nehru narrates how in the house of Dr. Rashbehari Ghose at Summerhills, Simla, Khaparde spoke of Gokhale being a spy and Dr. Ghose was beside himself in rage to hear it.

The same December, Tilak took a leading part to make the Amritsar Congress resolve to work the Reforms even if it was 'inadequate,' 'unsatisfactory' and 'disappointing.' But he was fast developing signs of wear-out. Despite medical warnings he moved from one end of the country to the other to explain his creed of Responsive Co-operation. What, however, was once a dynamo of untiring strength broke down. The last words, he muttered in a state of delrium, were in respect of the Special Congress in Calcutta, where Mahatma Gandhi was to move three days after his Non-co-operation Resolution. In the early nours of 1st August, 1920, Tilak dropped the last breath of mortal life—immortally lived.

The most significant obituary note on Tilak—the one that comprehensively sums up his position in relation to India's struggle for Freedom—is that of the British Labour Party's organ, the *Daily Herald*, e.g., that he was 'the best hated man of all Anglo-Indian autocrats' The cycle is complete as we recall that the other Indian as hated is Netaji Subhas Bose. As to the integrity of his service what C. Rajagopalachari says abides. "No great man," says he, "was less troubled with a memory of himself or the thought how he figured in anything."* As to the distinctive turn, he gave to Indian politics and the promise that marked him, what Shri Aurobindo says is the last say in the matter. 'Tilak', he hays, 'has Indianised Indian politics.' As he said this in the *Indu Prakash* of Bombay —Aurobindo was then barely twentyone—he indicated the line, e.g., "The proletariat of India held the real key to the situation; whoever succeeded in understanding and eliciting its strength was bound to be the master of the future." Whether Tilak was a revolutionary, who would not abjure violence or a constitutionalist, who, howsoever virile and assertive in the expression of his views, would not get off the rails, the consensus of opinion, that sticks fast to him, is that he was determined ruthlessly and without scruple to compass the freedom of India.

*Foreword to S. L. Karandikar's *Biography of Tilak.*

MINORITY NATIONALITIES IN CHINA

By SUBHASH CHANDRA SARKER

China, "the greatest social edifice mankind has yet brought forth,"[1] is a land of many nationalities. The Han (Chinese) constitutes the overwhelming majority of the people, accounting for about ninety-four per cent of the total population. Besides the Han nationality there are sixty-odd national minorities with a total population of about thirtysix millions ctnstituting approximately six per cent of the total population. The ethnic composition of the people of China, as given in the latest census report, is as follows (excluding Taiwan and the twelve million Chinese resident overseas)[2].

Nationality	Number
Han (Chinese)	547,283,057
Mongol	1,462,956
Hui	3,559,350
Tibetan	2,775,622
Uighur (Turki)	3,640,125
Miao	2,511,339
Yi	3,254,269
Chuang	6,611,455
Puyi	1,247,883
Korean	1,120,405
Manchu	2,418,931
Other nationalities	6.718,025
Total	582,603,417

The minority nationalities are scattered over wide areas mostly in the border regions Though they constitute only sixe per cent of the total population they occupy mearly fiftv per cent[3] of the country's total area of 3.76 million square miles. There are a dozen different nationalities in North-west China, viz., Uighurs, Hui, Tibetans, Kazakhs, Tartars, Tadjiks, Manchus, Khalkhas, Ty, Uzbeks, Tungshiang, Mongolians, Solon and Sala totalling about 6,300,000 people, roughly onefifth of the population in the area. The minorities in the South-west number more than twenty million and constitute about twenty per cent of the total population of that part of China. They are: the Tibetans, Yi, Miao, Hui, Tai, Puyi, Minchia, Nahsi, Kawa, and others. About eight to nine million minorities constituting one-twentieth of the population of the regions live in Central and South China among whom are the Chuang, Miao, Yiao, Tung, Hui, Li, Kuolo, Ling, Lai and the Maonan. The minorities living in North-West China include the Koreans, Manchus, Mongolians, Hui and Tanuerh.

The numerical strength of the minorities varies from a few hundred (the Hochinh—the smallest nationality totalling about six hundred now) to over six millions (the Chuang—the largest minority nationality in China). The more numerous nationalities have been listed in the table above.

Social Conditions

The Minorities differ from one another as much as, sometimes even more, than they differ from the Chinese in respect of economic and cultural development and religious beliefs. The Manchus, who use the Chinese language, are almost on a par with the Chinese economically and culturally while the Olunchuns inhabiting the forests of Khingan Range of Inner Mongolia and North-East China still live on hunting. Generally speaking, however, the minority nationalities are in a state of extreme social, economic and political backwardness. Many of the Minorities including the most numerous Chuang even have no written language and little is known about their social and cultural life. The complexity of the social nature of the minority nationalities is given by the fact that quite often the different socio-economic elements emerge in the same society. Until recently the Yi people who were in the stage of slavery had also a system of land-lordism. Geographical difference also introduces a distinctive characteristic. Even when different nationalities are in the same stage of economic development they have their own peculiar features. The manors of the *hoka* (ruling class) in Sinkiang, the system of the Thais in West Yunnan all of whom were in the feudalist stage have marked differences from one another.[4] Chinese sociologists however are compiling some data to overcome the handicap in the knowledge of the social and cultural life of the minority people which complicates the task of identifying the minority nationalities and evolving suitable policies. A research group formed jointly by the Chinese Academy of Sciences, the Central Institute of Nationalities, Yunnan University, the Chinese Communist Party (C.C.P.) school and the C.C.P. Tali District Committee of Yunnan provice is busy compiling a short history, a short manual and a brief introduction to the autonomous chou of the Pai minority with reference to the nature of production, class struggle and the experience with socialist construction. Generally the studies initiated by the Communist Party lay stress upon three important points: (a) Observation of the new things created by the people under the leadership of the Communist Party and the Government "paying attention to how the new culture and new life grew, in what manner they are accepted by the masses and how the new needs of the masses are met"; (b) an assessment of the old culture of the people "to understand better the contradictions existing in the new culture and new way of life," and (c) a "penetrating survey of the national pattern of culture and life of each nationality and of the law of changes in such pattern" with a view to gaining a better perspective for the application of new policies.[5]

Policy of the Government

The policy of the Communist Government to the minority nationalities is governed by the "General Programme of the People's Republic of China for the implementation of Regional Autonomy for Nationalities" promulgated by the Central People's Government on August 9, 1952, and by the "Decisions on Measures for the Establishment of Local Democratic Coalition Government of Nationalities" of the Central Government on February 22, 1952. The policy is designed to remove the existing inequalities suffered by the minorities and to offer them adequate scope for self-development so that ultimately the differences between the Han (Chinese) and the minorities disappear completely. With a view to ensuring special attention to the development of minorities the Communist Party has introduced the principle of regional autonomy for minority groups. According to the "general programme" there are three main types of national autonomous areas: (a) those established on the basis of an area inhabited by one minority nationality; (b) those established on the basis of an area in which one minority nationality predominates in number though in it are included areas inhabited by other minority nationalities with very small populations (Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region); (c) those established on the basis of a number of areas each of which is inhabited by a different minority nationality (Kwangsi Chuang Autonomous Region). The National autonomous units may include areas with predominant Han (Chinese) population; but the Han minority within an autonomous unit cannot claim regional autonomy for itself except that in localities within a national autonomous region where the number of Hans is exceptionally large, a "democratic coalition government" of nationalities is formed in which the different nationalities inhabiting the area are represented on the basis of the ratio in population.

Constitutional Provisions

The constitution of the People's Republic of China adopted in September, 1954 declares China to be a multi-national country[6] and proclaims the equality of all

1. Paul, M. A. Linebarger: *China of Chiang Kai Shek*, Boston, 1943; p. 2.
2. State Statistical Bureau: *Communique on the Census*, Peking, November 1, 1954.
3. Gyan Chand: *The New Economy of China* (Factual Account. Analysis and Interpretation), Bombay, 1958, p. 247.
4. Fei Hsiao-tung and Lin Yao-hua: "A Study of the Social Nature of the Minority Nationalities," *Jen Min Jih Pao* (*JMJP*), Peking, August 14, 1956.
5. Fei Hsiao-tung and Lin Yao-hua: "A Study of the Culture and Life of the Minority Nationalities," *JMJP*, Peking, August 16, 1956.
6. Article 3 of the Constitution.

the nationalities in China and guarantees the right to regional autonomy to all the minority nationalities living in compact communities. It forbids discrimination against any nationality. The National People's Congress, the supreme organ of state power in China, is required to constitute Nationalities Committee with members from among the persons elected to the Congress to deal with matters of importance to the various national minorities of China.[7] The Nationalities Committee constituted by the First National People's Congress had 84 members five-sixths of whom were members of minority nationalities.

Formerly all national autonomous units were called autonomous regions. In the constitution they are classified as autonomous regions (equivalent to provinces), autonomous *chou* (an intermediate unit between the autonomous *Chou* and the autonomous *hsien*) and autonomous *hsien* (counties) according to the size and population of each. In April 1959, according to the statement of Premier Chou En-lai, there were four autonomous regions (Inner Mongolia, Sinkiang Uighur, Kwangsi Chuang, and the Ninghsia Hui Autonomous regions), twenty-nine autonomous *Chou* and fifty-four autonomous *hsien* in China. In addition there was the Preparatory Commitee for the Tibet Autonomous Region which had come into being in April 1956 with a view to establishing an autonomous region in Tibet.[8]

The organisation and work of the organs of self-government in the autonomous areas are specified in section V of chapter two of the constitution. The basic principles of organization are the same as apply to the organisation of the other local organs of state power.[9] The form of each organ of self-government is determined in accordance with the wishes of the people of the area. The powers of the various organs are analogous to those enjoyed by other organs of the state at the corresponding level. Their functions and powers include, within limits set by law and the constitution, the administration of their own local finances and the organization of their own public security forces in accordance with the military system of the State. Subject to endorsement by the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, their powers further extend to drawing up statutes governing the exercise of autonomy, or separate regulations suited to the political, economic and cultural characteristics of the nationality or nationalities in a given area.[10]

Article 72 of the Constitution enjoins upon the higher organs of the State to safeguard fully the right of organs of self-government to all autonomous counties to exercise autonomy and to assist the various minority nationalities in their political, economic and cultural developments.

By virtue of Article 24 of the Electoral law of the Republic the minority nationalities are guaranteed 150 seats in the National People's Congress (Parliament) of China, whose membership exceeds 1,200, to be filled in by minority representatives elected from amongst the minority nationalities themselves, besides minority deputies elected otherwise. They have been accorded further facilities in the matter of election and representation which enable even those who are scattered over the country to elect their representatives.

Government

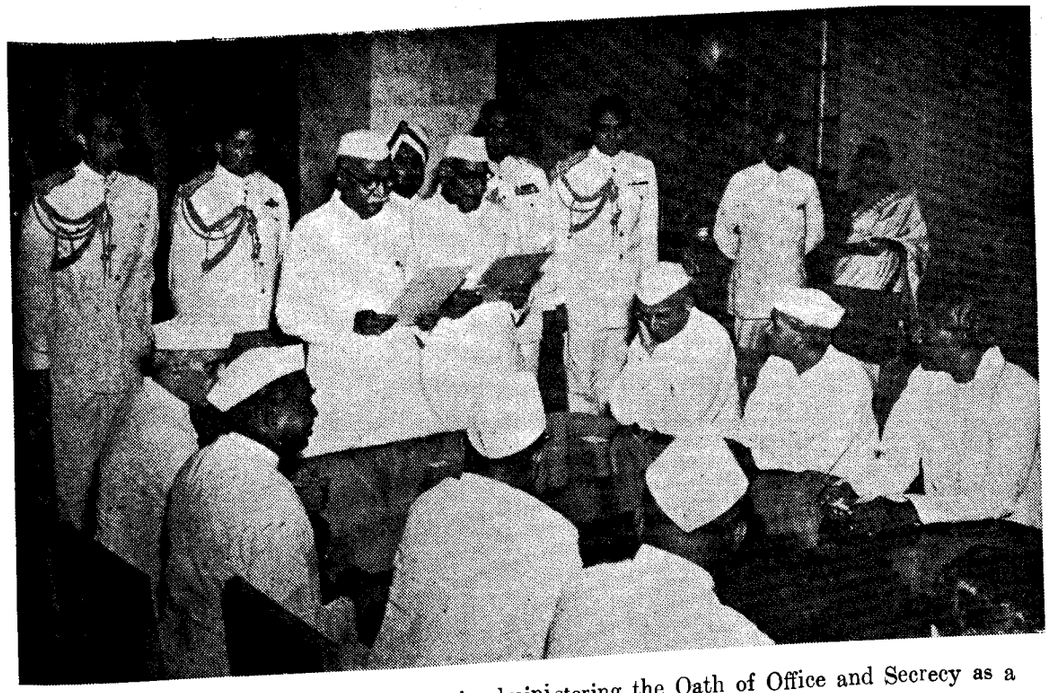
The constitution lays down that the organs of Government in the autonomous regions, *chou* and *hsien*, nationality *hsiang* are the respective people's congresses. Deputies to such people's Congress are elected indirectly by those of the lower levels save that the people's Congress at the basic level is elected by direct and universal

7. Art. 34, *Ibid.*

8. Chou En-Lai: *Report on the Work of the Government* (Speech delivered before the first session of the Second National People's Congress in Peking on April 18, 1959). English text in *China Today* (Embassy of the People's Republic of China), New Delhi, April 25, 1959. A list naming the minority autonomous regions as in 1954 is to be found in W. Gordon East and A. E. Moodie: *The Changing World*, London, 1956. Section on "Communist China" by C. A. Fisher, p. 574.

9. Art. 67 of the Constitution.

10. Art. 70, *Ibid.*



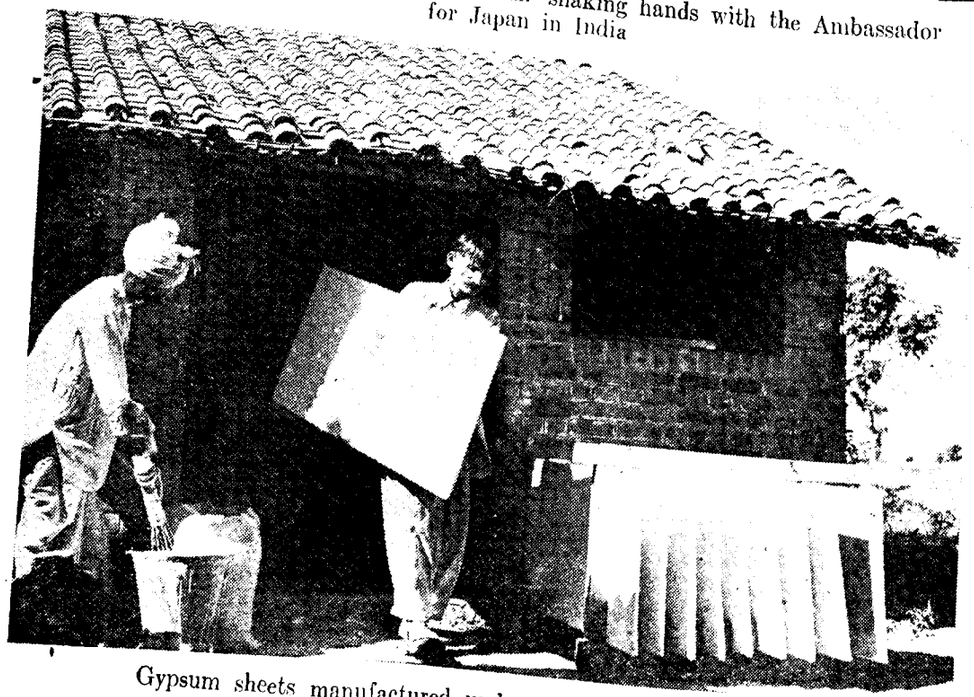
The President Dr. Rajendra Prasad administering the Oath of Office and Secrecy as a Cabinet Minister to Dr. P. Subbarayan



Indian Finance Minister, Shri Morarji Desai (*right*) in Japan's traditional art work exhibition in Tokyo



The Vice-President, Dr. Radhakrishnan shaking hands with the Ambassador for Japan in India



Gypsum sheets manufactured under national Building Organization

franchise. The numerical strength of the people's Congress of the autonomous region varies with the population of the region. The counties each elect from one to five deputies to the regional Congress.

The term of the office of the people's Congress of the autonomous region is four years and the term of office of other local people's congresses as two years. The local people's Congresses at each level "ensure the observance and execution of laws and decrees in their respective areas; draw up plans for local economic and cultural development and for public works; examine and approve local budgets and financial reports; protect public property; maintain public order, safeguard the rights of citizens and the equal rights of national minorities." They have supervisory authority over the local people's councils of the respective levels and can revise or annul the decisions of people's councils and people's Congresses of the next lower level. At the top of all stands the Natoinal People's Congress which is the sole legislative body in the country with overriding authority over all other organs.

The people's Congresses elect the people's councils of the respective levels which serve as the local government and are responsible to the people's Congresses of the corresponding level and are also subject to the direction of the people's councils of the higher level. A people's council generally consists of a chairman, several vice-chairmen and a number of other members who look after the various departments of the government.

Reforms

Except the Manchus almost all the other minorities had an agricultural economy or an economy of animal husbandry. As has already been mentioned until recently they were in different stages of slavery, feudalism and capitalism. As part of the national programme agrarian and other reforms were carried out in the minority areas as well. However, reforms, at any rate in early stages, were introduced in the minority areas only after their implementation in the Han (Chinese) areas. Explaining the provisions in the constitution on th minorities Liu Shao-Chi, who submitted th report of the committee for drafting th constitution, said that on account of the un even development of the various national ties in China the constitution visualise different dates for the achievement c socialism by the various nationalities. Fc historical reasons the Han people, wh comprised the overwhelming majority c the population, had a relatively high politi cal, economic and cultural level and wer therefore more likely to achieve socialisn earlier than others; so that "by the tim socialist transformation is under way amon the national minorities the work of buildin socialism will probably have achieved bi successes in most parts of the country. By then conditions for socialist transformatior among these national minorities will be more favourable because by that tme the state will have still greater material strength to help them."[11]

An idea of how the reforms were introduced in the minority areas is formed from a reference to the experience in the Yi nationality areas of Szechwan where it took about a year, from February 1956 to February 1957, to complete the task. In the Hsichang administrative district of the province which has a population of 300,000 including 220,000 people of Yi nationality and is composed of two autonomous *hsien*, 17 autonomous *Chu* 118 nationality *hsiang*, 9 multi-nationality inhabited *hsien*, 28 multi-nationality inhabited *Chu* and 63 multi-nationality inhabited *hsiang*. The process of implementation was as follows: The first steps were taken in one (Ningnan) *hsien* in February 1956. With the gain of experience, reforms were extended to six *hsien* including Hsichang, Techang, Huili and Huitung in the course of the following seven months. And by February 1957 the introduction of reforms was completed in areas with a population of 140,000; was in the process of implementation in areas inhabited by about 90,000 people (excludng the

11. Liu Shao-Chi: Report on the Draft Constitution of the *People's Republic of China*, Peking, 1954, pp. 48-49.

people of Han nationality who had effected reforms long before). The entire process was peaceful. "There was no digging up the last cash, no accounting for the old debts, no face to face denunciation, no throwing into prison, no killing. The surplus portion of property was purchased in all *hsien* (counties) except in Ningnan *hsien* where it was requisitioned. In accordance with the spirit of the policy of the Government of not lowering the treatment and living standard of the upper level personnel, consideration was given to the owner of slaves who experienced difficulties when purchase or requisition was made."[12] In the seven *hsien* where the reforms had been completed, the people had set up thirteen higher agricultural producers' co-operatives, 107 lower agricultural products' co-operatives and 1,175 mutual aid teams by the end of 1956.

The reforms in all the areas of the Liangshan yi autonomous Chou—which is the name of the area—were completed at the end of 1957. In the latter part of 1958 when the movement for establishing communes was launched throughout the nation the area was not excluded from the purview of the movement unlike what had been done at the time of carlier reforms. By August, 1959, the autonomous *chou* had set up 33 people's communes and more than 1,000 advanced agricultural producers co-operatives.[13]

At the beginning of the year 1959 reforms had been carried out in all the minority areas except Tibet and a few other places. The introduction of reforms in Tibet had been deferred until 1963 by a decision of the Chinese Communist Party.[14]

The rising in Tibet in March 1959 culminating in the dissolution of the Tibet Local Government and the flight of the Dalai Lama to India however saw the reversal of that decision of the Party. The National People's Congress in a resolution adopted in April called for steps to be taken for the introduction of reforms in Tibet. On July 17, 1959 the plenary session of the reconstituted Preparatory Committee for the Tibet Autonomous Region decided to implement the resolution with immediate effect.[15] The Preparatory Committee resolution envisages the introduction of the reforms in Tibet in two stages: The first stage is the mobilization of the masses through the suppression of the rebellion, and the compaign to oppose rebellion, unpaid forced labour, the treatment of persons as chattels and to reduce rent and interest; the second stage will consist in the redistribution of land.

The reforms are already in the process of implementation and involve changes not only in land ownership but also in administration, law, religion and social customs. The Communist Party is following a policy of discriminating confiscation paying some sort of compensation to fedual lords and monasteries remaining loyal to the Communists but withholding these concessions from those who sided with the Dalai Lama.[16]

Progress in the Minority Areas

Striking progress has been registered in the minority areas since the victory of the Chinese revolution in 1949. There has been all-round development in the economic and social fields and the crude suppression of the minorities has become a thing of the

12. Speech of Io Ya-ying before the third session of Second National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Council (CPPCC) on March 11, 1957, reported in *JMJP*, March 12, 1957.

13. *Daily News Release* (henceforth cited as DNR) of the Hsinhua (official Chinese) News Agency, Hongkong, August 16, 1959, page 9.

14. Mao Tse-tung: "On the Correct Handling of the Contradictions within the Ranks of the People"—*DNR*, June 19, 1957.

15. *DNR*, July 21, 1959, pp. 89. See also *DNR*, July 3 (for the summary of Panchen Lama's speech), July 8 (for the summary of the speech of Ngapo Ngawang Jigme, the Vice-Chairman and Secretary-General of the Preparatory Committee for Tibet Autonomous Region).

16. *DNR*, July 8, 1959, p. 3; *DNR*, July 3, 1959, pp. 25, 36.

past.[17] A number of measures have been adopted by the Government of various levels to help the nationalities develop their economy, culture and education.[18] These measures include liberal provision of subsidies and loans, technical assistance, free medical service, training of minority nationality specialists and administrators by the various schools for nationalities and trade on a fair and equitable basis. Irrigation has been expanded and diversification of crops and occupations has been introduced and encouraged.[19] The total value of industrial production in the four autonomous regions in 1958 was eighty-eight per cent higher than in the preceeding year, while the increase in the output of food was eighty-three per cent (these figures would justify a downward reapparaisal following the disclosures of statistical mistakes in the August plenum of the Central committee of the Chinese communist party).[20] Educational efforts got a spurt in the national minority areas and by the first half of 1958 the enrolment of the minority nationality primary school students reached 3,190,000; middle school students 310,000 and students in higher educational institutions 16,000. Summing up the situation, the Chinese Prime Minister Chou En-lai told the National People's Congress: "Of the country's population of 36 million, the number of students totalled 3,510,000. Compared with pre-liberation days, the number of primary school pupils has increased over six times, middle school students 79 times: and students in higher educational institutions 27 times[21 &22] If it is recalled that a good many among the minorities had no written language of their own at the date of liberation the magnitude of the achievement becomes truly apparent.[23]

While the record of achievement in the field of social and economic developments has been impressive it becomes less remarkable as we turn to the progress in political autonomy under the Constitution. As a

17. Gyan Chand: *Op. Cit.*, p. 289 ("It is great gain that these minorities have been guaranteed equality under the Constitution, and the provision is being respected in theory and practice"); Solomon Adler: *The Chinese Economy*, London, 1957, p. 22 ("A rational national minorities programme was inaugurated. Based on complete equality between all national and ethnic gooups, it abolished the old-style feudal-imperialist exploitation of minorities by the Han Chinese governing class, which had been a prime cause of inter-racial antagonisms and tensions; Hewlett Johnson: *China's New Creative Age*, London, 1953, p. 72; George Mot. Katrin (Ed.), *Major Governments of Asia*, Cornell University Press, New York, 1958, Section on China by Harold C. Hinton, p. 94 (Mr. Hinton considers the lot of the minorities to be the worst despite constitutional provisions—yet qualifies his statement by saying that the enjoyment of cultural autonomy is "less of a fiction than political autonomy."

18. Fei Hsiao-tung: "Free and Equal Family," *People's China* (fortnightly,) Peking, May 16, 1955.

19. *DNR*, June 15, 1959, p. 5; July 18, 1959, p. 3.

20. Text of the Central Committee's resolution in *DNR*, August 27, 1959, pp. 5-10; see also the communique, pp. 1-4.

21. Chou En-lai: *Report on the work of the Government*, *Cited*.

22. Ulanfu: "Successes in Nationalities Work and Questions of Policy" (Report of the Chairman of the Nationalities Affairs Commission of the First National People's Congress to the third session of the Congress on June 20, 1956). "Approximately over 20,000,000 of the 35,000,000 minority nationals have no written language of their own or no popular written languages."

23. An idea of the nature of the problems that have to be dealt with in educating the minorities is given in the following extract from a deputy's speech before the National People's Congress on June 2, 1956: "Owing to the great mobility of the herdsmen, permanent school buildings are lacking in pastoral areas. As the herdsmen are widely scattered, the students are unable to attend schools early in the morning and come back in the evening. If the students live in hostels it will not only reduce the labour power of the families, but will also increase the financial burden of the families. Therefore it has been difficult to establish primary schools in pastoral areas, and even if they have been established it will be difficult to consolidate them" (Hsijaochiatso, Chairman of the China Buddhist Association), *NCNA*, Peking, June 27, 1956.

matter of fact the provisions regarding political and economic autonomy have largely remained a dead letter.[24] Notwithstanding the provision in Article 71 of the Constitution that in performing their duties the organs of state in all autonomous units should employ the spoken and written language commonly used by the minorities living in the area, nothing much was done to implement this in practice—presumably because of the difficulties presented by the absence of written languages in many cases. Mr. Li Wei-han therefore uttered the following warning in May 1957: "This provision (Art. 71) must be carried out, if the autonomy organs are to closely approach and link up with the masses of the people of the local nationality, and to serve them properly."[25] There has yet been no clear demarcation between central and provincial functions and revenue though efforts are being made to evolve a satisfactory solution.

The extreme economic and political backwardness of the minorities coupled with the historical antagonism between the Chinese and the minorities has a tendency to generate Pan-Han-ism, which is manifested in the impatience of the Chinese with the habits and ways of life of the minorities and seeks to mould their lives according to the Chinese pattern on the one hand and local nationalism which seems to sense danger in every reform suggested by the Chinese, irrespective of its soundness on the other. In so far as the Chinese are in a comparatively advantageous position culturally, politically, materially and numerically, the Communist leaders have characterised Pan-Hanism as the Chief impeding factor in the implementation of a healthy nationalities policy.[26] Of the clashes that have so far occurred between the Chinese and the minorities that in Tibet has been the most violent and far-reaching in its impact.

The development of the minority areas has a special significance for China because a success in this field would revolutionize the social and economic life not only of the minorities bringing them to the level of the progressive people of the world, but also of the whole of China. In a way it may hold the key to the future glory of China in so far as the only way of reducing the almost overbearing pressure of population in certain parts of China,[27] which is growing more acute with the growth of population, may lie in opening out the vast expenses of the underpopulated minority areas, which are rich in mineral and forest resources and hold great potentialities for development, for large-scale colonization by the Chinese. The most important problem in the development of minority areas is the absence of that degree of concentration of population which provides a fillip to development. The Government has sought to encourage a programme of large-scale Chinese resettlement in minority areas which is however faced with the twin opposition of the patent unwillingness of the Chinese to move out of familiar environment to face an uncertain future and the unconcealed distrust, sometimes amounting to active hostility, of the minorities, who cherish bitter memories of past Chinese oppression, of Chinese intentions.

24. See Li Wei-han (Director of the United Front Department of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party); "Some views on the question of the Establishment of the Chuang Nationality Autonomous Region," *JMJP*, Peking, May 4, 1957. "Since the promulgation of the Constitution, the various autonomous *Chou* and *Hsien* have seldom exercised the right" granted to them under Article 70 of the Constitution, he says.

25. *Ibid.*

26. "The key to the solution of this problem (of removing the distrust and inequality between the various nationalities in China)," says Mao Tse-tung, "lies in overcoming great-Han Chauvinism."—See note 14 above.

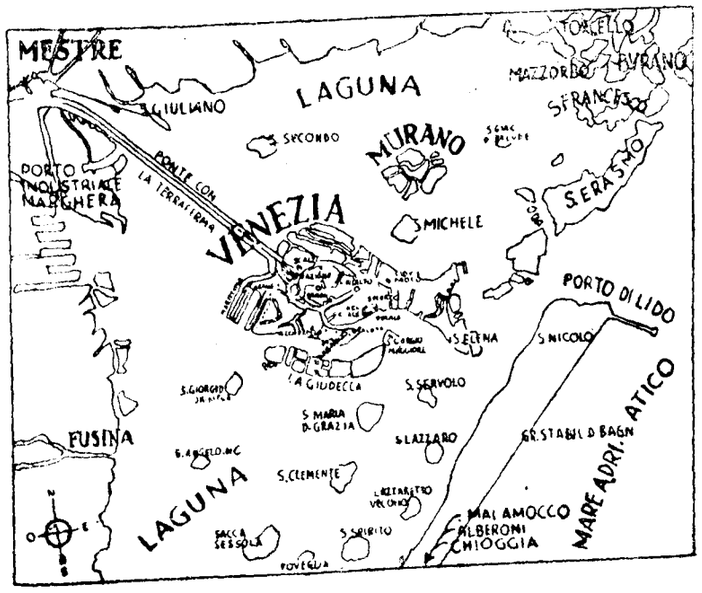
27. Ninety per cent of the 600 million people of China live on only one-sixth of the country's area, while in the remaining five-sixths live but sixty million people. See Subhash Chandra Sarker: "Population Planning in China," *Population Review* (Indian Institute for Population Studies), Madras, Vol. II, No. 2 (July), 1958, p. 51.

VENICE

By ADINATH SEN

Attractive Venice

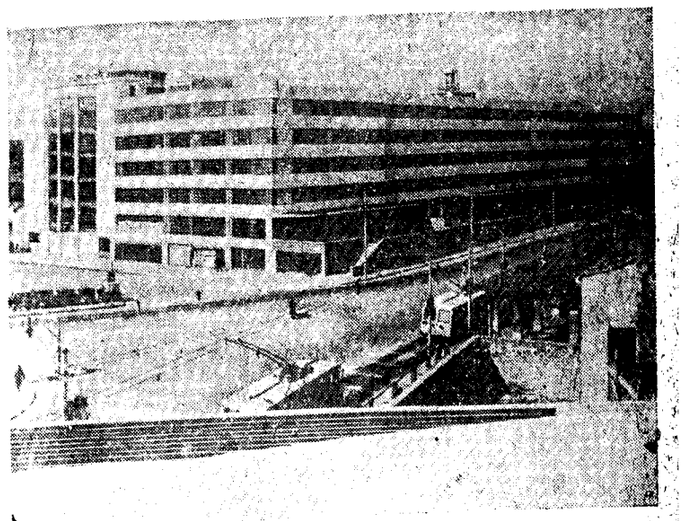
The cause of attraction of Venice today is that it is one of the greatest centres of Arts; and works of Art, if preserved, are a joy for ever. The present artistic manufactures are tapestry, brocades, silks, laces, carvings, jewellery, bronzes, glass beads, etc. Politically, however, Venice is dead, but its unbroken prosperity of the past left it a great centre of Arts. Venice affords in its past history, the only instance in the world, of an Empire, which having no territory of its own, extended the boundaries to all places bearing the name of Ports, whose clever merchants had their guilds, and enterprising financiers their banks, for over a thousand years. It defended its trade against pirates and expanding by conquests (Constantinople), established the closest net-work of traffic between three continents.



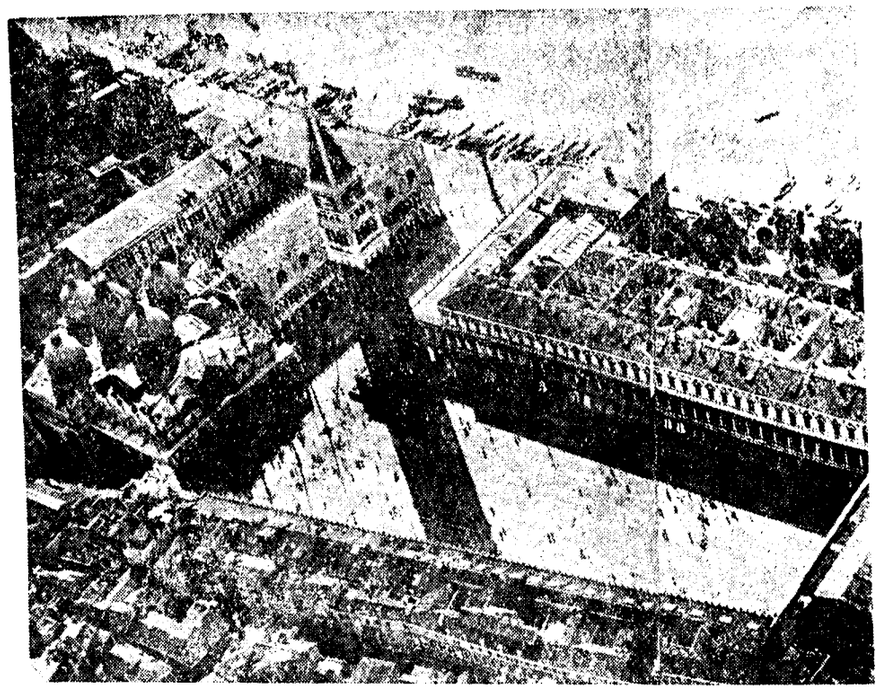
Layout of Venice on Mainland of Italy

Prosperity Due to Trade

A country thrives on its trade. The importance of the Mediterranean cities (Alexandria, Carthage, Marseilles, Genoa, Venice, etc.,) or National States (Greece, Italy, France, Spain, etc.) of Europe, was due to their trade with the East from the time of the early sea-faring Phoenicians (who also settled in those cities and countries). The other alternative way to thrive is by war, discounted at the present time. When later, sea-power weakened by competition of the various Mediterranean States, trade also suffered and Eastern trade took a new channel, through the city of Constantiple, the Byzantian Capital (originally, a Greek settlement) of the Eastern Roman Empire, which flourished for a thousand years, while the Western Roman



The Garage



An aerial view of Piazza San Marco showing (a) Church of St. Mark, (b) Ducal Palace, (c) Belfry, (d) Clock Tower

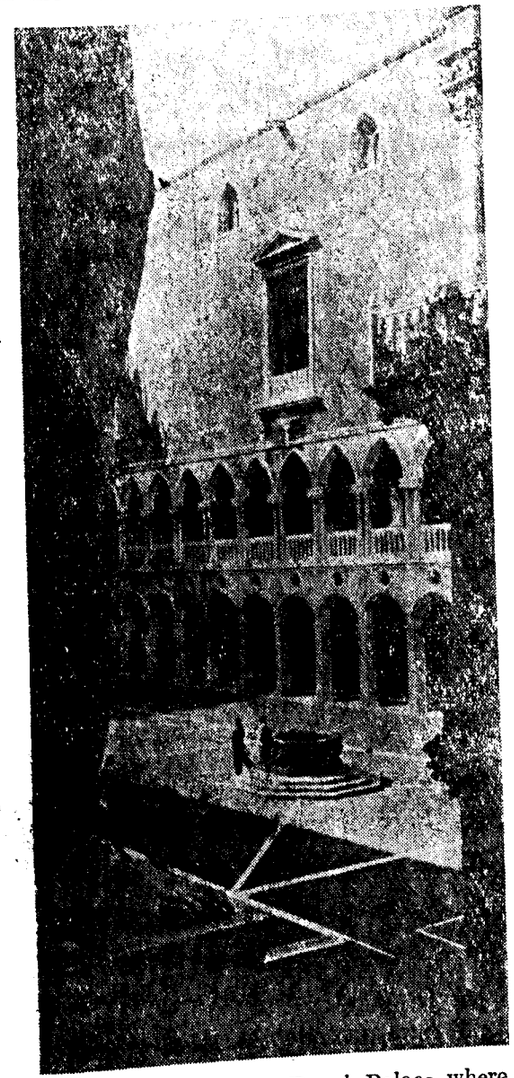
Empire dwindled. This trade was however cut off abruptly in 1453, when the Turks captured Constantinople. In the beginning of the 15th Century, Europe was also in a turmoil (Secular Vs. Ecclesiastical) to the detriment of trade. Again when the Portuguese destroyed Ormuz, at the head of the Persian Gulf, this trade was scutted (for direct trade) altogether. Ormuz used to be the jewell of Persia and a great centre of trade (horses, fruits, spices) between the East and the West, overland through Baghdad and Cairo or by the Red Sea and Cairo, to Venice and Genoa.

History

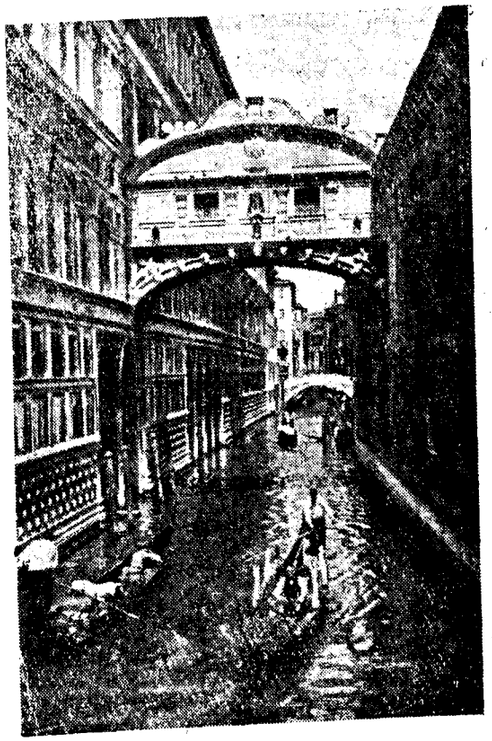
The history of Venice throws light on the prosperity gained by trade. The main land of Venetia, in Italy, opposite to the present City of Venice, was a confederacy of Cities with the culture of the Holy Roman Empire. This main land was sacked and its towns repeatedly burnt by the barbarians from the North (rough and primitive people from far-away Asia and North Europe). The Visigoths under Aleric appeared in 408 A.D. The Huns under Attila came in 434, when the main dispersal took place to the Estuary (the tidal mouths of rivers, where islands are formed) intersected by canals and rivers. The Estuary was also safe enough due to the absence of Roman roads nearby. When the Goths came next, they settled down and respected Roman customs, as the Gothic Monasteries indicate. The Roman Emperors however destroyed the Goths and re-established in Italy, the Imperial power, dividing it into districts under Dukes (or Dux, leader) with civil and military powers. (This leads us to the Duke or Doge of Venice). The Lombards came in 567 and ruled the main land for 200 years, but like the Huns, they destroyed everything, ushering in the Tutonic military regime.

About 452 A.D., after return to and repulsion from their original homes on

several occasions, the refugees from the mainland took shelter (as a temporary measure and started corporate existence on 466) in the more unapproachable territory of the Estuary, adjoining the lagoon on the Adriatic, which were subject to upheavals and sinkings. The new settlements grew in prosperity more than the inland towns and the refugees abandoned the idea of returning to the main land by 568 A.D. The last incursion was that of the Franks under Pepin, about 810 A.D., when the people of the main land migrated bodily to the biggest island, Rialto of the Estuary, fortified it and bravely defened it against attacks. The entire territory of the Venetian confederacy on the mainland, the Venitia, was now dispossessed but the



The courtyard of the Ducal Palace where Portia judged the pound of flesh



Bridge of Sighs

name was transferred to the new capital Rialto, as Venice.

Independence

Roman culture prevailed in the Estua as the refugees came from the old Rom Empire on the main land. As however all giance to the Roman Empire declined wi the weakness of the Northern Empire a the refugees considered themselves me bers of the Eastern Empire (which t Oriental tinge of the City's style indicate the people elected a chief (the Duke Dux) and entrusted him with the pow of direct government, representation a defence. This was restricted later families of aristocracy of Patricians, ready rich. A Duke was however behe

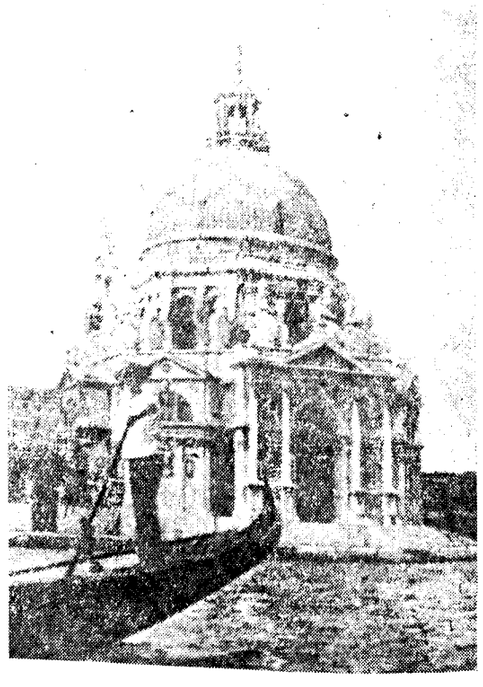
ed because he sought to change the Republic to a dictatorship, though another had to crush a rebellion against closing of the Grand Council near the foot of the Clock Tower (below). The Venetian Republic or Oligarchy was thus different from Feudalism, where the king had distant defensive outposts under a Prince, Baron or Feudal Chief to stop foreign incursions, and which (fudalism) the inland towns derived from Teuton invasions, which the unapproachable islanders escaped.



The Clock Tower

Prosperity

Venice had to fight constantly and fought most bravely with great self-sacrifice and deserving success. After generations of struggle, Venice became not only the greatest maritime power in Italy, but one of the most powerful in the world, trading with the far East and distributing imports throughout Western Europe, as already stated, founding colonies and factories in the Morea, at Constantinople and many of the coast towns of Syria and acquiring territories in the main land, extending from the Adriatic to the Alps, between the rivers Mincio and the Po on the West and Isonzo on the East. She took a leading part in transporting Crusaders to the Holy Land and made vast profits out of this development and trade, while learning to appreciate and investigate the East, where Marco Polo went. During the prosperous days of Venice, she waged with the unstinted help of her colonies a successful war (1508) against the combined forces of practically all Europe and the Pope. She

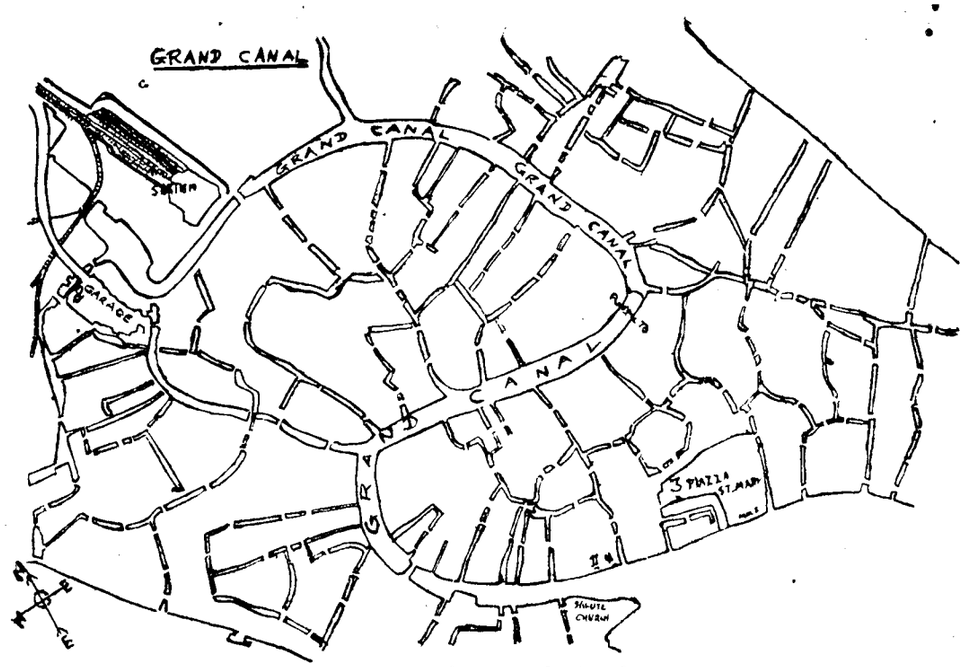


The Salute Church

was attacked because of her great outside influence and stand against unity with others, creating jealousy of the Italian States, while for the foreign powers Italy was the promised land of conquests. It was Venice which mediated in the long struggle between the German Emperor Frederic Barbarossa and the Pope about Lombard autonomy. These long years of unbroken prosperity gave Venice the means to make it one of the greatest centres of Art.

Decline

During the prosperous period also Venice found a strong rival in Genoa, the next important Maritime State. Crisis came however in the latter half of the 16th Century, when she lost heavily in men and money in gallant struggles fighting the Turks at Candia in the East and Spain (in a most unscrupulous and unequal war) in the West. Decline in trade commenced due to the Turkish conquest of Constantinople, discovery of the Cape route and the rise of the great European powers (with the trade and migration to other continents) and their domination of Italy itself generally. Venetian Republic fell in 1797, to the French Flag of Napoleon I, when he formed the so-called Cis-Alpine Republic, which was Italian in name, but French in reality. After the fall of Napoleon, Venice and Venetia passed over to Austria, and were liberated only in 1866, during the Italo-Prussian War.

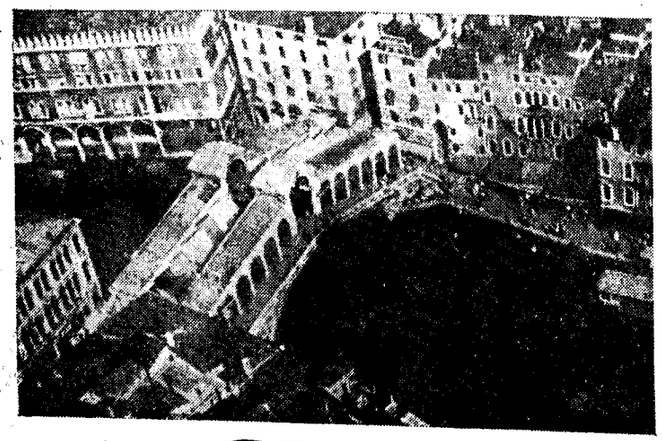


The Grand Canal

Description—Causes of Attraction

Venice is formed of 172 small islands, built on 122 piles, separated by Canals. The Grand Canal, the beauty of Venice, is said to be the finest street in the world with its picturesque Gondola transport. It has 160 tributaries (only 15 or 16 ft. wide) dividing the City into as many as 115 islands, interconnected by 400 bridges. The streets are narrow and cobbled, only fit for walking, so that the Canals and the Gondolas provide all the transports needed and are emphasised. Venice is now-a-days reached from Mestor, its industrial suburb on the mainland (not far from Padua) by a motor and a rail road (built in 1846 and in 1933) from the mainland over 2 streches of viaducts joining an island—altogether 22 miles long. There is a unique garage at the end of the road. Which the writer found very convenient for a nominal charge, the time for garaging and collecting, practically taking no time, as was noticed at the time of his sudden departure. There were 6 floors with a spiral run to the floors, accommodating 3,000 motor cars. From here people go by short-cuts to the economic centre of the city, the Rialto, along the principal business street, where most shops are located. From the

Rialto, one goes to the Piazza (square, meeting-place), St. Mark. The famous church of St. Mark, here, named after the patron saint of the city is a magnificent structure, which bears the impress of marked Oriental style, indicating contact with the East. Adjoining this is the ancient Palace of the Duke or the Doge, which contains many pictures of the Italian Masters. Here was set the court where Portia tried the case of a pound of flesh and condemned Shylock in Shakespeare's drama, the Merchant of Venice. Behind the Palace, is the Bridge of Sighs, which would have led Shylock, if not retrieved, to the prisons, where they abandoned all hope, who entered here. On the corner where we enter the Piazza, stands the Clock Tower, where 2 giant Moors on the top, strike, as they have done for 500 years, the hours of the day, lower stories depicting the dates and the calendar. The tall detached Belfry or Church Tower in the square is a landmark from great distances. Innummerable tame pigeons swarm about the square, skirted by shops under sheds, displaying merchandise, peculiar to Venice. Bargaining was necessary, though difficult in a foreign tongue, and a collection of beads was made.



The Rialto Bridge

Coming East out of the Piazza on the Mole (stone pier) on the sea-side, we have on the North, the bridge of the Arsenal, former Naval headquarters, now a museum of old models of armour and galleys. The Grand Canal starts on the South, passing at a short distance, the beautiful Gothic Desdemona Palace (Contarini Fasan), where the story of Othello, the Moor of Venice, of Shakespeare is set. Here, encouraged by father Brabancio to visit his palace, in appreciation of his military services to the City, Othello, the Moor, used to tell stories of his earlier "hair-breadth escapes from moving accidents," which charmed Desdemona and drew her to a secret marriage. Subsequent immediate sojourn to Cyprus, the perfidy of jealous Iago, leading to the murder of faithful Desdemona and suicide of Othello, do not interest us here.

On the left bank is the magnificent 'Salute' Church and the Academy in which 20 rooms are filled with some of the finest paintings of old masters. The Academy is also approached by a light bridge on the Grand Canal. One comes next to the most important bridge of the Rialto, with its 24 shops. This is immortalised by Shakespeare in his Merchant of Venice, "where merchants most do congregate," where Shylock rails about his rebel daughter, Jessica. ("Lorenzo and Jessica were seen in a Gondola").

The magnificent palaces of the Grand and other canals, built during the long days of supremacy of Venice, were the houses of foreign diplomats and merchants and the homes of Admirals, Ambassadors, Administrators, Dukes, etc. They contain priceless treasures of paintings and sculptures of Italian Masters. The most famous Venician painters are Tintoretto, Triziano and Veronese. There are memorial buildings of grandeur and majesty and statues of exquisite design and workmanship. They are built with variously coloured precious stones, enamels, mosaics, glasses, etc. Examples of artistic blending of materials also abound in Museums, Libraries and Art Galleries. While the Museum is a collection of antiquities, the Churches of St. Mark, Salute, etc., are all most highly decorated with frescoes, mosaics and carvings, besides containing many world-famous pictures and statues of great interest to artists and visitors. These are famous and too numerous to mention here.

Of the innumerable islands in the lagoon, Lido to the South-east of the city is the most important and as a part of Venice (protecting Venice from the seas) presents a magnificent sea-beach and a bathing resort and the Municipal Casino. In between Venice and Lido, close to the Mole, lies the exquisite island of St. Georgio, while 2 islands amongst many others on the North, the Murano and the Burano have specialised in lace, glass beads and enamel work. But Lido is famous as the seat of International Exhibition of Kinematographic Art of Venice, invented for Cinema in 1932. It was 24 years old in 1956, but was biennial under the Fascist regime. As propaganda agency, the Cinema is invaluable. A Dictator secures his position by a coup and then purges his deluded dupes, who were drawn by false promises. He fights shy of propaganda to enforce his own decrees, which pique more people than persuade. Thus although Mussolini strongly supported the Cinema, he rather stressed on historical films, rather than those based on current history. Also, war films are difficult to make. The Exhibition stopped during the 2nd World War as Lido was then under the Allied occupation. It then moved to the Cinema at St. Mark and Ducal Palace, but came back finally to Lido.



The Lido: the shore in front of the Municipal Casino

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ACADEMICIAN JAROSLAV HEYROVSKY

An outstanding Czechoslovak Scientist

THIS year, 1959, Prof. Jaroslav Heyrovsky has been awarded the Nobel Prize in Chemistry.

Jaroslav Heyrovsky was born on 20th December, 1890, in Prague as the fifth child of Leopold Heyrovsky, Professor of Roman Law at the Czech Charles University. After graduation from the Akademicke Gymnasium (high school) in 1909, he entered Charles University and took up mathematics and physics at the Philosophical faculty. The new discoveries which W. Ramsay made at that time in chemistry aroused his interest so strongly, that in 1910, he went to University College in London, where he was taught chemistry by Mc. C. Lewis, W. Ramsay, physics by F. T. Tronton and A. Porter and mathematics by L. N. G. Filon. In the year 1913 Jaroslav Heyrovsky obtained a B.Sc. degree and became a laboratory assistant in the chemistry laboratory of Professor F. G. Donnan, a specialist in electro-chemistry, who awakened his pupil's interest in electro-chemistry.

The first World War broke out when Jaroslav Heyrovsky was on vacation in Prague; he was recruited into the army, but due to his weak constitution he served full four years in military hospitals. In the year 1918 he submitted his doctor's thesis on "the electro-affinity of aluminium" at the philosophical faculty in Prague and was awarded the degree of Doctor of Philosophy. In the course of the physics examination at that time, professor Bohumil Kucera asked the candidate about the electrocapillarity of mercury; in the ensuing conversation he drew the attention of

his pupil to the peculiar anomaly in the electrocapillary curves and instigated him to study them more closely. Jaroslav Heyrovsky thus acquainted himself with the mercury drop electrode, by means of which he began to measure the surface tension of polarized mercury. When the tedious experiments lead to no result, J. Heyrovsky—at that time already an assistant of the chemical institute of Professor Bohuslav Brauner—tried instead of weighing the mercury drops, to measure the current passing through the solution. This experiment disclosed the excellent properties of the mercury drop electrode for electrolysis.

In the year 1920 J. Heyrovsky after submitting his habilitation thesis on aluminates became a docent of physical chemistry which was then founded as a new branch of science at Charles University. At that time he also sumbitted a Doctor's thesis in Great Britain and in the year 1921 he obtained the degree of D.Sc. at London University. Then he concentrated on a new discovery—electrolysis by means of a mercury drop electrode. The first article about this significant method was published in the year 1922 in the magazine *Chemicke listy*. The international scientific world was informed about this method in the year 1923, when Heyrovsky for the first time read a lecture before an international assembly about the results of his work at a session of the Faraday Society in London.

An important milestone in the development of the new method was the year 1924. At that time J. Heyrovsky with his Japanese pupil Masuzo Shikata designed an apparatus for the automatic registration of the curves of the intensity of the current in dependence on the potential, which they called "polarograph." The whole process of the registration of the graph was thus shortened from hours to minutes. This soon meant an increase in the number of works devoted to this method.

In the year 1922 Jaroslav Heyrovsky was named Associate Professor and in the year 1926 Professor of physical chemistry and Director of the physical chemistry institute of Charles University in Prague. In the year 1926 he obtained a Rockefeller scholarship and worked six months in Paris at the Sorbonne with Professor G. Urbain, where he compared the polarographic method with the spectroscopic method.

Led by the desire to make the valuable works of the Czechoslovak chemists known in the world's chemical literature, Professor Emil Votocek and Jaroslav Heyrovsky founded the Anglo-French magazine *Collection* which they edited jointly from the year 1928—with the exception of the war years—until the year 1947, when it was taken over by the Czechoslovak chemical society. In the year 1931 Jaroslav Heyrovsky together with docent Frantisek Behounek published a pioneering book in a new field of science *An Introduction to Radioactivity*.

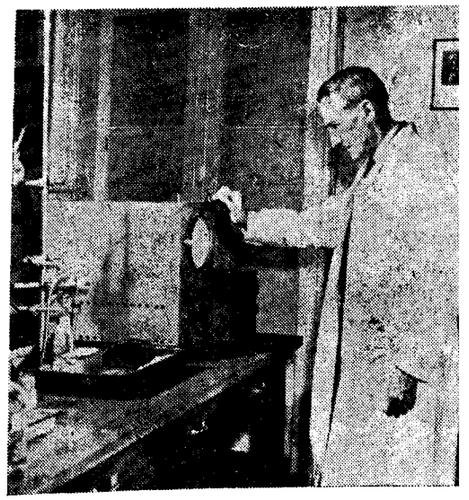
In the Institute of Physical Chemistry the assistants and pupils of Professor Jaroslav Heyrovsky founded the Czech polarographic school, which worked out the theoretical and practical foundations of polarography. Persons interested in the polarographic method travelled to Prague from all parts of the world. Professor Jaroslav Heyrovsky through his lectures untiringly informed the scientific world about the polarographic method; in the year 1933 he spent six months in the United States of America, where he lectured at American Universities, in autumn he lectured at the Congress of physical chemists at Paris. In the year 1934 he read lectures in Moscow and Leningrad on the occasion of the commemoration of D. I. Mendelyeev. The first Czech polarography textbook, which professor Jaroslav Heyrovsky wrote in the year 1932, was translated into Russian and published in Leningrad in the year 1937. For making polarography known all over the world, Heyrovsky's article in the compendium of Professor W. Bottger of Leipzig about the physical methods of analytical chemistry (published in the year 1936) was of great importance.

During the Second World War, after the closing of the Czech Universities, J. Heyrovsky was able to continue his work thanks to his friend, the German anti-fascist Professor J. Bohm. Thus he was able to finish and publish in the year 1941 in Vienna a comprehensive text-book on polarography and together with J. Forejt he worked out a method of oscillographic polarography with the use of alternating current. Together with Professor E. Votocek he prepared a new edition of the basic Czech text-book of an organic chemistry.

After the liberation of the Czechoslovak Republic the polarographic school, concentrated in the Institute of Physical Chemistry of Charles University, grew considerably and gained great importance. At that time Jaroslav Heyrovsky was invited to Great Britain (1946) on a lecture tour lasting several weeks and then lectured at universities in Sweden and Denmark (1947).

The high esteem and appreciation of the merits of the whole school of Professor Jaroslav Heyrovsky by the Czechoslovak Government was expressed by the governmental decree issued on 20th June, 1950, setting up the Polarographic Institute. The branch of science, which Professor Jaroslav Heyrovsky created and for the development and application of which he worked assiduously for twenty-eight years, has received full appreciation and material support. The staff of Professor Heyrovsky's institute consists of two of his older pupils and a number of devoted young workers. In the year 1952, the Polarographic Institute became a part of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences and Professor Jaroslav Heyrovsky as its Director was named academician. Since that time he made several lecture tours abroad, namely to Bulgaria (1952, 1954), Hungary (1954, 1955), Great Britain (1955), Poland (1956), Austria (1956), the German Democratic Republic (1956, 1957). In the year 1958, at the invitation of the Chinese Academy of Sciences he lectured for two months in the Chinese People's Republic.

Professor Jaroslav Heyrovsky was awarded the State Prize of the 1st degree (1951) and the Order of the Republic (1955). Abroad he was awarded honorary membership in various scientific institutions of which the most significant are: the American Academy of Arts and Sciences at Boston (1934), the Hungarian Academy of Sciences (1955), the Indian Academy of Sciences at Bangalore and honorary doctor's degrees: Rer. Nat. of the P technical School at Dresden (1955), and Doc of Chemical Sciences of Warsaw Univer (1956). Furthermore he was elected cor ponding member of the German Academy Sciences in Berlin (1955) and the Gern Academy of Natural History "Leopoldina" Halle (Saale) (1956). On the occasion of holding of the II International Polarograp Congress in Cambridge in Great Britain (19 he was awarded the first Silver Medal of London Polarographic Society, which henceforth be awarded annually to outstand workers in polarography.



Prof. Heyrovsky and his polarograph

Academician Jaroslav Heyrovsky is o of the long line of Czech and Slovak scienti who by their work made a significant cont bution to the scientific progress of the world.

The Success of Czechoslovak Polarograp

At the beginning of the twenties in o modestly equipped establishment of the c famous Prague University there worked young, not yet thirty years old, lecturer physical chemistry, Jaroslav Heyrovsky, the problem over which he came across wh undergoing examination for Doctor degr under Professor Kucera. The work consisted

besides others—of measuring and weighing of drops of mercury; this was a very toiling and dawdling work. In spite of his endeavour, more than sixty drops daily he could not manage, and so he started to get the required data in the way that he measured the intensity of current coming through the solution and the drop of mercury. Even so the work went only slowly and so young Heyrovsky was searching for a new way as to how to simplify the process. And out of this striving emerged unexpectedly a new thing.

"You know, when one finds out something, it is always as if you would find a nugget." And one says: "Attention—there could be a discovery place and one keeps on searching and digging in the sand. At the end of it, there was polarography . . ." So simply speaks about his discovery the Academician, laureate of State Prize and bearer of the State Order, Dr. J. Heyrovsky, awarded in these days the Noble Prize in Chemistry. This year he completes 69 years of his creative life and it was 34 years ago when with his pupil a Japanese student Shikata, he constructed his first polarograph, an apparatus with the help of which chemical properties of various matters could be advantageously tested, and which for many fields of laboratory work and production meant a real revolution.

According to the conviction of specialists, polarography is a very simple matter and as clear as sun: it is an electro-analytical method registering the curves of interdependence of the intensity and tension of current at electorlysis on the drop electrode. This definition will not be conclusive for a man not versed in science, the common man would think to the contrary that this is a damned complicated matter—a genuine headache and cabbala. And yet it does not appear so hopeless. Solution which is to be tested by a polarograph is being connected with the help of two electrodes into electrical circle. The liquid resists the passage of current. The tension which is required to flowing through of the current is for one and the same element and compound under the same conditions equal. That means: according to the tension of current (number of volts) we ascertain which element or compound is contained in the particular solution and according to the quantity of current (micro-amperes) we know how much of the tested matter is contained in the solution.

The new method was rapidly applied not only in laboratories but also in practice, from the first step into industry, where polarography serves for instance for tests of genuineness of vinegar and purity of sugar, and it penetrated into many branches, that are now quite unaccountable. In medicine, for instance, the diagnosis of cancer is being made by the help of a polarograph, geologians are applying it to finding out deposits of useful minerals, in metallurgy it serves to quick analysis of ores and alloys and in chemical and foodstuff industry, it watches the purity of products; it protects health of the working people against damaging effects of injurious matters in atmosphere and many more very useful performances can now be managed by a polarograph.

Until now it was used only once for instance in analysis which had to be repeated according to need again and again. But Industry asks from polarography something else—a permanent and continuous control of solution, continuous analysis which could check the presence and quantity of a particlar matter without interruption and for a long period. Abroad, for instance, trials had been made with current determination of sulphur-dioxide in lyes which come up at working up of maze chaff. And in lakes of Switzerland, Canada and Poland for the purpose of fish rearing, the variable contents of oxygen in water had to be examined. Those unique trials did not bear new results in the usual process, which is not suited for a current and permanent use for a long period. When the original apparatus functioned for a longer period, changes on the comparative electrode could be detected, the apparatus worked inexactly and at least its functioning became completely impossible. Difficulties arose also with registration of data, for the purpose of which very sensitive and therefore costly and squeamish apparatuses had to be used. To remove these shortcomings was a very diifficult task, yet its solution opened unbounded possibilities in the field of automatization in chemical industry. The research started in 1950 in the Prague polarographical institute which forms now a part of the Academy of Sciences. The research was being conducted by Dr. J. V. A. Novak, who after many years of work in industry returned to the research work and to Professor Heyrovsky, by whom closely before the beginning of the Second World War he underwent Doctor's degree examination in the subject of physical chemistry. Gradually he succeeded in solving all partial problems and he constructed some types of long-standing polarographical analysators, which fully meet the growing requirements of practice. First of all the question was to find suitable electrodes which are immune to the permanent flowing through of electric current. This had been achieved through discovery of new types of electrodes, which enable us to undertake measurements for practically unlimited span of time. Through ingenious method it became possible to attain arbitrary strengthening of polarographic currents so that for the purpose of automatic measurement in the running one can use cheap registration apparatuses of current production.

The use of new analysators in industry is, so to speak, unlimited. At the production of synthetic matters they will fluently watch over the cubic contents of oxygen, the lack of which makes reaction impossible and the excess of which could lead to explosion. It will make possible automatization and fluency of a very important branch of production of cyanides and titanium white-lead, which are being exported from Czechoslovakia. They will play also very useful role in the production of synthetic rubber and take care of analysis of refuse water. They will find its application in the creating of healthier conditions in factories, because they will detect the presence of injurious matters in the atmosphere, for instance, carbon-di-sulphide in factories for viscous silk. And in pits analysators are being used for detection of carbon monoxide, the trial of which signalize the danger of ticklish fires. In summary—analysators can detect whatever element or compound even in such a trifle quantity as 1 gr. in one ton, they manage to report continuously and obediently their quantity and take care of a true registration on registrar's paper strip. Above all it is a very simple arrangement and unbelievably cheap, some tubes of laboratory glass, some decimeters of igelite tubes and a little of bell-wire on bolt-screws. In the glass is shining a little of mercury, over it swings round a little of colourless solution and the rest is a great deal of ingenuity and device.

Although in the last years the interest in polarography was growing fast and more than 6,000 scientific works of this field were edited in more than 20 languages, the leading position of Prague in theory as well as in practice and technical application of polarography is unshattered.—*The Embassy of the Czechoslovak Republic in India.*



SINCE Independence, India has undertaken many new projects, involving earth-moving work of colossal magnitude, for conservation and control of water resources of the country.



Rajasthani women labourers engaged on earth-moving operation at the Kotah Dam Site

Of these, the major multi-purpose river valley projects, such as the D.V.C., Hirakud Bhakra-Nangal and Tungabhadra, required, in varying degrees, large-scale earth-moving operations. For instance, at Hirakud, earth-work of 25 million cubic yard—its excavation, transportation and consolidation—was completed by mechanical methods.

At the more recent projects as well—Kosi, Chambal, Nagarjunasagar and Rajasthan Canal, to mention a few—immense earth-work is being undertaken at present.

In addition, rail, road and highway systems, open-cast mining and similar activities require considerable earth-moving work.

Earth-moving machines, now available in India, and valued at Rs. 510 millions, include, roughly speaking, about 100 drag-lines, shovels, etc., for excavation, 500 dumpers, and a similar number of scrapers. There are also 800 tractors and 100 graders in the country. To maintain and keep this costly equipment in trim, there is a chain of workshops throughout the country.—*PIB.*



A group of the trainees carrying water in pitchers from the Institute of C.S.W.B's well at Rajkot

SOME ASPECTS OF STUDENT-INDISCIPLINE : CAUSES AND CURES

BY A TEACHER

Indiscipline in schools, colleges, and universities is one of the more serious internal problems that confront our infant nation. Indiscipline among our student population which has alarmingly increased in post-independence years, is on the increase and must be eradicated. Many and varied are its manifestations. In one place a Vice-Chancellor is locked in his office and prevented from going home because he has not accepted the 'demands' of the students. In another, an agitation is launched against a teacher whose only known faults are that he does not belong to the region where he is employed and his insistence on the students behaving properly in the class room. In, yet a third, invigilators are threatened with violence or are actually assaulted because they would not allow certain candidate or candidates to take unfair means in the examination hall. The happenings in Calcutta, at the Annamalai University (Chidambharam), at Bareilly and at Bhopal not long ago, are clear indications that something is wrong, very wrong, indeed, somewhere in the educational life of the country.

Volumes have been written and spoken on the problem of student-indiscipline; but it remains as far from solution as ever. A few facts, however, need re-emphasising and the teachers' position in the modern set-up is not the least important among them.

Teaching is undoubtedly the least remunerative intellectual profession in India. It is among the lowest paid employments. We live in a materialistic world, which judges a man, first and foremost, by his bank balance and by what he earns. Everything else is of secondary importance. But a teacher is reminded in season and out of season that he is a missionary of culture and education and that suffering should be his badge. Almost everybody who is somebody or near-somebody misses no opportunity of reading homilies on "plain living and high thinking" to the teachers. These sermon-readers belong to a race of incorrigible ivory tower-dwellers, who stubbornly refuse to face the stern realities of life. They ignore that p living and high thinking are both at a disc in a society of extroverts that the mo society is. They miss the plain truth teachers are normal human beings with all virtues and vices of their contemporaries, t they too want to live with honour in socie But is not a teacher pitied, if not actually loo down upon, by all around him because of smallness of his bank balance, if he is lu enough to have one, and by the thinness of pay packet? His scholarship, his character a the other qualities of head and heart that may have are all ignored.

Teachers themselves are their wo enemies in not a few cases. Not a few of th compromise themselves and the whole frat nity of teachers by doing things which th should not. Acceptance of private tuition wo is one of them. A very well-known and learn colleague of the present reviewer once describ private tuition work as "the most pervert form of selling learning." It is, in fact, nothi short of intellectual prostitution. The momen it is known, that a teacher accepts priva tuition work, he or she sinks in the estimate all—students and others. To make matte worse, there are teachers, who actually giv more time and attention to the privat tution work than to the teaching work in th institutions which employ them. Instances o students being coaxed and cajoled and eve coerced to employ tutors from amongst hi teachers are by no means unknown. Suc coaxing and coercion are not always witho the knowledge of the heads of institutions con cerned. Many teachers again run "private col leges" or teaching shops of their own, whic are as plenty as blackberries in summer i many Northern Indian towns.

There are again teachers, who, lured b the twin temptations of cheap fame and eas money, write help-books and so-called tex books, which are not much better than hel books. These latter generally obtain

primatur of the powers that be. Two clever college teachers in one of the biggest Indian cities—one of them is a Doctor of the University of London—beat all their fellow-travellers hollow when a few years ago they started publishing help-books in the garb of a monthly magazine.

The excellent text-books written by teachers are not certainly meant. They are certainly a valuable contribution to the cause of education. Coming generations will cherish the memory of their authors with respect and gratitude.

Instances of teachers insisting on the use of their own works being used by their students are not unknown. There are others again who deliberately try to keep their own students in the dark about books written by others on subjects on which they themselves have written. The present writer knows a veteran Headmaster (now retired) who would actually penalise his students, who, when asked to write letters on a given subject would not reproduce verbatim the models given in his own treatise on letter-writing.

The following extract from the *Statesman* shows how degraded and degenerated some teachers are:

"Facts which would lead to the conclusion that teachers themselves are at least partly to blame for the growing indiscipline among students have now come to light. It is alleged that in certain local higher secondary and intermediate institutions the class teachers themselves incite their pupils to inlulge in unfair practices and to threaten the supervisory staff if they are detected.

"It has also been reported that some teachers, either to make easy money or to maintain their position, even pass books to candidates in the examination hall. The result of this is that invigilators have to make the best of a bad job by remaining oblivious of what is going on before their very eyes or be prepared for a broken head."—(Report from the Agra correspondent published in the Delhi Edition of the *Statesman* in its issue of 4.4.58).

Many teachers unfortunately ignore the simple truth that if we want to be respected by others, we must first learn to respect ourselves. But many teachers are guilty of fawning on and of hobnobbing with those more fortunately placed. They make no secret of their contempt for their own profession and comrades in profession. They thus demean themselves and the whole community of teachers in the eyes of those whose friendship (!) they seek.

Teachers are seldom given a fair deal by their employers. Their teaching capacity, intellectual calibre and scholarly attainments are rarely recognised. They are expected to be meek and submissive to the powers that be. Educational authorities, in other words, are allergic to freedom of thought and expression on the part of their employees. Criticism, however fair-minded, if unpalatable to the authorities, may bring and it often does, harassment, humiliation and even more serious consequences to the tactless critic. Many a brilliant youth, who enter the teaching profession every year are thoroughly disillusioned in a year or two. Not a few, particularly those in non-government institutions, leave for fresh fields and pastures new. Most of those who remain are disgruntled and suffer from a sense of frustration. The discontent and sense of frustration blunt the edge of their efficiency in most cases. Schools, colleges and universities are in consequence manned mostly by indifferent teachers at least. Such teachers, needless to say, cannot inspire the love and respect of the student population, which are, perhaps, the most vital factors in educational discipline.

A very dangerous phenomenon in the field of education in our times is the rise of teacher-politicians and the steady increase in their numbers. They very often pollute the educational aamosphere by interested propaganda, whispering campaigns, formation of cliques and coteries, shameless opportunism and the like. They are certainly among the "irresponsible or positively perverse teachers" who constitute an undesirable internal influence in educational institutions.

The cummulative effect of what has been said above—much more might have been said—has been a spirit of indiscipline among the students. It is fanned by outside influences, *viz.*, "those of political leaders, usually of the less responsible kind and other agitators who (have) their own ends to secure by using the student body as their tools." (C. D. Deshmukh's Rajasthan University Convocation Address, 1957). The surplus energy and enthusiasm of youth is being misused. Indian leaders in pre-independence days "used to canalise this enthusiasm to the struggle for freedom. Until 1947, students used to be inspired by the national leaders to fight for freedom. After the attainment of freedom our leaders could not inspire our students to participate in the national development plans. That is why instead of doing some constructive works, our students indulge in indiscipline." (Academic notes by Sheelabhadra in the *Hindusthan Standard*, 14.4.58).

Students, particularly at the college and university levels, are aware of the poverty of their teachers. They are not unaware how slavishly the latter have to toe the line of the powers that be. Students also know fully well the weaknesses of the average teacher. Unfortunately, few modern teachers have the qualities of the teachers of old, *viz.*, a spirit of dedication, integrity of character, wholehearted devotion to duty and the like. It must be admitted, however, that exceptions there are and like all exceptions they only prove the rule.

The results verge on the disastrous. Students have lost love and respect for their teachers. But the teacher-taught relation in general and the student's love and respect for his teachers in particular are among the most important factors in educational discipline.

The lack of the modern students' love and respect for his teacher has another equally important aspect, "The respectful acquireth knowledge" (*shraddhaban labhate jnanam*) is a wise and ancient saying. The learner must have respect—respect for the subject or subjects he wants to learn and the teacher or teachers as well thereof. But the modern student has little or no respect for or faith in either. He knows that the education he receives has little or no practical value. The result has been a steady decline in educational standards all over the country attention to which was drawn by the Chairman of the University Grants Commission in his 1957 Convocation Address at the University of Delhi. Many other factors, it must be borne in mind, are responsible for the rapidly declining standards of education.

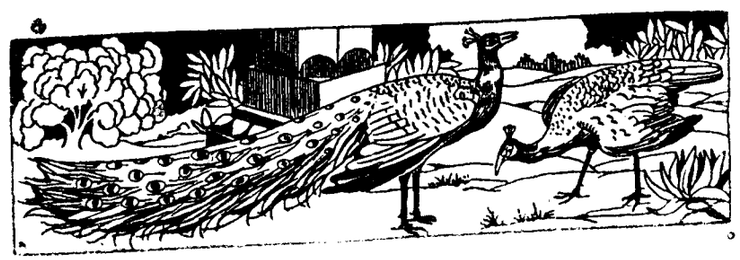
That the problem is a serious one, admits of no two opinions. What is the solution? The following suggestions might be well worth a consideration:

(1) Immediate steps must be taken to improve the teacher's position by giving him better conditions of service including increased emoluments and greater security of service. He must have an effective voice in formulating educational policies and in regulating academic life.

(2) Our educational policy must be reorientated. Education must be related to the actual economic, political and social conditions prevailing in the country and must aim at improving these conditions. Education must not be purely theoretical. Theory and practice must be co-ordinated.

(3) The teacher must "turn the search-light inward." He must try to find out why he has forfeited the love and respect enjoyed by teachers in the past. He must take courage in both hands and remove his own defects and drawbacks. He must try to acquire those qualities which will raise him in others' estimate.

(4) Merit and merit alone should be the criterion of the recruitment of teachers at all levels. Educational authorities must firmly set their face against all personal, regional, political and sectarian considerations.



A NOTE ON THE PROBLEM IN SLUM WELFARE

By KANTI PAKRASI AND SURAJ BANDYOPADHYAY,
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The metropolis of the States of West Bengal nourishes a striking multitude of slum (*bustee*) population which is estimated as 6,17,774 persons.[1] Slums of Calcutta (excluding Tollygunge) cover a space of 1,615 acres out of the total area of 19,697 acres and provide accommodation to more or less 4,000 *bustees*. With regard to the social planning of a Welfare State, improvement of the slums that are confined to the Greater Calcutta should necessarily have the priority. It has been stated that at least 1,000 of the *bustees* of Calcutta require immediate clearance.[2]

In this context the Calcutta Slum Clearance and Rehabilitation of Slum-dwellers Act[3] of 1958 deserves salutary commendation. This Act promises alternative housing for the present *bustee*-dwellers, improved, hygienic, and sanitary measures and makes provisions for compensation to the landlords of the slums. The magnitude of such an welfare programme for the *bustee*-dwellers is basically depending upon many socio-economic factors that need adequate appraisal in the very interest of the goodness of the provisions of the said Act.

At the very outset, thus, it is essential to understand the social morphology of the incumbents and their social ecology, because these are the two important determinants that cohere in shaping the patterns of life and living of the slum-dwellers. Besides the question of time, space and fund that are the principal prerequisites in exercising successfully the underlying spirit of the West Bengal Act XX of 1958 to clear and/or improve slum areas of Calcutta, it is required to understand immediately the *possible* sociological implications of the said Act in producing the desired results in the hitherto-existing set-up of *bustee*-life.

Since an exact evaluation of the social, economic and ecological situations in which the slum-dwellers have so far organised their inter-personal and inter-group relations, is fundamentally essential to formulate the right approach to the problem of slums, it may be asked if the Calcutta Slum Clearance Act[4] can be accepted as the *right* formula for integrating each group of *bustee*-inhabitants to the wider, 'advanced' group life of Calcutta. 'Welfare' and 'Development' seem, no doubt, to be the fruit-bearing base for such formula. But on scanning the contents of the Act, as it stands today, the scope of such 'Welfare' appears to be primarily linked up with the issue of the necessity for the improvement of the 'unhealthy and unhygienic' condition of the slums which is injurious to 'public health or to the health of the inhabitants of the area' concerned. The provisions of the said Act seem to have been built upon the sole motive for improving the injurious environmental setting of the community life of the slums and abolishing such 'plague spots' from within the heart of Calcutta. The emphasis is laid more, if not fully, on the clinical aspect of a planned 'hygienic' development of those quarters of Calcutta where the slums have, in the context of the historical growth of the City, concurrently developed. Such development envisages a total removal of the present population of the slums to the alternative dwellings situated in some non-*bustee* locality.

But 'Welfare' is fundamentally a problem of weaving some kind of *social preferences out of individual preferences* and with this very perspective the utility

1. Dhandhania, K. L.—Calcutta Corporation Budget Estimate Speech: *The Calcutta Municipal Gazette*, March 21, 1959.

2. Govt. of West Bengal—*West Bengal To-day*, P. 158, 1954.

3. Govt. of West Bengal—*The Calcutta Gazette*, (Extraordinary), December 30, 1958.

4. Dhandhania, K. L.—*Supra*, 1959.

of the developmental measures as envisaged in the Slum Clearance Act should be viewed in integrating different patterns of living (as continuing in different environs of Calcutta). Sociologically it is required at first to know the ordering and character of individual's choices as well as inter-personal relations that have been so far evolved by the slum-dwellers in consequence of their many-sided *contacts* with the people living just outside the orbit of a slum. The objective bases of such orderings are the fruitful forms of symbiotic-interdependent life and livelihood within and without the *bustees*. These originate on the other hand, from that sense of belonging-together which is based on personal and group rapport; they are nothing less than the manifestations of the responses to the social and economic needs of the life of each societal group that has contributed to the growth of the City. The responses can never be nurtured in one ecological setting and easily grafted in another without violently disrupting that social links which forge the dynamic equilibrium of the city life. Apathetic treatment of this important issue is likely to perpetuate foci of conflict and tension. It is precisely for this reason a careful assessment of the possible sources of conflict and tension is needed before implementing the *new* forms of social integration and cohesion as proposed in the said Act. It is needless to emphasise here that the provisions of the Act should be sensed as the forces of solidarity and security and *never* as the forces of cleavage. The standard of living-together is to be cultured and promoted in the interest of the every-day pattern of living amongst all sections of the City population.

Thus, in evaluating the import of the Slum Clearance Act of 1958, one is inclined to believe that something more vital is involved than the spirit of welfare to be translated in action by demolishing the existing slums and dispersing the dwellers from their 'homes' in some other alternative new accommodations. Provision of better housing facility and improvement of the unhygienic condition cannot necessarily be the last word in 'welfare,' something more is indeed, involved and to explore this 'something more' a careful examination of the said Act from the sociological standpoints is obvious.

What has been attempted in this note in focusing on the sociological aspect of the problems of welfare meant for the slum-dwellers, should not be supposed as mere theoretical quibblings. On the contrary, we have had very recently the occasion to investigate case-histories of twentyfive families which were selected at random from among the inhabitants of a very big *bustee* situated in the Pottery Road-Convent Lane areas of Calcutta. It was with the particular reference to the proposed Slum Clearance Act and its possible concomitances, these case-histories were enumerated. And as such, on the basis of the concrete facts gathered from these case-histories, we are in a position to formulate our viewpoints about the *possible effects* that the implementation of the said Act is likely to engender in the socio-economic life and living of the *bustee*-people concerned. What has been discussed in this paper reflects truly the immediate experiences that have been drawn from the genealogical portrayals of the said case-histories of twenty-five families, the members of which are living in the *bustee* for generations together.

Let us now refer to certain aspects of the West Bengal Act XX of 1958 in pointing out the scope of misapprehension of some concepts with which the provisions have been ordained. In the first place, the definition of 'slum' as given in the sub-section (5) of Section 3, tends to be a loosely-knit formulation. In the context of the hitherto-existing structural pattern of the human habitations built in the slums, a more precise definition would have been better to standardize the concept of a 'slum.' Such difficulty in standardizing the physical notion of a slum had already been faced at the time of the survey of the slums of old Delhi.[5] In this case as no

5. Bharat Sevak Samaj—*The Slums of Old Delhi*, 1958.

precise definition of 'slum' could be decided upon, the meaning of slum that is given in the Oxford Dictionary, was primarily considered to concretize the notion of a bustee: "A street, alley, court, etc., situated in a crowded district of a town or city and inhabited by people of low income classes or by very poor; a number of these streets and courts forming a squalid and wretched character." Some more comprehensive definition, like the above, would have been more helpful in delimiting the *bustee*-areas in conformity with the real situation of the metropolitan ecology. All the more, such standardization is imperative in determining the locus of the 'slum-dwellers' within the social order of the City. Identification of the locus has its sociological import in the study of inter-and intra-group relations which enliven the social interaction continuously within the complex culture-patterns which are presented by the citizens of Calcutta.

Moreover, from the viewpoint of social harmony and cohesion, the immediate problem is this: how far the patterns and foundation of the *matrix* of inter-group bonds can be kept unimpaired under the operative impact of the said Act? If social equilibrium is to be assured and social tension is to be arrested, we need, no doubt, a true sociological evaluation of this matrix. Such evaluation would be immensely helpful to comprehend the manner in which social (group) choice is being governed by individual values. This realization would, on the other hand, help us in learning that "where the four wishes of (i) security, (ii) new experience, (iii) recognition and (iv) response are not realized there will be discontent, unrest, social disorganization" (R. E. Park) and eventually this means the onset of the worst form of social tension. Thus, what is wanted is linked up with the need for the precise definitions of a "slum area" and "slum-dwellers" so as to demarcate the same distinctly from the rest of the city and her ever-growing population. Social tension is also likely to precipitate under the circumstances and as such the causes for which such a situation may prevail, must be thoroughly searched out in the very interest of the welfare of the city as a whole. It is precisely here that a penetrative study of the social structures and the inter-group relations at different slum-areas of Calcutta can be seen in its role of a *fruit-bearing tool*.

The next important feature of the Act that evokes sociological interest is the question of "alternative accommodation as near as may be within a radius of one mile from the slum area" to the *bustee*-dwellers according to the sub-section (3) of section 6. It can pertinently be asked if necessary and sufficient land would be available within the "radius of one mile" from the slum area concerned for providing such "alternative accommodation" in the already over-crowded and congested areas of Calcutta. Accordingly, the Chairman of the Standing Finance Committee, Calcutta Corporation, was right to say that "Considering the magnitude of the problem, it would be idle to expect quick result in the implementation of the programme (of slum improvement). Difficulties are sure to arise with regard to the availability of land within the radius of one mile from the *bustee* to be improved for providing alternative accommodation to the dweller as required under the provisions of the Act. Large fund would also be needed. Some say that at this space 80 years would go by before the last slum dweller is rehabilitated. It is estimated that Rs. 400 crores would be required for compensation alone to the landlords, even on the reduced scale."[6]

Proposal for alternative accommodation to the evicted *bustee*-dwellers is, on the other hand, intrinsically linked up with another very vital aspect of individual and or family life, *viz.*, the sources of livelihood and means of income for a family concerned. A shift in the present habitations of the slum-dwellers outside the limits of their neighbourhoods is prone to augment undesirable disorganization in the existing occupation-cum-economic activity set-

6. Dhandhania, K. L.—*Supra*, 1959.

up. Such disorganization shall obviously have its logical impact, in the long run, on the general socio-economic life of the individuals, families or households living in slums of Calcutta. The vital role of the residence in a given social environment is obvious, as it influences significantly "in creating or retarding employment and economic growth, in maintaining health and social stability and in preserving the values of a decent family" among any social group we may consider. The urgent need is, therefore, to give serious attention to the economic life of the people concerned, because welfare or the sense of well-being is to be viewed from the perspectives of (a) the material conditions falling to the lot of individuals, (b) the inter-personal relations that bear upon the problems of distribution of income and opportunities, (c) the economic make-up of a social group and (d) primary driving force accounting for the self-movement of the general economic activities of the social groups concerned.

Thus, in the proposal for an 'alternative' dwelling to the *bustee*-dwellers we cannot but take notice of the above four socio-economic factors in ensuring true welfare. Welfare of the slum inhabitants does signify something far bigger than the mere building of new houses. "It is intimately connected with occupations and work and the general economy of that place. It has to face ingrained habits and a lack of desire as well as a lack of training to use better accommodation."

To act upon the measures meant for slum clearance and rehabilitation of the slum-dwellers, one cannot afford to be blind to the objective reality of the *bustee*-dwellers' life and work as revolving in and around the slum areas of the city. It is, indeed, a problem to disperse them far away causing their uprooting from the work, occupation and mode of living that are congenial to the environment of their homes within the *bustees*. Patch-work remedies can never fit in with planning or with the solution of problems of economic organization of the *bustee*-people.

Now, if appropriate attention lags, it is clear that to exercise the provisions of the Act in question, for providing improved alternative accommodation and maintaining the general economic make-up, obvious difficulties are likely to cast spell in weakening the welfare-spirit of the Act. (1) Non-availability of the requisite land, (2) economic stress to pull the required large fund, (3) extraordinary time-consuming programme and (4) need for maintaining the existing occupational pattern as well as general economy of the people are but the most apparent problems that require immediately a very careful and calculated assessment in the interest of the social planning. This is, again, more essential to eradicate completely all possibilities of hasty, piece-meal attempts in the name of real welfare, to make immediate changes in the forms and contents of social and economic organization as well as psychological make-up of the slum-dwellers.

Without going into the details of the above issue, we would like to stress here on the organizational requirements of a correct sociological approach to the practical side of the problems in question. The importance of "home" in socio-economic life of any man or his family requires to be consciously understood. Social ecologists have already shown that "man must have a dwelling, it is also his *wish*. In the unchanging language of the human heart, 'house' means today a man's own house—his home" which has again metaphorically been presented as the "solid fragment man has torn from the frightening infinity of space; it is his shelter from the chaos which ever threatens to envelop him. It is his home to be shared only with his nearest and dearest." Should the provisions of the said Act be, at any rate, instrumental in causing rapid changes into that 'solid fragment' to bring ever-threatening 'chaos' in the general life of the human beings of the slums? *Human approach* to this contingency has, no doubt, *the* positive role to play in the circumstances.

Further, it is known that "the house of a man for which he really cares stands between houses, between neighbouring houses, between the houses of his neigh-

bours." Such neighbourhood-feeling is, indeed, the solid bed on which the inter-personal as well as inter-group bonds amongst the slum inhabitants, or for that matter between groups of any locality, have evolved to shape the hitherto-existing structures of the urban society of Calcutta. And, hence, man has developed certain *values* which he wants to cultivate in the course of neighbourly meetings, perhaps when one or the other steps out of the door of his house, or to the window of his house he greets others. In these neighbourly meetings of the fellow inhabitants in their place of stay their mutual greetings are accompanied by a friendly look, "a look in which curiousity, distrust, and routine have been silenced by reciprocal sympathy, the one makes the other feel that he approves his existence. This is the *indispensable minimum of humanity*. If the world of man is to be humane world, *immediateness* must prevail between man as well as between house and house." (Buber).[7]

Thus we may start from this *basic postulate* that the administration of the provisions of the Act should be such that (a) the 'indispensable minimum of humanity' is never neglected and/or throttled, and (b) 'immediateness' is not violently disrupted in the life and living of the *bustee*-dwellers. The sense of togetherness in the corporate living of the slum inhabitants is required to be strengthened, otherwise, there remains every danger of social disorganization coupled with tension. This in turn would precipitate apathetic interest, frustration, bitterness, mistrust, chaos among the people concerned only to defeat the very purpose of the welfare project embodied in the West Bengal Act XX of 1958. In visualizing such undesirable possibilities, we have, right from the beginning, been stressing on the urgent need of knowing the mechanism through which the social choices are being accepted in terms of individual values in the society[8] in question.

What has been just stated constitutes the fundamental sociological problem that encompasses all the issues related to social planning and welfare. Once this mechanism in all its dimensions is understood, we are, no doubt, in a better position to proceed with any fruit-giving scheme meant for a social group of an urban society. The issue of improving *bustees* and the lots of slum-dwellers should be viewed as the integrated constituent of the societal problems of the country as a whole. In the wider context of the social setting and the societal problems of the State of West Bengal, the Calcutta Slum-Clearance and Rehabilitation of the Slum-dwellers Act of 1958, is to be given due weightage. The success of this Act in improving the slums of the City presupposes a series of pilot surveys of the real socio-economic situations that have been responsible for the growth and existence of the so-called slums of Calcutta. Such pilot surveys shall provide data, on the strength of which the sub-section (6) of section 6 of the said Act can very effectively be implemented to avoid confidently the *possibility* of any violent social tension and thereby to win the goal of the Act. In fine, we would like to be emphatic on this point that the authorities of the Calcutta Corporation and the State Government should endeavour in closest co-operation to uphold this sub-section (6) of section 6, because in doing so the slum-dwellers would really be benefited to the maximum extent. This sub-section (6) runs as follows: "The State Government may, instead of demolishing huts and other structures and erecting buildings, take measure to remodel the slum in such manner and subject to such conditions as may be prescribed."

7. Gutkind, E. A.—*Community and Development*, 1953.

8. Pakrasi, K. B.—"A Problem in Tribal Welfare": *The Calcutta Review*, (C.U.), August, 1954.

ROBERT REDFIELD AND THE NEW ANTHROPOLOGY

By G. N. DAS

"I think the documents you are obtaining are very unusual and, properly presented, will be recognized as important by many anthropologists, West and East." So wrote Professor Robert Redfield in one of his last letters to me in connexion with my anthropological investigations in South India. I do not think my work deserved this appreciation, but it showed the deep interest which he took in my efforts and his firm belief that scientific research was a highly delicate and exacting task which could only flourish in an atmosphere of encouragement and deference.

One of the greatest anthropologists of modern times, Redfield was Robert Maynard Hutchins Distinguished Service Professor at the University of Chicago, where he had been teaching since 1927. He was the author of several valuable books and the recipient of the Huxley Memorial and the Viking Fund Medals which are considered to be some of the highest honours in the field of anthropology.

Originally, anthropology was concerned almost exclusively with primitive societies. "Today," says Redfield, "anthropology, especially American anthropology, studies just about everything human." It now deals more and more with large and heterogeneous societies and cultures. In recent years anthropologists have studied and are studying communities forming parts of civilizations, national states like Germany and Japan, national character like that of Russia, peasant and urban societies and the like. In the study of peasants in the Middle-East, China and India, "the investigator," writes Redfield, "sees a small society that is not an isolate, that is not complete in itself, that bears not only a side-by-side relation but also an up-and-down relation to more primitive tribal peoples, on the one hand, and to towns and cities, on the other." These developments have revolutionized the study of social anthropology and in this great transformation Professor Redfield played a leading part.

A few years ago, in collaboration with Professor Milton Singer, Redfield started a programme of inter-cultural studies at the University of Chicago comprising seminars and publications for the scientific understanding of Asiatic civilizations. The first seminar on India was held in 1954 and dealt with the Indian village. Since then more seminars have been organized and they have shown, among other things, that "social change in India is both a movement toward an urban and cosmopolitan mode of life and also a revival and penetration downward of ancient Hindu elements of culture and religion."

In 1955, Professor and Mrs. Redfield came to India and took part in the All-India Conference of Anthropologists and Sociologists held in Madras. Speaking at the conference, he said:

"Of all the parts of the world that may be expected to be influential in the development of . . . our science, India surely is of first importance. Here, more than anywhere else, can the Western anthropologist hope to learn something about the inter-relations of primitive, peasant, and urbanized life. Here, above all other places, may the visitor seek to learn, from the Indian students, how to begin the fashioning of new tools of thought and field procedure that will enable social anthropology to become a study not only of primitive societies, but of civilizations."

In his view India affords unique opportunities for the study of the links between the great tradition of the "cultivated few' and the little tradition of the "unreflective many." Here "the structure of tradition is very complex indeed and provided with a great variety of specialists, often caste-organized, for communicating the greater traditions to the lesser. Milton Singer says that in Madras he finds three major groups of specialists associated with the Sanskritic tradition: the priests supervising domestic and temple rites; reciters, singers and dancers who convey the popular Puranic culture; and Sanskrit pundits and

scholars who cultivate different branches of Sanskritic learning. Looked at in this way, the inter-action of great and little traditions can be regarded as a part of the social structure of the peasant community in its enlarged context."

It will interest social workers to know what Redfield thought of the concept of cultural relativism, according to which "the values expressed in any culture are to be both understood and themselves valued only according to the way the people who carry that culture see things." "Cultural relativism," he wrote, "is in for some difficult times. Anthropologists are likely to find the doctrine a hard one to maintain. . . . All the rules of objectivity I should maintain: the marshalling of evidence that may be confirmed by others, the persistent doubting and testing of all important descriptive formulations that I make, the humility before the facts, and the willingness to confess oneself wrong and begin over . . . But I think now that what I see men do, and understand as something that human beings do, is seen often with a valuing of it. I like or dislike as I go . . . Writing of Petalesharoo, the Pawnee Indian who in the face of the customs of his tribe rescued a woman prisoner about to be put to death ceremonially and strove to end human sacrifice among his people, I called him 'a hint of human goodness' . . . I regret that the Siriono in the Bolivian forest abandon their dying kinsmen without a word, while I come to understand the rigours of their life that make such conduct excusable. I am pleased that the Yagua in their big communal houses respect even a child's desire to be alone, and refrain from speaking to him when he turns his face to the wall . . . I gloried in the rise of creative intelligence, as represented in systematic philosophic thought and in the world religions. I simply could not look neutrally at the ideas that move in history toward a more humane ideal and practice . . . I have placed myself squarely on the side of mankind, and have not shamed to wish mankind well."

On the conclusion of the Madras conference referred to above, Redfield and I had planned to work on a research project in the State of Orissa when he suddenly became ill and had to return to the United States for medical attention. His ailment was subsequently diagnosed to be lymphatic leukemia, to which he succumbed in Chicago on October the 16th, 1958, at the age of 60.

With his passing anthropology lost one of its distinguished votaries. It is yet too early to attempt a full assessment of his manifold contributions to the science of man. Perhaps, the final verdict on his work will be more or less in his own words: "It is the way of an inquiring mind, as contrasted with the way of the True Believer (as Eric Hoffer has recently described him)—that he is never sure of his success and always doubtful of his programme. He is only sure that freedom is both means and ends, that an inquiring and creative mind in any man is a good to enjoy and to defend. He knows that such minds have never been numerous and are always in danger. And knowing this, he does the little he can, praying only for a little room to turn around in, and a heart without bitterness."



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 acknowleged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

EDITOR, *The Modern Review*

ENGLISH

HINDU SOCIAL ORGANIZATION: *By Pandharinath H. Prabhu. Popular Book Depot, Bombay. Third ed. 1958. Pp. 387. Price Rs. 20.00.*

This is a very thorough, scholarly and systematic work. As the author tells us at the beginning, it is "an attempt towards constructiong a picture of Hindu social organization and institutions from the standpoint of their socio-psychological foundations," and to interpret in this process the Hindu scriptures and theories in their original perspective and setting. In making this investigation the author has drawn upon his wide and deep knowledge at first hand of the vast literature of Brahmanism on the subject as well as of the latest and most advanced works on social psychology. His exposition betrays throughout his power of keen analysis with that of illuminating synthesis. The plan of the work is exceptionally sound. After a short prologue (Ch. I) in which he indicates the uses of his study for our present purposes, the author passes to an excellent exposition of the fundamentals of the Hindu view of life (Ch. II). This leads in the following chapter to a general survey of the four *asramas*. The intensive study of the second *asrama* involves an exhaustive account of the Hindu system of education (Ch. IV) and that of the third *asrama* leads in a series of chapters (Chs. V-VII) to a full exposition of the institutions of marriage, family and the position of women. This is followed by an equally thorough exposition of the institution of the four *varnas* (Ch. VIII). In the Epilogue (Ch.IX) the author explains the value of the scientific study of the basic ideology of Hindu social institutions as providing "the first essential step for all who are interested in the progress of our society," and he recapitulates the essential principles of *varna* and *asrama* organizations as "seeking to achieve social efficiency consistent with the physical, mental and moral well-being of the community and it members." An exhaustive bibliography and two indexes of names and subjects appropriately bring this work to a close. A short but appreciative Foreword is contributed by Dr. S. Radhakrishnan.

Without detracting from the high value of this work, we propose to make a few remarks. The study of the position of women (after the Brahmanical sources) would have been complete with some reference to the development of their proprietory rights in the later *Smritis*. What is more important, a study of social organization after the parallel Buddhist and Jaina sources would have helped to confirm at some points and modify in other respects the author's conclusions. We have detected a few slips, *e.g., Dharmasutras* identified with *Dharmasastras* (p. 9) and Dr. Radhakumud Mookerji mentioned (p. 372) as the author of the work *Democracies of the East.*

Altogether this work is bound to be of fundamental importance for all students of our traditional social institutions.

U. N. GHOSHAL

HISTORY OF THE GAHADAVALA DYNASTY: *By Roma Niyogi. To be had of Firma K. L. Mukhopadhyay, 6/1A, Banchharam Akrur Lane, Calcutta-12. Demy 8vo. Full cloth. Pp. xvi+286. Price Rs. 15.00.*

Dr. Roma Niyogi of the Bethune College, Calcutta, has published her thesis

entitled "History of the Gahadavala Dynasty." She appeared before me in the library of the Asiatic Society, when I was the General Secretary. I found her plunging into the research on the Gahadavalas with a rare zeal and thoroughness. In fact the unexpected presence of several Gahadavala copper-plates in the Society's collection encouraged her to make the first exhaustive analysis of almost all the epigraphic documents of that dynasty. The biggest inventory of the Gahadavala inscriptions was naturally in the historic museum at Lucknow where she worked patiently for a length of time. (Vide the complete list of inscriptions in Appendix B.)

The *provenance* of the inscriptions led the author to examine the geographical pattern of the Gahadavala regime, centred principally in the present Uttar Pradesh. The rulers of this dynasty maintained political and cultural relationship with the farflung provinces of India, mainly, however, with Behar and Bengal, whose epigraphic and literary documents would amplify the scope of the present work. Dr. Niyogi has traced relationship, even beyond Bengal and Utkala, as far as Cholamandala. Has it anything to do with the parallel movement of the so-called Karnataka Senas into Bengal?

That brings us to the important findings of the author in the domain of Law and Administration. She has given a graphic account of structure and function of the state in the early mediaeval period when much of administrative history and *rajadharma* came to be incorporated into the *Nivandhas like Vira-mitrodaya* and other encyclopaedic compilations. Brahmanical, as well as Jaina. The town and village administration was well demarcated as shown by the author, who with equal clarity allocates the revenue and expenditure—budget of those days.

The social picture of the period is ably drawn with reference to various caste patterns and their economic implications. In this connection the author has given a lucid account of the religious faith and policy of the Gahadavala kings as well as the religious condition of the country in general. Alas, due to reasons known to everybody, the architectural glories of this period, in this area, were ruthlessly destroyed by the invaders. But when the "Stones of Varanasi" will be thoroughly re-examined, many superb Hindu arts specimens will be found to decorate some early mosques of North India. This had already been found at Ajmere and Jaunpur which is in the very heart of the Gahadavala empire. Probably with more intensive research on the monuments and archives of Varanasi, this historic city and not Kanauj will be found to be the capital of the Gahadavalas, as the author has tried to demonstrate in Appendix A.

The book is the outcome of years of painstaking research for which we congratulate the author and recommend her book to the colleges and libraries of our Universities.

KALIDAS NAG

PATNA UNIVERSITY JOURNAL, VOL. X, 1956.

PATNA UNIVERSITY JOURNAL, VOL. XI, 1957.

PATNA UNIVERSITY JOURNAL, VOL. XII, 1958.

Published by the Deputy Registrar, Patna University, Patna.

The above journals issued by the Patna University maintain an admirably high standard of research. The papers bear mainly on economics, history and philosophy and cover a variety of topics, such as the (a) Origin of Caste; (b) Aurobindo's theory of Nationalism; (c) Prophet Muhammad's embassies; (d) Problems of Vocational Guidance and (e) Graphic representation of complementary goods on consumers' indifference curve.

In paper (a) Mr. N. Prasad has assembled a mass of facts on *caste*. He has discussed with clarity the various theories propounded by scholars like Senart, Sir Herbert Risley, Ibbetson Nesfield, and Dr. Mees on its Origin and concluded by constructing a theory in which class struggle is shown as having determined the social pattern of India. This generalisation is rather facile; for the theory has not been related to time and place. Dr. Tooth's dictum in his preface to Dr. Prabhu's masterly work on *"Hindu Social Organisation"* is of great significance.

"The career and progress, whether of an individual or of an institution to be empirically apprehended must be accepted as necessarily related to time and place; any claim to interpretation of any social or other phenomena, without any reference to these, must not be accepted as sufficiently valid in science."

Dr. V. P. Verma continues his discussion

of *"Aurobindo's Theory of Nationalism,"* in Vols. X and XI. The author's approach to the subject, his treatment and elucidation of it, on the basis of the original writings of the great seer have appeal to the general reader and scholar. Prof. Askari has unearthed new material on the history of Bihar and on the Universality of Islam as propagated by Muhammad. Dr. G. P. Sinha, Dr. A. Sinha and P. H. Prasad in their contribution on aspects of economics, supply useful data, while Prof. H. M. Jha make a very lucid exposition of the abstruse technicalities of an important aspect (*avachchedakata*) of neo-logic.

N. B. ROY

THE CHALLENGE OF OUR WATERSHEDS: *Published by Soil Conservation Society of India, Hazaribagh, Behar, India. Pages 162. Price not mentioned.*

In this compilation the latest thinking on the various aspects of use of land and water in the development of watersheds, delivered in the form of lertures has been brought together. It gives the barkground of other technologies to specialists in any one field and presents in a short compass the basic principles of resource development for people engaged in the struggle for better living for human society.

The first article "The Chaliengc of Our Watersheds" is contributed by Mr. K. S. V. Raman, Chairman of the Behar Public Service Commission and Editor, *Journal of Soil and Water Conservation in India*. The contents have been classed into five sections, *viz.*, (i) Watershed Behaviour and Development, (ii) Forests, Grasslands and Arable Lands in Watershed Management, (iii) Watershed Management Research, (iv) Project Planning and Operation and (v) Education and Participation of Local People and contains 4, 10, 7, 4 and 2 articles respectively. Among the contributors, Mr. John H. Wetzel, Mr. Herbert C. Storey, Mr. A. de Vajda. Mr. C. A. R. Bhadran, Mr. Clark E. Holscher, Mr. P. M. Dabadghas, Dr. J. K. Basu, Dr. H. N. Mukherjee, Dr. John Blackmore, Mr. D. C. Kaith, Mr. P. R. Ahuja, Mr. R. A. de Rosayro, Mr. R. S. Singh and Mr. H. C. Seth have contributed one or more topics.

The papers were first presented at the Watershed Management centre conducted jointly by FAO of the United Nations and the Government of India at Hazaribagh in February and March 1957. This centre attracted land and water technicians from nine countries of Asia and Australia.

This is a very important publication and will be useful to both practising technicians and students. The papers will stimulate an expanded attack on the watershed problems of Asia and the Far East.

IPP INDUSTRIAL DIRECTORY 1958: Published by Industry Printers and Publishers. *F.N. 39, Teretta Bazar, 12, Lower Chitpur Road, Calcutta-1. Price Rs. 10.*

This is the first annual publication of the Directory for men in business and industry. The general information section contains among other subject Indian Constitution, Postal Information, Commercial Laws, Companies Act, Patents Act, Income Tax Act, etc. The information are extremely short and should be suitably enlarged to benefit those for whom the Directory is meant. Things are better done in classified list of traders although some improvements are called for in the next edition. Presidential address and the section for the Personalities are too short for a directory of this nature.

As a first venture, we congratulate the editor and the publishers for bringing out a well-printed Directory at a moderate price.

A. B. DUTTA

GEETA (The Celestial Song): *By Subodh Chandra Ghose of Rishikesh. Published by Lalmohan Sinha, 4, Dr. T. N. Majumdar Street, Calcutta-26. Pp. 150. Price Rs. 2.50.*

It is an excellent translation of the *Geeta* in English verse. Though there are very many English translations of this Sanskrit Poem, yet one more is always welcome. All the eighteen Cantos with seven hundred slokas have been almost literally rendered in English verse retaining a bit of the original fervour. Our *Geeta* was first named the Celestial Song perhaps by Edwin Arnold, the immortal author of the *Light Of Asia*. Perhaps Edwin Arnold is also the first translator of the Geeta into English verse.

The present rendering is however quite readable and authentic. Sri S. Radhakrishnan, the Vice-President of India has written about this book as follows: "I have looked through your translation. You have tried to bring out the sprit of the work." The English-knowing readers who wish to understand this sacred text or its textual import will find it very useful.

There is no introduction or even a short foreword at the outset. Now-a-days no book, devoid of these indispensable features, can attract the attention of the careful readers.

Swami Jagadiswarananda

SHAW THE NOVELIST: *By E. Nageswara Rao. Tribeni Publishers, Masulipatam, Madras. Price Rs. 2.50.*

Shaw the novelist has been eclipsed by Shaw the dramatist, and naturally so; because as literary creations his plays have far excelled his novels. Yet to the searching reader the study of his novels is not unprofitable; it will reveal to him the various aspects of Shaw's genius and help him to follow the growing maturity of his mind. "Many ideas of his plays have their roots in the novels." The author has carefully illustrated them. He has also given us a neat biography of Shaw and comprehensive discussion of each of his novels and short stories. The writer deserves thanks for his valuable effort.

D. N. Mookerjea

SANSKRIT

SANGITAMUKTAVALI: *Edited with notes and translation by Banambaracharya Sahityacharya Vidyabhushana. Published by the Utkal University. Price Rupee one and a half.*

We have here an edition of a little-known medieval Sanskrit text on Indian music, written by a princely author, Haricandana, son of King Gopinatha Bhanja of the Kanika Raj family of Orissa. The edition based on a single manuscript, originally written for the perusal of King Visvesvara Bhanja and now belonging to one Vaishnava Charan Pattanayaka, appears occasionally to suffer from the defect of corrupt readings. The edition is accompanied by an Oriya translation in Devanagari script and short notes here and there. A brief introduction in Sanskrit gives a summary of the contents and draws attention to the special features of the work. It is rather peculiar that a number of illustrations are culled here from Oriya literature and several types of folk dances are dealt with. A critical study of the work is expected to throw welcome light on the history of music in Orissa. It is one of the numerous specimens of the valuable contributions made by the province to Sanskrit literature. It is gratifying to note that organised efforts are being made by institutions like the Utkal University, the Orissa State Museum and the Orissa Sahitya Akademy to bring them to light. The work under review is the first publication of the Utkal University in this line and we hope this will be followed by scientific and critical editions of other important texts.

Chintaharan Chakravarti

BENGALI

NANDANTATWA: *By Dr. Sudhir Kumar Nandi. Published by Prakash Mandira, 3, College Row, Calcutta. Price Rs. 5.*

The book under review is a treatise on aesthetics written in Bengali. Bengali literature has been reaping a bumper crop in almost all its branches. Novels, short stories, travels, criticism and poetry find a ready and colourful place in the rich granary of Bengali literature. But one must tell the truth of not finding much writing on pure aesthetics in recent times. Doyens of old days are not more active and as such a lamentable gap has been created in this particular field of writing. That is why this volume will be received cordially by the literary public of Bengal. The author deals with the principles of literary criticism and with the fundamental philosophical concepts involved in aesthetic evaluation. His writings prove a blend of philosophical austerity and literary grace. The author has a charming style of his own. That is where it differs from the so-called books on literary criticism. The author has given ample evidence of his rigorous training in philosophy and metaphysics while showing a good grasp of the latest trends in modern painting and literature.

The book presents thirteen essays. Some are devoted to the principles and basic concepts of aesthetics such as aesthetic universality, reality in art, essence of art, aesthetic detachment, utilitarianism in art and *vakrokti*, and others to the discussion of aesthetic theories propounded by such masterminds as Bharata, Hegel, Romain Rolland, Avanindranath and Rabindranath. The method of analysis as employed by the author ably brings out the good and bad of these aesthetic theories. The author though a Crocean effects a few amendments on Croce himself. For example, he does not agree with Croce where the master holds that the technique of externalization is foreign to the nature of intuition qua intuition. However, the book under review provides ample food for thought for those genuinely interested in the study of aesthetics in its pure and abstract nature.

Professor Humayun Kabir, Minister for Scientific Research and Cultural Affairs, in appreciation of the valuable work done by Dr. Nandi has contributed a foreword which greatly enhances the prestige of the volume under review. The publishers deserve a word of praise for the nice get up and good printing of the book.

Sailendrakrishna Law

HINDI

DARASHIKOH: *By Dr. Kalikaranjan Quanungo, with a Foreword by Dr. Rameshchandra Majumdar. Published by Gayaprasad & Sons., Agra. 1958. Pp. 204. Price Rs. 8/-.*

This is a Hindi translation of the second edition (1953), of the well-known book by Dr. Quanungo who requires no introduction to the reading public. His scholarly mind was induced to take up the subject at the request of Sir Jadunath Sarkar, but his studies ended in placing him on a line with Kabir, Akbar and Rammohan Ray, discovering the unity of India. The translation has been a distinct servite to historical literature in Hindi.

P. R. Sen

GUJARATI

MHARI SHRESHT VARTA: *Edited by Prof. M. M. Jhaveri. M.A. Published by Vora & Co., Bombay. Printed at the Lipika Press, Andheri. Illustrated. Thick Card Board. Pp. 268. Price Rs. 3-8-0. New Edition. 1952.*

A batch of seven stories, each selected by the writer himself as his best, are comprised in this collection with a learned Introduction by the Professor, an acknowledged author of repute. The selection is a delightful and varied one, as each story brings out some representative trait, emotion, sensation, feeling or sensitiveness of the human heart. Its suitability for passing a pleasant half hour cannot be gainsaid.

K. M. J.

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Indian Periodicals

The National Ideals of India

Prabuddha Bharata writes editorially:

A country with hundreds of millions of people, with almost inexhaustible resources of every sort bestowed on her by Nature in all bounty, was ruled by an alien power that had scant respect for the eternal values and traditions of this sacred land. The material wealth of the nation was mercilessly exploited, leaving behind poverty and pestilence, famine and death on an unprecedented scale. Foreigners coming to shake the pagoda tree made rapid fortune overnight and left the country impoverished and her peoeple ill-fed and ill-clothed. 'The glory that was Ind' lost her lustre, and she lay prostrate before the military might of her alien master.

New values purely based on the material aspect of life began to appear on the board. New methods and aims of education were introduced, which were all geared up to aid and sustain the ruling power. New ways of living and new attitudes began to develop, considering old values and ideals to be anachronistic and out of tune with the mood and temper of the modern man and the spirit of the present age. Lacking the independence of judgement and freedom of choice, people rushed to clutch at the new hopes that were held before them. It appeared as if all trace of national pride was being blotted out from the heart of the nation. The children of the soil were becoming strangers and aliens in the land of their birth. There was no freedom of any sort left to the masses of people; they became just hewers of wood and drawers of water, obediently carrying out the dictates of their foreign masters. Thus India began to drift aimlessly, and entered a very gloomy chapter in her long history. In the long, unbroken stream of her spiritual life, in her age-long tradition and culture which had given her a peculiar characteristic all her own, a vacuum was thus created, offering a challenge to her very existence.

But nature abhors a vacuum. A remedy certainly comes to cure that which is unnatural and unhealthy. To the challenge that the nation encountered, the response rose from within the heart of the nation itself. It sprang up in the shape of a massive upsurge, and its tidal waves rolled over the length and breadth of the whole country. Even from the beginnings of the nineteenth century, deep beneath the changes that were taking place on the surface could be heard the rumblings of a spiritual and cultural renaissance. A galaxy of sensitive minds and giant intellectuals, fully imbued with the spirit of India, appeared on the Indian scene and inaugurated a great renaissance which hardly had any parallel in her past history. In every department of our national life mighty giants arose, who were deeply rooted in the traditions of the past and yet modern enough to understand and assimilate the new trends of modern knowledge and scientific advancement. New movements were initiated which very soon enveloped the entire country. Fresh life was infused into every sphere of her being. A new awakening, as it were, dawned on the national mind of India, and the mighty leviathan rose to her feet again.

Naturally, the cry for political freedom came first and foremost. Without that first condition, no plan or programme could be launched to work for the progress and posperity of the nation. Freedom is the first and indispensable condition for growth. This is as much true of the nation as of the individual. Man cannot attain a true and full development except in an atmosphere of freedom. So also a nation cannot grow to its full stature except in freedom. After a long struggle, India became free. With the dawn of independence, she has begun to assert herself, once again bringing her inherent and undying characteristics to the fore.

The saga of India's freedom struggle during the first half of this century, which was inspired by a number of self-sacrificing and spiritually great men and women, will go down as a most memorable chapter in her history. Political freedom has been achieved, and India has become the master of her own destiny to shape her future as she likes.

In the new India of today, when we are planning for the economic and social betterment of our fellow-countrymen, through the various five-year plans, community projects, and national extension services, it is the duty of those men who are at the helm of affairs to keep before them the time-honoured ideals of the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata* as their guiding principles and spread them broadcast throughout the country, so that men and women, young and old, learned and illiterate may assimilate them and act according to those noble ideals. The Indian concepts of the dignity of man and the harmony of idividual efforts and social relations are based on certain fundamental spiritual values, and the nation can be built only on the basis of these values and ideals.

In one of the most magnificent and memorable utterances, Swami Vivekananda, the patriot monk of modern India, reminds his compatriots of the unforgettable national ideals of India. Says he: 'Oh India!' Forget not—that the ideal of thy womanhood is Sita, Savitri, Damayanti; forget not—that the God thou worshippest is the great Ascetic of ascetics, the all renouncing Sankara, the Lord of Uma; forget not—that thy marriage, thy wealth, thy life are not for sense pleasure, are not for thy individual personal happiness; forget not—that thou art born as a sacrifice to the Mother's altar; forget not—that thy social order is but the reflex of infinite universal motherhood; forget not—that the lower classes, the ignorant, the poor, the illiterate, the cobbler, the sweeper are thy flesh and blood, thy brothers.'—(*The Complete Works of Swami Vivekananda*, Vol. IV, pp. 412-13).

India's Foreign Policy in Relation to World Peace and Order

National Christian Council Review writes editorially:

There are three concepts that are to be clearly understood in Indian foreign policy. They are: (1) Non-alignment; (2) Co-existence; (3) Panch Sheel.

1. Non-Alignment

India's foreign policy is based on the desire, expressed at the time of her attaining Independence, for friendship for all and enmity towards none. Non-alignment first took shape in the context of the Korean War, when India refused to align herself with either of the power blocs. Since then it has been developed as the positive policy of India's relation with the power blocs. This policy has been much misunderstood. Non-alignment is not a negative policy of ignoring power blocs. On the contrary, it takes power blocs as realities and seeks to establish a way of relating our country positively to them which implies the reserving to ourselve freedom to judge all issues as they aris and to take sides on those issues withou any prior commitment. This policy seek as well to promote positive relations lead ing to better understanding between th power blocs themselves. It is natural therefore, that India rejoices in the recen meeting of President Eisenhower anc Prime Minister Khrushchev.

The latter objectives of non-alignment namely, mutual understanding betwee power blocs and world peace, necessitat co-existence which constitutes anothe basic principle of our foreign policy.

2. Co-Existence

This concept in the present political contex had, however, a different origin historically It was first enunciated by Stalin. India ha all along sought to give a positive conten to this idea of co-existence, (a) by her cor sistent opposition to war for any reason, (b by treating co-existence as a first step tc wards a positive, purposeful and dynami partnersihp among the nations, (c) by er larging the area of peace by inviting othe sovereign states to commit themselves t and abide by the five principles of Panc Sheel.

Co-existence has been implicitly recog nised by a large number of nations as th only alternative to total destruction. It i noteworthy that the idea of co-existence ha gained greater acceptance in recent time: India was able to make a special contribu tion of this idea in the shape of wide an consistent advocacy of it largely on accoun of the freedom from the inhibitions o alignment with power blocs. The fac should not be ignored that India's stand wa considerably strengthened by the suppor and co-operation of similar uncommitte nations.

3. Panch Sheel

Panch Sheel, which has been formulate more recently, has been enunciated as th philosophy of the principles of non-align ment and co-existence, and hence has be come the third and the comprehensive prin ciple of our foreign policy. The followin are the five clauses of Panch Sheel:

(a) Mutual respect for each other's terr torial integrity and sovereignty;

(b) Non-aggression;
(c) Non-interference in each other's internal affairs, for any reasons of an economic, political or ideological character;
(d) Equality and mutual benefit; and
(e) Peaceful co-existence. (Quoted from the Indo-Soviet communique).

These fundamental principles are permeated with the conviction that no nation has an exclusive claim to righteousness and that differing ideologies and systems can live side by side. Its corollaries are: (a) India's unequivocal stand on universal human rights, (b) her uncompromising stand on colonialism and self-determination for peoples everywhere, (c) her opposition to imperialism either of the East or of the West.

The foreign policy of India as comprehending the three basic concepts of non-alignment, co-existence and Panch Sheel, need assessment as a positive evaluation on the one hand and in terms of its limitations on the other.

Positive Evaluation

1. The foreign policy of India while in the early stages of non-alignment was a factor in reducing tensions in certain areas of conflict and in localising and resolving some outbreaks of war in recent history. The salutary effect of India's policy on the Korean and Indo-China wars are only two examples of her achievements in this respect. In the later stages of our foreign policy also we were able to play a somewhat similar role in helping to localise the outbreak of war in the Suez area, where there was no alignment and polarisation of power blocs.

2. It has helped to temper ideological and political passions in both the power blocs.

3. It has acted as a corrective to the ideological and moral crusading spirit in both the opposing camps of the Cold War.

4. It is truly consistent with India's newly-won freedom from foreign domination and the demands of national interest as a growing national power involved in certain unresolved disputes, e.g., Kashmir.

5. It strengthens the country's sense of dignity and integrity as a nation and her legitimate desire to be significant and effective in the counsel of nations.

6. It gives her freedom to express the national soul, which is characterised by a universalist world-view. India's free cultural exchanges with all the nations of the world illustrate this.

7. It has helped her to promote the cause of world peace out of her concern not only for the security of the nation and for the realisation of her national goal of rapid economic advancement but also for the security of mankind.

Having regard to the positive elements in our foreign policy, Christian citizens have no hesitation in giving wholehearted support to it. Nevertheless it is our duty to point out some serious limitations in the policy as it is in operation.

Limitations

1. One limitation of this policy is that our adherence to the three underlying principles of non-alignment, co-existence and Panch Sheel as though they were dogmas of political faith, might lead us to regard different ideological systems as equal in moral content. In contrast to the habit of some countries in the Western bloc, India refuses to divide the world sharply into the Communists and the 'free world,' equating them respectively with dictatorship and freedom and to judge all international issues on that basis. This refusal may appear to be consistent with the policy of non-alignment and of being realistic because the anti-Communist bloc is not made up entirely of free democratic nations. But it can make us minimise the dangers of Communism and lose sight of the values of democracy.

2. Moral principles are always fundamental in any political philosophy of international relations. But when they are followed with a sense of self-righteousness, we get into a position of moralism. Generally our leaders seem to be aware of this danger. But there has been a great deal of accretion of this element of moralism in the pronouncements and attitudes of some of the advocates of our foreign policy. Therefore it has been misunderstood as being based on an assmption of moral superiority on our part as a people. For the same reason, our policy has been criticised as lacking a sense of realism regarding the moral dilemmas of power. In fact, moralism has tended to conceal the inherent moral strength of our foreign policy.

3. An element of dogmatic rigidity present in the policy of non-alignment has led to a failure to recognise the full realities of the different situations. So we tend to cling to it even in situations in which it has little relevancy. Only if all the principles of Panch Sheel are loyally adhered to by the nations concerned, can the policy of non-alignment be practised by any country. What is more, Panch Sheel requires a continually nurtured mutuality of goodwill and good faith. In our relations with China, for instance, the question has arisen as to what will happen to freedom and security, which were to be secured by a policy based on Panch Sheel, where the other party withdraws its goodwill and becomes aggressive. What alternative have we in such a critical situation? This is the dilemma our foreign policy has to face. Can world opinion and the influences of a progressive society and a healthy vigorous economy provide the necessary alternative to military power in the absence of goodwill in our neighbours? Possibly, our sympathetic leanings in foreign policy decisions have in recent years been with China and her friends and this has resulted in the loss of a certain amount of world opinion in our favour. Can we in these circumstances still deal with the Indo-Chinese situation on the lines of Panch Sheel?

4. The tendency to be dogmatic has marred to some extent the effectiveness of our foreign policy. Before our foreign policy assumed a dogmatic character, we were able to achieve some notable results in international negotiations for settling conflicts, e.g., Korea and Indo-China. And we need to ask ourselves why we have failed to be so effective in more recent conflicts like Hungary. Is it because we have become less able to deal with conflicts which are part of the struggle between the power blocs? We were no doubt effective in the Suez problem, but then, it was not a part of that struggle.

The Prospect for Non-alignment

We are convinced that a policy of true non-alignment, with its dynamic involvement in every relevant international issue, is alone the right policy for India to pursue. There is much in the contemporary world situation that encourages us to persist in this policy. The high level conversations that are now taking place on the basis of the Khrushchev proposal for total disarmament, is a matter for particular satisfaction to us. Nevertheless we feel it necessary to caution ourselves that we should not pin our entire hope on their outcome. Mindful of the concerete realities of the world and the paradoxes of human sin in history, we should take care not to be swayed to extremes of optimism and pessimism. And although we should not belittle the frightening prospect of a nuclear war, we should not allow ourselves to be psychologically paralysed by it. India's expressed resolve to develop and use nuclear power for peaceful purposes only is of real symbolic value. In the same way, her continued protest against nuclear weapons tests have given strength to the movement for a total ban on such weapons.

India and the U.N.

Our wholehearted participation in the United Nations has been a factor strengthening that organisation, which also gives us a forum for wider expression of our policy of non-alignment. However, taking into consideration the present structure of the U.N., we must be warned against excessive expectations from the U.N. in settling all controversial problems and in bringing into being the universally-cherished idea of a world community and order, for we take note of the fact that on points at which U.N. decisions touch the self-interest and sovere--

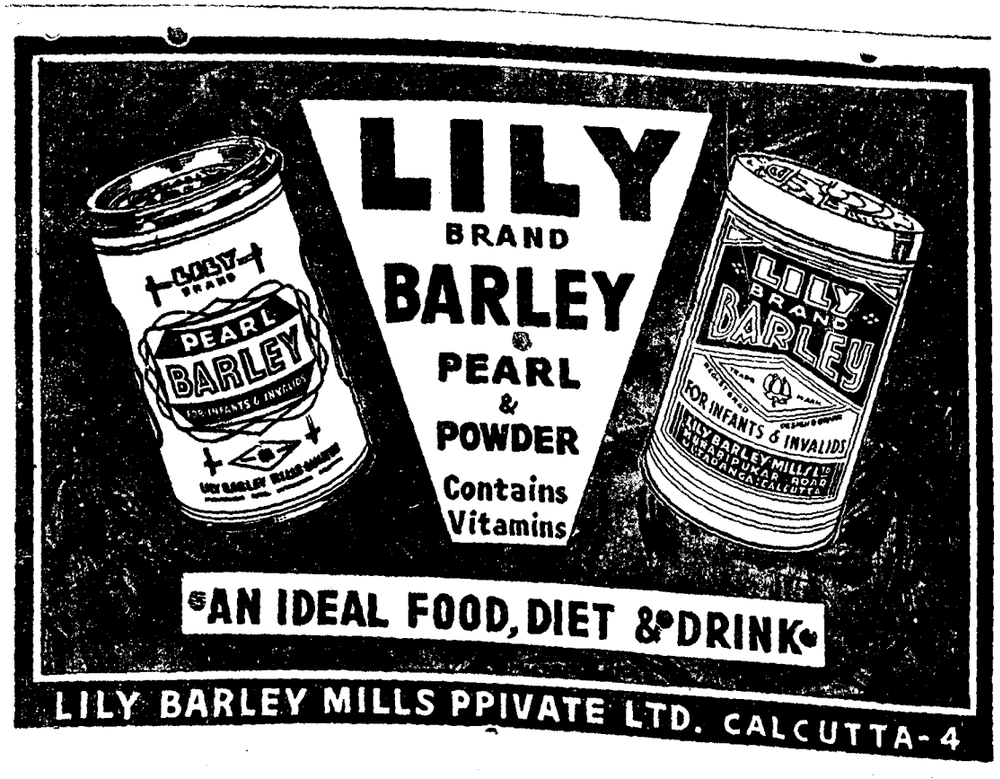
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ignty of nations, there has been a tendency to resist them. We ourselves are no exception to this tendency. The situation challenges us to realise the fact that international law and its enforcement through the U.N. are ultimate goals to which our foreign policy must be geared.

The Moral Dilemma

On a total appraisal of our foreign policy, we can conclude that there is here a passionate adherence to global peace. The desire for peace is very much reinforced by its sheer necessity for our national reconstruction. This explains our adherence to non-commitment and our vacillation in certain crucial international issues where human rights were involved. The anxiety for peace also indirectly involves our commitment to democratic freedom within the country which is sought to be preserved by the building up of a welfare state. Hence our objection to military pacts in our area, which objection is quite legitimate. These military pacts in our area seek to impose a universally applicable solution to the threat to freedom without taking into account the special complexities of the problems in the under-developed countries. The western powers, who are the major partners in these military pacts, have erred in assuming that freedom could be maintained by the extension of the military frontiers. There has not been sufficient recognition on their part of the fact that the threat to freedom could also come from within as a consequence of unjust and reactionary social systems which resist the demand for rapid social and economic change. A contented and progressive society should be regarded as the first line of defence against the onslaught of communism in the South-East Asia region.

On the contrary, the extension of our opposition to military pacts in other areas, particularly Europe, where the above considerations are not equally relevant, tends to be blind and unrealistic. In either case, there has been a tendency to seek easy and simple solutions to complex dilemmas involving moral values.



FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Mar Aba I

G.F.S. Grey writes in the *International Review of Missions*, July, 1959:

The first Christian missionaries did not, as is sometimes asserted, go out from Europe: rather, they came out to Europe from Asia. Even five hundred years later, Christianity was no more the religion of Europe than of Asia. Most parts of southern Europe and western Asia were at least in name Christian. Northern Europe and eastern Asia were still for the most part untouched by the Christian Faith. As there were Christian groups, the survivors of early missions, for example, in the western parts of the British Isles in the sixth century, so the Alexandrian Greek traveller, Cosmas Indicopleustes, in his journeyings through Asia about A.D. 525, found groups of Christians in south-west Arabia, south India, Ceylon, Burma and possibly further east.

Several bishops of Rome in the fifth and sixth centuries were men of great ability, and the influence of the see of Rome was accordingly growing. Similarly, most of Asian Christianity accepted the spiritual authority of the Bishop (Patriarch) of Seleucia-Ctesiphon. It is worthwhile to look at Mar Aba I, a Patriarch of the East in the sixth century, fifty years before Augustine came to Canterbury.

Aba came of a Zoroastrian priestly (that is, Magian) family, whose home was in the south-west of the present Iraq, and in his youth he was much attached to the Zoroastrian faith. He was well educated and attained the rank of 'Instructor of the Magi' (the precise significance of this is unknown) and had risen to the important position of secretary to the governor of one of the civil provinces.

Through whatever means he may have been first influenced to Christianity, he gave up his official career and soon afterwards was baptized.

He studied in the theological school at Nisibis, near the present frontier of Turkey and Syria. Even since the Roman Emperor Zeno, under 'Orthodox' influence, in 489 closed the school at Edessa, on the ground that it spread 'Nestorian' teaching, Nisibis had been the main theological centre of the Nestorian or Persian Church, and continued so for several centuries. The Aba learnt Syriac, the language of t Eastern Church: later he studied at Edes where he learnt Greek. After a time, wi a friend named Thomas, he went, as did good many, on a visit to places in t Byzantine Empire: his chief motives app rently were to visit the Holy Places and try to win back to the true faith a wel known church leader, Sergius, who ha gone over to Monophysitism. The auth rities at Nisibis did not, indeed, encoura such visits, no doubt fearing that the men might be led astray by teaching whic they regarded as unsound: and it was rule that no student at Nisibis should g there without his superiors' permission.

Aba and Thomas went to Palestine an then to Egypt, where Aba met the ol traveller Cosmas and where he expounde the Scriptures in Greek, and on to Greec and Constantinople, where Thomas died During his year at the Roman capital, Ab was admitted without question to Commu nion.

His learning and devotion became widely known: and when the Catholicos died in 540 (or 536), he was without his knowledge unanimously elected to the vacant office by the bishops, clergy and faithful, and approved by the King of Kings, Chosroes I Noshirwan. It was almost without precedent for the Persian Church thus to choose a head without intrigue or fraud, and without political interference. It says much for Aba's devotion that he accepted the office, though a convert and, as such, in a specially precarious position.

The Persian Church was in a very unsatisfactory condition, and sorely in need of reform. As was the custom, Aba held a synod very soon after his election, one serious problem being, as we have seen, schism and faction, with rival claimants to many sees and some bishops claiming to be independent of the Catholicos.

Largely through Aba's personal influence, order was quickly restored in Mesopotamia. Aba did not himself visit Segestan (the southern part of the present Afghanistan), but arranged that it should ecclesiastically be divided between two claimants.

Mar Aba was also confronted with the

problem of uncanonical marriages, within the prohibited degrees, which Christians had contracted, but to which Persian and Zoroastrian custom made no objection, and even praised: the Magians were, indeed, notorious in antiquity for their complete laxity in this respect. Some had married, or lived with, the wife of their father or of their uncle (brother of either father or mother), their aunt (sister of father or mother), their sister, daughter-in-law or step-daughter, daughter, wife's daughter, son's daughter, daughter's daughter, wife's grand-daughter, as the Magi: or their brother's wife, as the Jews: or an unbeliever, as the pagans: and Aba decreed that none of these things was to be done. Aba, however, did much to promote the celibate life and forbade bishops to be married. Aba also came into conflict with Zoroastrian customs when he forbade Christians to eat food over which the Magians had pronounced their sacred formulae or prayers.

Soon after his accession as Patriarch, Aba drew up a profession of faith. This was directed against both Nestorianism and Monophysitism.

In spite of the difficulties of the times, a number of new churches seem to have been founded during Aba's Patriarchate and under his influence. During the first five years, and spasmodically right up to 562, the Persian Church was persecuted. This was largely in consequence of war between Persia and the nominally Christian Roman Empire: as so often in the Persian Empire, Christians were thought to be a pro-Roman fifth column. And indeed more than one Roman Emperor was imprudent enough to champion Christians against their king, and so gave some ground for this idea. But many churches and still more monasteries were destroyed: only Christians who had themselves been converted from Zoroastrianism seem actually to have lost their lives.

Accusations were brought against the Patriarch by, among others, renegade Christians and the Zoroastrian clergy. Aba was charged with being himself an apostate and with converting Zoroastrians and also with judging suits among Christians, thus depriving the civil authorities of fees which they felt to be their perquisites: and in general with upsetting Persian customs. The king, Chosroes, was himself no fanatic, and seems to have respected Aba personally, but he could not afford to offend the powerful Zoroastrian hierachy. Despite pressure from the hierarchy, he took no steps for a time, but eventually Aba, and with him a number of other Persians of high standing who had become Christians, was arrested. The Patriarch was promised his freedom if he would stop receiving converts, if he would admit to Communion those who had been married by Zoroastrian law and allow church people to eat food offered in Zoroastrian sacrifices. Aba could only refuse, and was imprisoned in the care of Zoroastrian priests, who were not likely to treat him gently. The Christians, however, were a by no means negligible minority, and their attitude became so threatening when the Patriarch was imprisoned that he was exiled to Azerbaijan in the north, where there were no Christians. But church people, including some at least of the bishops, flocked to him even there to be blessed. In prison about seven years, he continued to administer the affairs of the Patriarchate and to ordain clergy.

After escaping assassination by a renegade whom he had excommunicated Aba fled secretly with one follower to Seleucia, where he presented himself before the king, declaring his readiness to die publicly, but not obscurely in the mountains at the hands of a renegade. Chosroes pardoned his escape and would have released him altogether but for his fear of infuriating the Magi.

It was a little after this incident that a delegation of Hephtalite Huns, traditional enemies of the Persian Empire, came to Seleucia-Ctesiphon, to ask the Patriarch to consecrate a bishop for them. Chosroes was greatly astonished and impressed at this evidence of the wide influence of the Church and its Patriarch.

In 551, one of the king's sons, who was a Christian, revolted, Many Christians were involved—indeed, it may have been primarily a revolt of Christians; and the Patriarch was suspected of complicity. The king threatened to blind him, throw him into a sand-pit and leave him to die. But no evidence at all was found against him. Aba wrote to the rebels, urging them to submit, and even visited them, and quelled the revolt. In consequence, he was released. But his years in prison had worn him out, and not long afterwards he fell ill and died, on February 29th, 552. His disciples gave him deservedly the title of martyr. Chosroes is said to have refused a demand by the Zoroastrian priesthood that his body should be cast to the dogs. Aba's disciples buried him either in the monastery at Seleucia or, less probably, at Hira, his early home.

Three-year Plan of the MPR

Here is a brief summary published by *Mongolia Today*, October, 1959, of the Three-Year Plan of the Mongolian People's Republic (1959-60) that was adopted at the third session of the Great National Hural (Parliament) in March, 1959:

Achieve substantial increase of rural economy production by scoring further advance in livestock-raising and steep rise in agriculture (land cultivation). Take necessary measures for consolidating the agricultural co-operatives economically and organisationally by further increasing their public property; by improving the organisation of production, stocktaking, planning; and also by encouraging, in every possible way, the setting up of agricultural co-operatives and expansion of activities in this field. Taking into consideration the fact that at the present stage of development of the rural economy machine and cattle-breeding stations are rendering enormous material and technical aid to the agricultural co-operatives, pay paramount attention to economic and organisational consolidation of these stations. Raise the technological progress in agriculture; application of new techniques on a large scale to rural economy and raise the labour productivity of the agricultural workers, paying particular attention towards the training of technical personnel for the state farms and the machine and cattle-breeding stations; take the necessary measures for the improvement of the standard of technical schools, educational centres and the courses for advanced training of various experts for rural economy.

Increase the livestock, Camels, Horses, Cattle, Sheep, Goats, etc., during the period by not less than 1,674 thousand heads and carry it to 25 million in the year 1960. To secure the tempo of comprehensive reproduction of herds, a steady increase of the proportion of breeding females in the herds must be attained. Increase considerably the yield of young livestock from every 100 females. With a view of further extension and consolidation of the fodder reserves for the livestock raising, increase the harvesting of hay by 23.5 per cent covering all the branches of husbandry in the country, and increase the production of dry concentrated fodder. Construct tubewells of total depth of 9,500 to 10,000 metres in the Steppe and Gobi regions of the country for ensuring ample water supplies to pastures. Intensify the fight against various diseases of cattle in every possible way, and to this end extend the network of veterinary services and curing facilities and improve disease-prevention services on state farms and agricultural co-operatives. Increase the productivity of herd: expand the pedigree work on the basis of improving the local strains; raising of pure breeds on state farms; expand greatly the artificial insemination, improve the maintenance and care of the pedigree cattle and the cattle of improved strains; attain significant rise in the productivity of livestock on state farms in the year 1960, in particular, increase the wool yield of every cross-breed sheep to 2.5 kg. and milk yield of every cross-breed cow to 1,500 litres. In order to improve the management of livestock husbandry, set up a strict state control for securing the progressive realisation of planned specialisation in the livestock husbandry.

For meeting the needs of the country in home-produced flour, increase radically the sowing area of cereal crops. Bring the total sowing area of the MPR in 1960 under different agricultural operations to 257.2 thousand hectares; in state farms to 202.6 thousand hectares, and in agricultural co-operatives to 51.6 thousand hectares. Bring the sowing area under foodgrains in the year 1960 to 234.6 thousand hectares and increase gross output of foodgrains to 197.9 thousand tons. Raise the yield of cereal crops to an average minimum of 900 kg. for an hectare on state farms in the year 1960. Organise 4 new cereal crop state farms in 1959. For the efficient use of the sowing area and for increasing the harvest are envisaged: The completion of the first phase of the irrigation system at the Khar-Khorin state farm in 1959-60 on an area of 8,000 hectares. Improvement in the field work, particularly in the soil treatment before sowing, by applying latest agro-technical achievements. With a view to rais-

ing indigenous cereal and fodder crop seeds; specialisation for the same will be carried out on state farms of Tsagantolgo, Onon, Khar-Khorin and Barunturum. Intensive application of the organic and mineral fertilizers in farming. For further intensive mechanising of the agricultural operations, increase the fleet of agricultural machines by the end of the year 1960: tractors by 6.2 times as against 1957 figures and harvester-combines by 4 times on state farms.

Increase the overall industrial output of Coal, Electric energy, Oil, Bricks, Timber, Processing big hides, Processing small hides, Leather shoes, Yurt frames, Carts, Paper, Matches, Flour, Salt, etc., by 53,2 per cent at an annual rate of 15 per cent, the shares of state industry and co-operative industry to be 60 and 24.1 per cent respectively. Ensure the increase in productivity of labour of workers by 26 per cent in the industry as a whole and in the state-owned and co-operative industries by 27.8 and 17 per cent respectively. Ensure the reduction in the production costs by 5 per cent including 5.2 per cent in the state industry and 3.8 per cent in the co-operative one, serious attention to be paid towards the systematic improvement of the quality of the industrial products.

Increase the goods transport overall in the country by 20.3 per cent; by car 2.4 times and by railway 16.9 per cent. Increase the passenger transport overall by 23.4 per cent including the motor transport by 19.3 per cent.

Extend use of air services for passenger transport and increase it to 13.6 million passenger-kilometres in 1960. Take measures for the improvement of the road building industry and for further mechanisation of labour-consuming processes in it. Undertake the task of extending the capacity of Telephone Exchanges of Zag-Bayankhongor. Complete the construction of broadcasting centre in Ulan Bator and start the construction of the Radio Station in Bayanulgi aimak. Increase the capacity of Radio-junctions and expand their network. For the services for potal services, use air services for postal delivery and increase the number of post offices.

Make allotment in the national economy of the MPR during the period 1958-60, amounting to 1,300 million tugrik approximately. Improve the work of building organisations and mechanisation of the labour-consuming processes in construction in order to raise the productivity of workers in these enterprises by 20 per cent during the Three-Year Plan; pay special attention to providing the building organisations with ample manpower; speed up the programme of construction of separate units; take measures for achieving a rhythmical pace of work and ending the seasonal drawbacks.

Increase the number of workers in the country by 10.4 per cent. Increase the wage fund of workers and employees by 12.9 per cent. Increase considerably the state grants for social maintenance and allowances to mothers of many children. Envisage the increase in the volume of retail trade turnover by 31.0 per cent; increase the turnover of public catering and improve its work. One of the major tasks for raising material and cultural standards of the people is extensive construction of houses. To this end build in 3 years houses with total area of not less than 228 thousand square metres. Strengthen the system of compulsory education for school-age children; ensure the transition towards obligatory 7-year education in cities and towns. Increase the contingent of students in general educational schools by 8.8 per cent and carrying the number to 103 thousand persons in 1960. Increase the number of students in specialised colleges by 54.0 per cent. Increase the number of students in higher educational institutions by 31.5 per cent. Expand the network of kindergartens by 50 per cent and increase the number of children attending them by more than 1.5 times. Take measures for increasing the number of cultural institutions: clubs, recreation centres, reading rooms, libraries, cinema houses, mobile movies and theatres. Eusure further expansion of the network of medical establishments; for this purpose: increase the number of special and general hospitals by 5 units, increasing the number of beds in them by more than 10 per cent : expand the number of medical centres by 14 per cent, increase the number of beds in them by 30 per cent, carrying out intensive activities for the improvement of the medical-prophylactic and sanitary measures; ensure further development of sport and physical culture.

Editor—**Kedar Nath Chatterji**

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